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THE EPHEMERAL AND THE ETERNAL OF MEXICAN FOLK ART

The Ephemeral and the Eternal
OF MEXICAN
FOLK ART

Volume I

FONDO EDITORIAL DE LA PLÁSTICA MEXICANA

México, 1971

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That part of genuine art which is still found in Mexico and has been called 'Popular art,' is only the manifestation of the survival of native genius. DIEGO RIVERA[1]

Mexico's music, songs and dances, Mexico's poetry and stories and the products which Mexican hands make, are the result, in part, of the influences which have traditionally shaped her soul and, on the other hand, of the creativity which every man exerts when he makes something with love. ALFONSO CASO

Folk art is the immutable and changing root of all true art.
Each human nucleus, each civilization, and each period,
establish through forms their special view of the world.
In time styles change but not the substance of a tradition.
The manner in which each artist interprets reality is different,
although his expression does not deny but affirms the essential unity of a culture.

Mexico was born of the fusion of two millenary civilizations;
in folk art, more than in other fields, the marked traits of our mixture are manifested.
Popular art is the bond, the permanent tie
between the different stages of our historical evolution.
It is the strong fabric from which
the directive lines of both our past and our present art grew.

This book constitutes a testimony to that enormous legion of men
who founded and who keep alive our popular traditions.
It is, then, an homage to the creative genius of the Mexican
and also to an outstanding artist, Leopoldo Méndez,
who chose the greatest glory —that of serving his people—
and who dedicated his last years to the preparation of this work.

LUIS ECHEVERRÍA
Constitutional President
of the United States of Mexico

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INTRODUCTION

By Rafael Carrillo Azpeitia

Folk art —which is born and dies each day— thus preserving its virginal freshness, is created by people whose rich imagination and skilled hands produce works that reflect the character of their creators and of their community. The direct form of these works reveals the needs they are destined to fulfill. Folk art is not studied; it lives and dies without license from any academy. Its creators, who expound its graphic message, do not worry about formal canons or stylistic problems, for the style is convention and fruit of a 'school.'

Authentic popular art communicates its message clearly, today almost independent of its magic or ceremonial background. Nevertheless, in this art we often find symbols that are survivals of ancient cultures, or syncretisms also dating from the past. Forms and colors preserved over the centuries in ceramics, textiles, toys, and even in bread, tortillas, and candy, are a perishable form of beauty flowing like a river —always the same yet always different— proof of the artistic gift of the Mexican people. Objects made by the earliest Mexican cultures were the forefathers of works of art later destined to satisfy religious demands in rigidly stratified societies. Charming little feminine figurines from pre-Classic Tlatilco and Chupicuaro were the predecessors of the Aztec goddesses Coatlicue and Xilonen.

Each piece of folk art has its origin in the life of the people. In the depths of this existence, in the remote sierras and villages, this art has preserved the love of ancient Mexico for form, color, song, and dance. Thus the true roots of native Mexican art have been kept alive by the devotion of its creators, especially men and women of indigenous communities.

Over the years, however, the Indians had been ignored, and their art —folk art, censured as primitive and crude— had also been ignored by the wealtheir classes. The latter were admirers of all that smacked of European, of the French; this fashion resulted in numerous Mexican 'foreigners' dazzled by the lights of Paris.

Folk arts were esteemed only in the villages where they were produced. Consumption was mainly local, although crafts were also popular in the lively traditional fairs held yearly in many parts of Mexico, attracting visitors from far and near.

In the cities, especially in the capital, it was fashionable to imitate everything European. The great landowners lived in Paris, Rome, or London. Everyone who was anyone had to travel in Europe, furnish his home and his mind and dress his body with European styles and manners. Even artists felt they did not deserve this name unless they had become 'finished' in the painting, sculpture, or music academies of the Old World. This was a period of imitation of everything European, the abject veneration of 'cultured art' and an almost ferocious exclusion of all that was Mexican.

But this 'cultured art,' like the society that venerated it, began to die after the pompous Centennial of 1910. Suddenly it fell apart; the mask of prosperity disappeared, revealing the Mexican Republic in all its nudity. The Revolution appeared like a volcanic eruption. Its burning lava destroyed the old regime, the dark life blood that flowed in Mexico's subsoil sprang to the surface. The farmer, the Indian, the artisan, became a soldier and, taking with him not only his gun but his wife and children, traveled from one end of the country to the other, a country still vast in spite of the mutilations it had suffered. These soldiers carried with them their songs, their dances, food, drink, garments, and also their gods and rites. Astonished, cities and fields saw men whose existence they had ignored. Yaqui Indians played their drums in Veracruz and Chiapas, Juchitecos and Zapotecos from Oaxaca walked in the northern deserts of Altar and Mapimi, Huichols and Coras fought in Huastec territory, Tarascans and Otomies were soldiers in the jungles of Tabasco and Campeche.

Men from north and south, east and west, from the sierra or the coast, rode for years over the wide Mexican land. Whole towns fought and perished. Through the Revolution it became clear that there were many faces of Mexico—each with its own character; that there was not only one tongue but a great chorus of voices intoned by all the groups in the land. Mexico revealed herself like a dazzling universe. Soon came to light a sovereign language of forms, harmony and colors, dances and songs. This is the language common to all Mexicans, as it is to all the people in the world. Thanks to the miracle of art, all men, whatever their color and origin, are brothers.

We feel that the creator of popular art is the true representative of the genuine artistic sensitivity and conscience of a people. His hands model the face of Mexico. Thousands of anonymous artisans have formed the rich earth from which have grown, like sublime flowers, great artists such as Posada, Velasco, Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros, Méndez, Tamayo, and O' Higgins. New creative values will spring from this same fertile soil.

Folk art is not only a social art because it is rooted to the life, work, joys, and sorrows of the people. It is also a Jacob's ladder with which people from every corner of the world reach the fellowship of pleasure and emotional awareness.

Folk art talks to us eloquently about its maker: a believer in traditions, mysteries, and miracles from the most remote times. This art reveals man with his instincts and passions, his loves and hates, his griefs and happiness, a humble believer or a blasphemer who reproaches his gods.

One of the characteristics of folk art is that its anonymity gives its every aspect the same general character, inasmuch as its creators can not be identified. Another characteristic is the tie between the creator and his community. This tie establishes an intimate relationship between this art and people whose roots were established in the remote ages when our ancestors were building pyramids and ball courts on the Central Plateau, in the southern jungles, in the Huaxtec region, or on the shores of Michoacan's lakes; or in the period when stones from ancient temples were reused for cathedrals, convents, and palaces.

To understand Mexican popular art one must probe into the country's past, follow the trail of the first people who willed to us the love of color and form. It is these people who, according to an old saying, "made clay tell lies" in that it could take on magnificient non-clay aspects; these people stole from Nature the secrets of charm and harmony. They went directly to the roots. As the *Song of Spring* of our Indian ancestors says, "the root itself is the flower."

THE ORIGINS

> They had grown up in the midst of intense work and acute need and had suffered many hardships, yet they had become wise men. At the same time they were singers, flute players, painters, sculptors; they knew how to do everything... *(Popol-Vuh)*

COLUMBUS' DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD united different parts of the globe that had been separated until then. Thanks to this feat the stature of man was doubled. The ancient *Orbis Terrarum* was broken and only then was the world truly discovered. Subsequent conquest and colonization showered Europe with a flood of precious metals that brought about a new economy, a monetary system which undermined the pillars of a feudal society, a society whose science and theology were surpassed by the audacity of explorers. Men of one hemisphere and another exchanged goods, languages, and ideas.

As Ramón Alcorta Guerrero has pointed out, the territory populated by the first settlers —our Indian ancestors— which today we call Mexico, contains a wide variety of geographical and climatic conditions. It is a zone of transition, in whose territory many natural borders coexist and fuse. Situated between two great geographical zones, North America and Central America, between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, Mexico finds itself between temperate and tropical climatological areas and between neo-arctic and neotropical biogeographies. Some places, such as the Altar Desert in Sonora, has an annual rainfall of less than 100 millimeters, yet the region of greatest rainfall of the Continent north of the Equator, with more than 45 inches a year, is found in the Grijalva-Usumacinta Basin.

In this enormous territory there are many interior borders, mainly determined by great mountain ranges and deserts. Each one of these regions has its own morphological, geological, climatological, and biogeographical characteristics that necessarily influence each human type, making him different from the others, with a different manner of speech, costume, cuisine, religious and civil ceremonies. These factors conform to regional behavior patterns.

What did the Spanish conquerors find in this land? Were its inhabitants savages? As we know, fantasy and lies became rife in order to stimulate colonization and obtain funds for expeditions, as well as to justify abuses and crimes. Fortunately there were men of moral temper and intellectual integrity, such as Sahagún, Motolinía, Pedro de Gante, Mendieta, Torquemada, Martín de Jesús, Diego Muñoz, Alonso de Larrea, Diego Basalenque, Landa, Diego Durán, and Bartolomé de las Casas; and descendants of Indian lords such as Castillo, Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, Chimalpáin, Pomar, Muñoz Camargo, Alvarado Tezozómoc and others.

These men left in written form the fruit of their investigations. Thanks to these and to their followers, Sigüenza, Boturini, Clavijero, Veytia and others, precious data survived.

Thanks to these investigators and to the scientists who laboriously reconstruct Mexico's past, we know that the first settlers who came from outside this hemisphere —from the north and perhaps also by way of the Pacific in the south— became isolated from their homelands, after having crossed the sea by going from island to island (those in the Bering Straits, locked in ice, forming a land bridge). Living in an extremely hostile environment (much of Mexico belongs to what Paul Kirchoff calls Arid North America), they had to create everything with toil, ingenuity, and patience. The sum of material and mental work needed for each implement, each construction, was greater here than in many other parts of the world. The most outstanding creation was corn, raised to the category of a god. Corn is both the son and father of man. It was the son, because only the millenary patience of the Mexican Indian allowed him to transform plants that were ancestors of maize and which gave meager fruits, into the 'plant of the gods,' as the Aztecs called it. It was the father, because maize intercepted man's diaspore, tied him permanently to the earth, and transformed him from a nomadic hunter into corn's cultivator and lord of all his fruits. An to insure the procreation of the miraculous plant its cultivator found he had to study the heavens constantly and decipher the language of the stars, discover the mystery of the seasons, of rains and droughts, create the calendar, computation, astronomy, religion, and, over the years, a complex and refined society We find the key to the Mexican in words by López Velarde: "Patria: tu superficie es el maíz." ("Oh my country, your surface is of maize.")

Not even the tiniest fraction of corn is wasted: its grains, its cob, its husk, its sweet stem, its root, all is utilized. Like a father, it gives all of itself. The *Popol-Vuh*, sacred book of the Maya-Quiché, tells us: ". . .only yellow maize, white maize, became their flesh; this was the only food for the legs and the arms of man. Thus were our first ancestors, thus were made the first four men; this was the only substance that formed their flesh."

The first settlers of these lands were divided into two large groups. The first occupied what is today southwestern United States and northern Mexico, the southern limits of the latter limited by a curving border from the Panuco River on the east, following the Lerma River to Sinaloa on the west. This was an immense territory, where hunters and gatherers roamed.

The second group consisted of people settled south of this line and who "possessed a variety of cultivated plants as extensive as their European conquerors and far greater advances in agriculture" (Mc Neish). These advances were lost after the Conquest for the same reason that the admirable cultivation and irrigation works carried out by the Moors in Spain were destroyed: the negligence and ignorance of the conquerors.

But the outstanding difference between the inhabitants of the Old World and the New was that those of the Old World "domesticated many animals and, in comparison to those of the New World, cultivated few plants," while on the American Continent "the case was the opposite. Abundant and varied herds that provided meat, milk, wool, and beasts of burden for the inhabitants of Europe, Africa, and Asia have no point of comparison in the pre-Columbian New World." (Mc Neish).

Our Indian ancestors cultivated a number of very important plants for food and other uses. Different kinds of agaves provided fiber, food, drink, and building material. Cotton of various colors was grown. Pumpkins and pumpkin flowers served as food and one variety of gourd as a recipient. The leaves and fruit of the prickly pear cactus were food; other cacti had hallucinatory properties. Roots and later the fruit of the sweet potato, the yam, and the bottle gourd were consumed. For flavoring there were vanilla, various types of chilli pepper, green and red tomatoes, and many herbs. Seeds used as food were amaranth, chives, panic grass, sunflower and pumpkin seed, quinoa, cacao, peanuts, and five or six types of beans. Cultivated fruits were the avocado, guava, pineapple, cherry, *tejocote* (a type of crab apple), plum, papaya, and various sapotas.

The sedentary groups mentioned had formed highly developed societies. The European conquerors found advanced cultures that, with the exception of metallurgy and pyrotechnics, were very similar to their own.

The most advanced political organization of pre-Conquest Mexico undoubtedly was the Mexica-Acolhua-Tepaneca alliance which dominated the territory from the Soconusco in the south to the Huaxtec region in the northeast. In this enormous area, ruled by the alliance and kept in order by its veteran troops, the *lingua franca* was Nahuatl. Nevertheless, other tongues were spoken, including Totonac, Zapotec, Mixtec, Otomi, Mazahua, Matlatzinca, and many others.

At the beginning of the XVI century, when the Spanish conquerors were already in the Antilles, the Mexica or Aztecs also controlled various regions inhabited by the Huaxtecs, Tlapanecs, and Popolocas of Puebla and Veracruz. They had garrisons and commercial centers in Oaxaca, Tuxtepec, Tonalá, Soconusco, and Jicalanco in Tabasco. The only independent kingdoms were Tlaxcala, Meztitlan, Yopitzinco, Tototepec, and Huexotzinco.

The Mixtec and Zapotec kingdoms had enlarged their territories at the expense of their neighbors. The lands of the famous Mayan empires were occupied by various independent groups, and many Maya-Quiché speaking peoples were distributed in what are now the states of Tabasco and Chiapas.

In Mexico-Tenochtitlan and in the most important cities of Mexico a severely hierarchical religious, military, political, and administrative organization existed. Conquered kingdoms were allowed to keep their old political structures if their resistance to the Aztecs had not been too great, but they were subject to a rigorous administrative system controlled by the *calpixques* (tribute collectors).

The wide variety of ethnic groups that populated the territory under Mexica-Acolhua-Tepaneca control led to a regime of castes and the establishing of great inequalities in land holding, in work division, obligations and rights of a social and economic character. All this is reflected in the structure of the aforementioned alliance in the years of the Conquest (Mendizábal[1]).

This structure was maintained in an inexorable manner by means of the most severe sanctions covering even the people's clothing, prohibiting the *macehuales* (common people) the use of cotton and imposing upon them the use of *ixtle*, vegetable fiber cloth. The size of garments and use of adornment were also regulated.

Periodically, the lower castes had to send different products from their land, the quantity and quality carefully specified in the tribute lists. They also were obliged to contribute personal services both in peace and war. The *Matrícula de Tributos* or Tribute List informs us that the lords of Tenochtitlan received yearly 2,463,461 textiles (mantles, lengths of cloth, *maxtlatls*—breechclouts, *cueitls*—skirts, and *ichcahuipillis*—quilted cotton armor). These items had to be delivered in the Aztec capital, which implied an additional expense for distant kingdoms. Mendizábal[1] cites the example of Tochpan (Veracruz): in order to deliver its textile tribute, without counting the agriculture or manufacturing steps involved, "employed the working days of 143,000 carriers."

The depth of thought of the ancient Mexicans was remarkable, including their concept of the world and man's destiny, basic in all philosophy. Their knowledge of astronomy allowed them to calculate time with more precision than contemporary Europeans. They were learned in botany and could not only transform and recreate corn, but also organize an ample pharmacopoeia, as the writings of Sahagún, Durán, and others testify. Francisco Hernández, doctor to the king of Spain, affirmed that pre-Hispanic medical knowledge regarding diagnosis, prognosis, anatomy, pathology, and therapeutics was very advanced. Dr. Hernández mentions more than 1,200 plants in his extraordinary work; the names of these plants contain information regarding the doses, properties, use, and places of origin.

The conquerors tell us (and this is corroborated by the famous Badianus Codex, in the collection of the Vatican Library and reproduced by the Mexican Institute of Social Security in 1964) that the Aztec rulers possessed gardens in which every kind of plant and flower in the land was cultivated, some brought from far distant regions. The codex also tells us of gardens dedicated exclusively to medicinal plants. The chronicler Antonio Solís writes:

> Everything was filled with flowers of rare variety and fragrance, medicinal herbs that were part of the flower beds and arbors; he [the king] saw that these were carefully tended, and he had every variety of plant produced in that land brought to his gardens. Those who studied them learned no other science but their names, and a full knowledge of their virtues. For every illness and pain they had herbs, from whose juices and the application [of these] they made their remedies, and they obtained admirable results. Men of experience [these people], without knowing the cause of the illness, succeeded in curing the sick person. They freely distributed from the king's gardens all the herbs prescribed by the doctors, or requested by the sick. He [the king] asked if these herbs were beneficial, as he was proud of these medicines, or was convinced that he was fulfilling the government's obligation in taking care of the health of his vassals this way...

Knowledge of their environment allowed the Aztecs to obtain a large variety of dyes. Sahagún[1] gives us a list of the most important ones: *nocheztli*, the most valuable coloring material, was cochineal, a scale insect *Dactylopius coccus*, giving a brilliant scarlet dye; *xochipalli*, yellow taken from a flower; *zacallaxcalli*, light yellow; *achiotl*, light red; *uitzcuauitl*, blood red; *nacazcolotl*, a red; *xiuhquilitl*, dark blue; *tecozauitl*, ochre; *tetlilli*, gray; *tizatl*, white from chalk; *huilliocatl*, black; *metlalitezotli oxoxonic*, light blue; and *tlaliac* was a mordant. Mixed colors were *uitzquahuitl*, red; *uitztecoloyotl-uitzquahuitl*, black; *nacozcolotl*, black; *achiotl*, vermillion; *tezcoatl*, fine red; *iyapalli*, dark green; *quiltic*, green; *quapachtli*, tawny.

Frequently the scholar dedicated to ancient Mesoamerican cultures has penetrated the tropical jungle or removed mountains, then only to be faced with inscriptions he cannot always decipher. In libraries he finds enigmatic codices and esoteric poems that transmit obscurely the message of the *tlamatinime* ("They who know"). Chronicles, myths, legends, sacred hymns, moral and political regulations, lie scattered in the libraries of two continents and constitute a challenge for the researcher.

Innumerable studies of ancient Mexico have shown us that there was a mother culture from which the others derived. The rise of thought may be observed from the reign of magic —a stage in which man propitiated the gods through rites— to true religion and then on to scientific knowledge, fruit of the *praxis*, so dear to the Greeks. We infer three forms in which pre-Columbian man approached nature and society from the three indigenous paradises we know: the *Tlalocan*, magic-agricultural paradise; *Tlillan-Tlapallan*, Land of Black and Red (Land of Writing), a mystic-philosophical creation inspired in knowledge transmitted by the god of Creation and Wisdom, Quetzalcoatl; and *Tonatiuh-Ichan* or *Tonatiuh-Ilhuicac* (Abode of the Sun), a paradise that reflects a political-military concept, an ideological transposition of the society that the Mexica wished to create.

Three representations corresponded to these three levels of conceptions: the image of the god, the idol, was shown to the profane. The hieroglyph was given to the priest and to the initiated, who were in charge of the codices or pictographic manuscripts which contained mathematical and astronomical knowledge. The seasons and the dry or rainy condition of the weather were noted, as well as the history of the ruling people.

Not all members of that society spoke in the same manner. The common people communicated with each other and with the lords in *macehuallatolli* (language of the people); *tecpillatolli* was the language of the lords, and *nehuatlatolli* the hermetic tongue of the highest religious, political, and military hierarchies.

In the field of astronomy, two distinguished scholars, Miguel Othón de Mendizábal[3] and Ángel María Garibay[5], point out that the learned men of long ago were acquainted with the movement of the earth on its axis and around the sun. Other investigators of scientific integrity have proved that the ancient Maya possessed a chronological system more exact than that of the Egyptians prior to the Ptolemaic period—325 B.C. Priest-astronomers of Copan in the VI and VII centuries A.D., who used the calendar year of 365 days, made calendar corrections with greater accuracy than are found in the Gregorian. Sylvanus G. Morley, corroborated by the anthropologist Juan Comas, tells us that:

> It is a fact that in a certain period between the IV and III centuries B.C. Maya priests, *for the first time in the history of the human species, conceived a numeration system based upon the system of values, which implies the concept and use of the mathematical quantity zero . . .*

Diego Durán, who lived in Mexico from the time he was a child and who not only spoke the Indian language (Nahuatl) but who also learned from the people their esoteric songs and rites, confirms the above when he writes:

> All their songs contain metaphors so obscure that almost no one understands them unless he intentionally studies them and talks about their meaning in order to comprehend them. I have listened carefully to what the people sing and, between the words and the terms of the metaphors, they sound like nonsense, yet later, on talking about these and conferring [with others], they become excellent sentences.

Not only the songs, using a hidden language, express concepts different from those which can be understood superficially by neophites; writing books and deciphering them was the patrimony of a group so restricted that in this way it had access to knowledge of all kinds acquired up to that time. As we know, knowledge is power. The archeologist Horacio Corona Olea discusses this point:

> The governing class was the only one that enjoyed the privilege of using hieroglyphs, but with restricted powers, in order to divulge the meaning of certain codices and inscriptions. These prerogatives and limitations persisted until the end of the XVI century, especially regarding those documents whose meaning was to be kept secret. This is reflected by the fact that those who were versed in ancient writing, and perhaps the chroniclers' informants also, felt obliged to alter the meaning, giving it an acceptable slant, thus obeying special traditional codes or respecting precise instructions included in some codices. Or these people simply limited themselves to making pictographic interpretations... Other factors that obstructed and deviated glyphic interpretations were popular versions, absurd transcriptions that, once established, became widespread, and also the suppression of key paragraphs or important citations that had been censored by the clergy. As a result, the chroniclers were confused when they resumed their compilations. Thus, some of them tell historical events in an unfinished fashion or give deformed versions of these.

In support of his thesis, Corona Olea cites the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas (History of the Mexicans through their Paintings):*

> ... and there have been some books that have served our purpose, and after comparing some with others, and asking some [people] and others, we will say that the most [information] we have been able to discover has come after they remember [these things]; and they have [these facts] represented in characters, including that which is error and deceit on the part of the devil...

Philosophical thought of the ancient Mexicans most closely related to our own way of thinking was expressed by Nezahualcoyotl, sovereign of Texcoco and possessor of vast knowledge that made him a poet, legislator, architect, and strategist. Like some Greek philosophers —for example, Parmenides— Nezahualcoyotl expressed his concept of the world and life in the form of poetry. His vision of life and man's achievements was pessimistic. He saw everything grow and perish. Like the hylozoists, he felt that all which exists is the fruit of conflict between life and death and that the only thing truly known to man is that everything is born only to die, that nothing endures. *(Cantares Mexicanos):*

Does man truly live with his roots in the earth?
Not always here upon the earth:
but only for a little while.
Even though he be of jade he cracks,
even though he be of gold he breaks,
even though he be of quetzal plumes he is torn asunder.
Not always here upon the earth,
but only for a little while.

This concept marks out man's destiny in an inexorable fashion. Moreover, because it is thus, man must not face his destiny with fear but, on the contrary, with greater courage. Tlacaélel, adviser to kings and planner of the Aztec empire, was a leader who gave reason to man's existence. His was not a contemplative attitude but an active one. He gave to his people a mystic and warlike world view and converted Huitzilopochtli —originally the tribal deity— into the maximum deity of the Mexica, the god who saved them from destruction.

The religion of the Aztecs and of other warlike peoples determined that those who had died in war or in sacrifice would be admitted to the most important Paradise, where they accompanied the Sun. Even women conquered heaven if they died in childbirth, since they had died giving birth to a warrior (the child). The following poem from *Cantares Mexicanos* expresses this philosophy:

> Flowers from the shield are lifted by the wind.
> Ah, my heart wishes to see them!
> There is nothing more beautiful than dying in war,
> nothing finer than the flowery war.
> The Giver of Life comes to judge this war.
> Ah, my heart wishes to see it!

(Flowery war means war carried out for the express purpose of taking prisoners, later to be sacrificed, usually fought between Mexico-Tenochtitlan and the Puebla-Tlaxcala area, with the previous agreement of both groups.)

This concept caused the triple alliance of the Mexica, Acolhuas, and Tepanecs to become the leading state in the greater part of what we today call Mesoamerica, the limits of which have been fixed with relative precision by Barlow. According to the Tribute List, the Triple Alliance received contributions from thirty-six political jurisdictions that covered 372 district capitals to which numerous towns were subject, all this populated by more than five million vassals. Alvarado Tezozómoc describes the variety of tribute:

> They brought round gourds, marvelously painted as trays, and other smaller gourds, carved and painted; *tecomates*, handsome vessels for drinking cacao, fine cloths woven in the Mexican manner with silk of this land, *tochomitl* of all colors and embroidered cloths that are used to cover men's privy parts; *huipiles*, white skirts of very fine thread, worked with color or with tawny designs; small and large mats finely made, others of palm fiber, and woven seats, and seat backs called *izhuaycpalli tepotzoyzpatli;* corn, beans, chilli, gourds, *huauhtli* or amaranth and *chiantzotzotli*, edible seeds, chilli of all the types that are found in this New Spain, tree bark for braziers, torch wood which is used instead of wax candles for light at night; charcoal; all kinds of stones, lightweight and of white color, to be carved for the houses, which is very much liked by the Mexicans; also foods such as venison, barbecued meat, rabbit either roasted or in barbecue sauce; all kinds of fish from swiftly flowing rivers that come from distant regions; shrimp, sardines, lobster; many other kinds of food found in the fields, and worms born in the century plant; and a wide variety of different kinds of fruits from different seasons, that excell here, like those which grow in our Spain; all this and many other things for the sustenance of people [were tributed]. The Mexicans deserved all these things for having won them with their courageous spirit, with the endeavor of their persons, and bravery in so many and such dangerous towns of this New World, which in those times was referred to as *Zemanahuac tenuchca tlalpan* (World of the Land of the Tenochcas), or center of the world, an idea still prevalent in Mexico.

> A great variety of roses, flowers, jasmine, and laurel brought by foreigners from distant lands with trees and all, were transplanted in many places, and grew as if they had all been born together in their own regions. From the coasts came *yoloxochitl*, *cacahuaxochitl*, *izquixochitl*, *yexochitl*, *cacloxochitl*, *tonacaxochicuahuitl*, and other flowers. Some of these will be described well, following your royal order, but at other times not. . . Smaller flowers are born and grow in the cold country, alongside ditches and farm plots. It is incredible to think what the Aztecs managed to conquer! It was all begun by King Itzcoatl; he began by conquering the Tecpanecs of Azcapotzalco, and from then on, imitating their origins and style, it was he who began [the custom] of maintaining a great palace and royal mansion in the city of Mexico. And those who came from distant lands arrived, dined, and then were given gifts of clothing. They left their tribute there and though they left it in the hands of Itzcoatl, it was destined for the entire Aztec community.

The burden of this constant tribute had stirred up a great deal of hate against the Triple Alliance on the part of the groups subject to spoliation. The shrewd conqueror Cortés, well informed by his translators Aguilar and especially Malinche, was aware of profund rifts in the Mexican society. He penetrated the latter through these rifts in order to wound this society in its heart. The Conquest of Mexico was carried out by the Indians under the direction of Cortés and his Spanish captains. Cuauhtémoc, last Aztec emperor, fought alone with the Mexica against a sea of enemies. This is evidenced in a letter from Ruy González to Emperor Charles V of Spain, April 24, 1553. A copy of this letter was sent to Mexico by the scholar Francisco del Paso y Troncoso,[2] who states:

> It is of great historical interest since it throws light on what really took place in Otumba when the Spaniards, fugitives from Mexico after the Sad Night, were retreating toward Tlaxcala. Ruy González, with rare impartiality, does not try to hide what would have happened if the Indians had wanted to fight, and affirms. . . that in general the Indians favored the Conquest, which was opposed only by the Aztecs, and that they did not intercept the conquerors in Otumba. Finally [he says], that anyone who wrote anything else to the Emperor was not telling the truth. It should be noted that this letter coincided with the publication of Gómara's *Historia de la Conquista*, and may have been influential in withdrawing the book from publication years later.

When Cortés recovered from the disaster of his flight from Mexico, he led his allies to the great Tenochtitlan. The siege of this city would have been impossible without an enormous number of troops, since it was necessary to surround the entire lake in whose center stood the capital of what had been a powerful alliance.

A civilization, a culture in full bloom, was decapitated. All that is left today are the ruins of its temples, some statues of its gods, a few codices scattered throughout the world, a handful of jewels, and the tales of the chroniclers. The latter write with astonishment and respect for the human dimension of our Indian ancestors. Their civilization was a victim of their religious concepts, whose prophecies converted the Conquerors into *teules* —gods—, and gave to war —*xochiyaotl*, flowery war— a completely different meaning than the total war practiced by the Spaniards. For the Mexica warred in order to take prisoners to be sacrificed in honor of their gods. Their society died the death they considered the most honorable, that of the warrior. It succumbed in a holocaust by a sword that was girdled to their concept of life an death. Soustelle[1], a noted student of Mexico's past, expresses his admiration for the pre-Conquest people of this country in these words:

> Such as they were, with their greatness and their weaknesses, their ideal of order and their cruelty, their obsession with the mystery of blood and death, their sensitivity to the beauty of flowers, birds, and gems, their strength of religious feeling —strong to the point of suicide, their excellent practical organization of the state, their attachment to their land and their maize, which still did not keep their eyes from turning continually to the stars— with all this, these ancient Mexicans were civilized men... Their culture, so suddenly destroyed, is one of those that humanity can be proud of having created... At long intervals, in the immensity of the world's life and in the midst of its vast difference, men joined together in a community bring something into existence that is greater than themselves —a civilization. These are the creators of cultures; and the Indians of Anahuac, at the foot of their volcanoes, on the shores of their lake, may be counted among them.

Américo Castro tells us that "in its beginnings, the Spanish language was a form of rustic Latin," into which were incorporated words of Greek, Germanic, of pre-Latin origin, and later French. Father Mariana says that the speech "used at the present time in Spain" is "composed of a multitude of tongues." On the other hand, the long Arab occupation of the Iberian Peninsula is reflected in the manner of speech of the subjected people to such an extent that, even though it did not affect the grammatical structure of Spanish, it enriched it with a great number of words. "You will find," says Juan de Valdés, "that for the things we have taken the Moors we have no other words with which to name them than the Arabic word introduced by these people who also introduced the things themselves." Vernet, Olivares Asín, González Palencia, García Gómez, and Sánchez de Albornoz among others, have es-established Arabic influences in all fields of activities including philosophy, medicine, economy, and even military matters.

A similar phenomenon took place in Mexico. 'Castilian' Spanish as spoken and written by the conquerors and colonizers was to take from Indian languages, especially Nahuatl —the *lingua franca* in what would be New Spain— many words to designate places, animals, trees, herbs, and even moods. Indian influence has been so strong that the Spanish spoken in Mexico differs in both accent and modulation from that used by other Spanish-speaking peoples. Pedro Henríquez Ureña[1] says about this:

> The abundance of the Náhuatl vocabulary has influenced the lexical richness of the Spanish language in Mexico, contrasting with the limitation of the vocabulary found in different regions of America. Not only is the richness due to an enlarged lexicon; there is a richness of hues, the custom of specifying and dissociating, a desire to establish divisions in material things and their elements. It would not be exaggerated to attribute to this continued use of indigenous customs and cultural traditions, which fused with the high Spanish culture of the cities of the Spanish viceroyalty... The Indian intonation is heard in the entire central area of Mexico. The melodic tones of both Spanish and Nahuatl (with curious final cadences) are identical. These tones are modified as their users acquire a more European-type culture. When the users have been almost completely absorbed by the larger culture, their intonation becomes quite different from that of the indigenous masses; in spite of everything, it preserves its Mexican tone... The Spanish Conquest achieved a cultural superposition —it mutilated but did not suppress the Indian way of life. That which is visible in folk architecture, pottery, and textiles is reflected in the language. Since the sixteenth century Mexico City has diffused, through the Spanish language, Nahuatl influence. This has spread to an area that reaches from Colorado to Costa Rica. It is the Spanish language with a Mexican flavor. At times pidgin languages have appeared, such as the Spanish Nahuatl which serves as a *lingua franca* among the native tribes of Nicaragua, who already possessed their own languages, and who are ignorant of both Spanish and Nahuatl. The language of the Aztecs reached this area mixed with that of the Spanish conquerors, a symbol of the fusion of two imperial civilizations.

Garibay[1, 2] says —and immediately explains the cause— that:

> The Nahuatl language is one of the most apt for the expression of thought in all its modalities. Its evolution, probably very long, has made of it a very refined means of mental analisis and gives it an amazing malleability for the delicacy of hues... It is probably impossible to find another tongue so intimately attached to the imagination than this one, but Nahuatl should be known fully... People who did not have phonetic writing, printing presses, and books available to the common man, found in their long harangues and speeches the best way to preserve, increase and refine the accumulation of thought and forms of expression that depict the way of being of a people better than any other, and open a path through rugged terrain to reach the inner recesses of the soul.

Thanks to the diligence and inquisitive spirit of some of the first Spanish priests and scholars, some poems and narratives, speeches and moral talks were translated into Spanish. Garibay groups this material in two main divisions: the lyric and the didactic. He tells us that the form is frequently both beautiful and elegant. This material is completely original, since the New World had no contact with the Old. As a forerunner of Spanish literature that was to be created in Mexico, it forms the idiomatic and cultural substratum of the Mexican people. These people are of mixed blood, in which beats the heart of the Indian to such an extent that frequently, although expressing themselves in the best possible Spanish, their sentiments and emotions are, nevertheless, inspired by their indigenous ancestors.

He who was not inclined toward war,
Instead, created poetry.

THE ORIGIN OF MUSIC IS DIVINE, as we can read in the *Popol-Vuh.* In his *Épica Náhuatl* Garibay transcribes the Acolhua legend taken down by Fray Jerónimo de Mendieta that refers to the celestial origin of song: with the help of his assistants, God Wind managed to carry off one of Sun's singers, who "on reaching the earth gave to men all the music they now enjoy." Xochipilli and Xochiquetzal are the masculine and feminine deities of music and dance, presided by Titlacahuan, the revered Texcatlipoca by another name, who was protector of lovers and music.

Durán tells us that Moctezuma Ilhuicamina invited the principal lords among his allies to the inauguration of the *cuauhxicalli* dedicated to the Sun, and that the guests were overwhelmed by the Aztec songs and dances. This historian says:

> In every city, next to the temples, there stood some large houses which were the residences of teachers who taught dancing and singing These houses were called *cuicacalli* which means 'House of Song.' Nothing was taught there to youths and maidens but singing, dancing, and the playing of musical instruments... the dance and the song began, and he who could not dance the steps to the sound and the rhythm was then instructed with great care. They danced until the evening was well advanced.

Mendizábal[4] speaks of the importance of music and dance for the ancient Mexicans:

> It was the extremely important mission of the heroic or narrative singer to preserve in detail the history and knowledge of these people; in this he was accompanied by music which aided his memory. This explains

why poetry, music, and dance were, of all the arts, preffered and encouraged; why the dedication to these three arts was common to lords and plebes, and why music was popular in the broadest sense of the word and reached an extraordinary state of development.

Juan Bautista Pomar, a descendant of Nezahualpilli, sovereign of Tezcoco on his mother's side, describes in his *Relación de Texcoco*, written in 1582, the contempt shown those who refused to serve in the army. These men, if they were not of high birth, were given low and humilliating occupations, while the nobles composed songs in order to gain fame and respect. This information is corroborated by Ixtlilxochitl who writes that laws sentenced to death those who built rich houses and wore feather tassels without previously taken part in battles and captured or killed four enemies, unless he were an orator who gave wise advice or composed songs. This law applied even to princes, and the death sentence was once given to a prince, the son of Nezahualcóyotl.

The first informants of Sahagún, Motolinía, Durán, Mendieta, Landa and others all coincide in underlining the importance given by the ancient Mexicans to song and dance. Sahagún[1] tells us that the lords recommended their sons take

> ...care with the dance, the drum, rattles, and song; with these you will awaken the people and give pleasure to our god, who is in all places. You will woo him so that he will award you favors and with this you will place your hand in the bosom of his riches, for the office of playing and singing appeals to our lord so that he grants favors...

Doctor Francisco Hernández tells us of the high category of music, song, and dance among the pre-Conquest people:

> ...although at times three thousand, at times four thousand or more men gathered, all sang the same song with the same voice and [danced] the same dance with [the same] rhythm of their bodies and of each one of its parts. Nevertheless they varied in each of the movements, responding to and harmonizing with the themes in a marvelous manner. And not only did they dance and sing but also represented as comedy or tragedy some phases of their exploits. Thus, there were many types of dances: at times they sang praises of the king and at times of some hero or chieftain and perhaps of the god in whose honor the feast was celebrated...

Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, completing information about the Maya given by Landa, says:

> In their paganism and even in modern times they dance and sing the way the Aztecs do. They had and still have their principal singer who intones, and who teaches what is to be sung. They venerate and revere [this man] and give him a place in the church, and in their meetings and weddings, and they call him *Holpoop*. He is in charge of the drums and musical instruments like the flutes, trumpets, turtle shells, and the *teponaztli* drum that is made of hollow wood, and whose sound is heard two or three leagues away, according to the wind that is blowing. They sing legends and ancient things, which today could be changed, and they could be given divine things to be sung.
>
> At the beginning of the conversion [of the Indians] the priests prohibited these players because they sang old songs that could not be understood —they speak in a disguised way— or because these comedies were presented at night, and sins [should be] avoided during these hours.

The chroniclers tell us of songs and dances they considered indecent. They mention two of the former, the *ahuicuicatl* and the *ixcuecuechcuicatl* which they say are "dissolute and lascivious songs." Durán tells us about "dances of dishonest women and lewd men" that he calls *cue-*

cuechcuicatl (ticklish dance). It is clear, then, that the type called lewd was not lacking, a type that León-Portilla holds is common to mankind during all periods and in all regions.

The *Dictionary of Motul* informs us that the Maya practiced similar dances called *cocokay* and *nicté-kay*, "immoral songs and of love, that they sang." Torquemada observes that:

> Songs in the month of *Tecuilhuitontli* were of love, sweet stories, risks in hunting and the chase, feats of men and remarkable deeds. If [the people] were gay with these, they became sad and melancholy during the funeral rites of the deceased and in memory of the dead.

Members of the religious Orders were not sympathetic to the survivals of the pre-Hispanic theater and therefore did not write down versions of plays they saw with the same care used in other cases. Undoubtedly their reason was that these representations were generally dedicated to praising the ancient gods. Later the Church took advantage of the theatrical talent of the natives for their evangelization, as we shall see further on. There are no descriptions of the places in Tenochtitlan where the theatrical representations took place. Of the plays themselves, we have only a cluster of verses to be found in the *Cantares* or songs in the National University of Mexico Library. These were recited by those who represented buffoons or animals, which explains their meaning. Some of these poems have been translated by Garibay and León-Portilla.

Father Durán describes the place and representation of a play in the temple of the god Quetzalcoatl:

> This temple contained a fair sized courtyard where, on the day of the feast, were performed splendid dances, merrymaking, and amusing farces. For these things a small stage-platform stood in the middle of the courtyard. It was about thirty feet square, neatly stuccoed, adorned with branches and decorated beautifully for the feast. It was surrounded by arches made of all kinds of flowers and rich featherwork hung at certain intervals. There were many birds, rabbits, and other festive things highly pleasing to the eye. After dining, the merchants and lords danced around that theater with all their finery and splendid dress. The dance then ceased and the players appeared.

And Molina Solís tells us that the Maya also had their theater:

> Enjoyment of the fiesta was increased with presentations of short comic pieces. More or less skillful players took part, wearing costumes similar to the priests' dress. Their purpose was to make [people] laugh by mocking customs of the country, and with ridiculous jokes alluding to certain persons. These comedies were called *balsamil chomthan*, and the players *balsan xtol*. At times these took place at night in private houses, and on these occasions, ended in drunkenness.

The only play that has survived from pre-Hispanic times is the one called *Rabinal Achí*. Its subject is the capture and sacrifice of the warrior Varón de Queché by the victor Varón de Rabinal. This is real theater, the tragedy of the vanquished warrior having the depth and emotion of any Homeric poem. Pedro Henríquez Ureña[2] has said of this play that "it could be Greek theater prior to Aeschylus, when only two actors took part in dialogue on the stage. . ."

This extraordinary play continued to be represented thanks to oral tradition, and was dictated by the Maya Indian Bartolo Zis to his descendants on October 28, 1850. Abbé

Carlos Esteban Brasseur de Bourbourg, the parish priest of the village of San Pablo Rabinal in Baja Verapaz, Guatemala, had this play presented January 25, 1856, the anniversary of the conversion of Saint Paul, day of the holy patron of the town of Rabinal. In 1862 this priest translated the play into French. Professor Georges Reynaud, director of studies of pre-Columbian religions at the Sorbonne, was not in agreement with Abbé Brasseur's version and wrote a new one. He states that this was "the only play from the ancient Amerindian theater that has come down to us" without "any trace of a word, an idea, or an act of European origin" in its form or background.

Another fascinating spectacle was —and continues to be— the so-called 'flying pole' dance, which originated among the Totonacs and was incorporated into Aztec ceremonial. In the square called *El Volador* (The Flyer), where the Supreme Court of Justice of Mexico City now stands, a great tree was placed, from the top of which descended in flight the emulators of eagles. Torquemada has left us a colorful description of this spectacle, which has changed little over the centuries:

> Among other ways in which these western Indians took pleasure, increasing the solemnity of their feasts and gladdening the spirits of those who attended them, was a manner of flying used by these [people], making turns throught the air while being fastened by ropes to a tall, thick wooden pole.
>
> Not all the Indians did this flying, but only those who had been well taught in this mystery, and who practiced many days before [the feast] in order to perform with skill and grace. There were four principal [men] who performed this game, all dressed in different figures of birds, that is, some form of royal eagle; others as griffins, and others as different birds that represented grandeur and bravery. Their wings were spread in order to portray the natural and characteristic flight of the bird. Quickly and lightly they climbed to the top [of the pole] and with them eight or ten others, all richly dressed and with great cost, with many bracelets and plumages to make noise and embellish their flight. All [the dancers] sat in order on the square [framework], and by turns and in rotation each one stood up upon the round center, and there they danced the steps they knew to the music of some instrument, making many turns like flyers, each one trying to outdo the other.
>
> After having entertained the audience that, fascinated, was watching the things the [flyers] did, the four who represented the birds described, tied themselves around the middle and let themselves swing by the ropes, thus simulating flight. The weight of their bodies made the frame turn around and cause the [men] to fly; the lower they swung the wider the turns they made. In this way the second man caught up with the first, the third with the second. . . and so the last flyers finished in a bell-shaped form, in a very wide and round circle; and they excelled in speed and fury, thus reaching the ground with great impetus and violence.
>
> It was something to see what these flyers did, at times tying their feet with the rope, at other times their hands, at others tied only by the rope that bound them around the waist. The other [men] who had remained above, on seeing that the flyers were half way down to the ground, grasped the ropes and came sliding down, one after another, making much noise and doing many artifices. In this way they reached the ground at the same time as the flyers. Then everyone laughed and was contented. Because if he who flew were not skillful, as he came down with great force and impetus, although he tried to land on his feet he sometimes landed on his hands or head and went rolling along the ground until the rope lost its strength. And so the flight ended and they gathered up the ropes again in order to do [the dance] once more.

The ball game *—tlachtli—* possessed a religious significance. The court represented the world and the ball a star, the sun, or the moon. The heavens were a divine *tlachtli*, where the gods played ball with the stars. Ball courts have been discovered at El Tajin, Tula, Chichen-Itza, Monte Alban, Tikal (Guatemala), and Copan (Honduras). The latter is "one of the most magnificent in Central America," Soustelle remarks. The indigenous codices or painted books show the ball court in the form of a double T. Pomar has left us a fine description of this game.

> Some went to the House of Song and Dance lo learn singing and dancing. Others went to the ball court which has already been described. This stood in the public square; its center was made of plain earth, though raised somewhat, thirty feet wide and ninety long, surrounded by walls about six feet tall, with four corners, finely plastered on the inner side. Its floor was not plastered but was kept clean and a line was drawn in the center, along its narrow side. The players stood at each end of the ball court and with their hands threw the ball, which was about the size of half a man's head, very round, and made of a milky sap.of a tree, which sap had to be cooked until it turned black. The ball weighed about four pounds and, bouncing, it returned to the other players. Or, the main player came out to receive it without touching the line or ball with his feet or hands. He hit it with his hip or thigh and in this same way it was hit by the others until certain fouls, according to the rules, took place. And the first who reached the goal lines won from the others the prizes and jewels which had been staked. These prizes were of different kinds, since rich and noble people bet precious stones, golden jewels, feather work, slaves, many types of cloth, and accoutrements of war. Also, there were many gamblers who looked on, betting sometimes on one player and sometimes on another. They usually bet on two players and occasionally on three; generally they bet on only one. Among these people there were great athletes who performed outstanding feats and were exciting [to watch]. This was a game which demanded nimbleness and skill of body, and strength for all [the body's] members. That is why kings were permitted to leave their solemn position to play this game publicly with lords and professional players. At the present time it is not played because in the early times of the Conversion it was prohibited by the friars, who thought that it might be mixed up with sorcery, prayers, or pacts with the devil. So it was that most of the sons of the nobility and rich gentry grew up playing these games, each one according to his age and to the game he liked best.

Cortés and his companions, after crossing the pass which today bears his name, between the two snow-covered mountains, penetrated into the shaded valley in whose center the capital of the great Moctezuma —Mexico-Tenochtitlan— shone like a jewel, set in the emeralds of its sweet and salt lagoons. The finest description of the great city is given by one of the conquerors, Bernal Díaz del Castillo:

> When we beheld the number of populous towns on the water and firm ground, and that broad causeway, running straight and level to the city, we could compare it to nothing but the enchanted scenes we had read of in Amadis of Gaul, from the great towers and temples, and other edifices of lime and stone which seemed to rise out of the water. To many of us it appeared doubtful whether we were asleep or awake; nor is the manner in which I express myself to be wondered at, for it must be considered, that never did man see, hear, or dream of any thing equal to the spectacle which appeared to our eyes on this day.

The economic activity carried out in the capital of the Triple Alliance is described in a masterful way by Hernán Cortés:

> In this city there are many market places, where much trade and buying and selling are carried out. One market place is twice the size of that of the city of Salamanca, completely surrounded by arcades, where daily more than sixty thousand persons come, buying and selling. All the different types of merchandise to be found in these lands [are sold] here: foodstuffs and victuals, jewels of gold and silver, of lead, brass, copper, tin, stones, bone, shell, conch shells, and feathers. Also sold are lime, carved stone and unworked stone, adobes, bricks, carved wood and unworked wood of all kinds. There are streets of game where all classes of birds found in this land are sold, such as turkeys, partridges, quail, wild duck, flycatchers, widgeons, turtledoves, pigeons, little birds in reeds, eagle owls, eagles, falcons, haeks, and kestrels. And [the people] sell the skins with the feathers, heads, beaks, and claws of some birds of prey.

They sell rabbits, hare, deer, and small dogs that are castrated and breed to be eaten. There is a section of herb dealers, where all the roots and medicinal herbs in the land are found. There are houses like apothecary shops where prepared medicines are sold, as well as beverages, ointments and poultices. There are houses like barber shops where they wash and shave [people's] heads. Other houses sell food and drink. There are men who carry loads, like those in Spain called *ganapanes* ['bread earners']. There is much firewood, charcoal, clay braziers, straw mats of many kinds for beds, and thinner ones for seats or to put on the floors of halls and chambers. All kinds of vegetables are found here, especially onions, leeks, garlic, cress, watercress, borages, sorrels, thistles, and golden thistles. Fruits of many varieties, among them cherries and plums similar to those of Spain. They sell bee honey and wax, and honey from corn canes, which are as sweet as sugar, and honey from a plant that in other islands is called maguey [century plant], which is much better than *arrope* and from this plant they make sugar and wine, which are also sold. Many types of cotton cloths in all colors are sold, and this resembles the silk market in Granada, although the former deals with much larger quantities. They sell colors for painters, as many as can be found in Spain, and of as excellent hues as can be made. Deer skins with or without hair are sold, dyed white or in different colors. They sell much excellent pottery on a large scale, they sell many vessels, large jars and small, pitchers, kettles, tiles, and a great variety of pottery, all of a unique clay, every one glazed or painted.

They sell in this market a great deal of corn in grain or in bread, which is much better in both the grain and the flavor, than that of the other islands and mainland. They sell cakes [made with] fowl and breads with fish. They sell much fresh and salted fish, both raw and cooked. They sell turkey and goose eggs, and [eggs] of all the other birds I have mentioned, in great quantities; they sell omelets made of eggs. Finally, in all these markets everything that is found in all the land is sold, and besides what I have described, there are so many [more] and of so many different qualities, that [to avoid] verbosity and because I cannot remember all these things, and also because I do not know all their names, I do not mention them. Each type of merchandise is sold in its own section, without other wares intruding, and in this there is much order. Everything is sold by count and measure, except that until now we have seen nothing sold by weight.

In this great market place there is a house like a court, where ten or twelve persons who are judges are always seated, and they pass sentence on all the cases and things that take place in this plaza, and have the delinquents punished. There are other persons who continually walk among the people in the market place, watching what they sell and the measures with which they measure [these things] they sell; and they have been seen to break one that [gave] false [measure]. . .

The luxury of the court of the great Lord Moctezuma was amazing.

Regarding the service of Moctezuma, and the things he held high in his greatness and majesty, there is so much to write that I swear to Your Highness that I do not know where to begin, as I am not sure of telling you all. Because, as I have said, what greater magnificence could a barbarian chieftain like this have than replicas in gold and silver, stones and feathers, of all the things that exist in his kingdom, under the heavens. The gold and silver work is done in such a realistic manner that there is not a silversmith in the world who could achieve better things. Regarding the stones, one cannot imagine with what instruments they worked so wondrously. And when one comes to feather work, one wonders if in wax or in embroidery it could have been accomplished with such perfection.

The way [in which King Moctezuma] was served daily was as follows. At dawn more than six hundred lords and principal noblemen had arrived at his house. Some of them sat down and others wandered about the rooms and corridors of the mansion. There they stood, talking and making time without approaching his [royal person]. And the servants who accompanied them filled two or three great courtyards and the street, which was very wide! All of them remained there until nightfall. And when dinner was brought to the said Moctezuma, food was also served to all the lords with the same attention; the servants and men also received their rations. This largess took place every day for all those who wished to eat and drink.

This is the way in which [Moctezuma] was given to eat: three or four hundred youths brought in the food, which was plentiful. Every time he dined he was served all kinds of delicacies: meats, sea food, fruit, vegetables —all that grew in this land. And since this is cold country, under each serving dish a small brazier was placed so that the food not become cold. All these fine dishes were placed in the great hall where he ate, to the point that it was almost filled to bursting. The floor of this room was well covered with mats and it was extremely clean, and he [Moctezuma] sat upon a leather pillow, small, very finely done. While he was eating five or six noble elders stood aside from him, at a distance. Occasionally he gave them a bite of what he was eating, and one of his servants stood by, placing before him and offering him the delicacies. [This servant] also ordered all the necessary things for [Moctezuma's] service from others who stood farther away. Before and after he dined and supped he was always given water to wash his hands, and the towel he used once he never used again. Nor were the plates and bowls in which his food was served brought to him again, but were always new, and the same is true of the braziers.

[Moctezuma] changed his clothes four times every day. They were always new and never were they worn again. All the lords who entered his palace went barefooted and when some, whom he summoned, appeared before him, their heads and eyes were lowered and their bodies humbled. While they spoke to him they never looked upon his face; all this was done for reasons of respect and reverence. And I know that this was done out of respect, because certain [Aztec] lords reprehended the Spaniards who spoke to me who appeared to be privileged since they could look me in the face, and this seemed disrespectful and shameless to them. When the said Moctezuma went out, which was seldom, all those who accompanied him and those whom he encountered on the streets turned their faces away from him, never beholding him, and all the rest prostrated themselves until he had passed. He was always preceded by a lord who carried three thin, high staffs, and I believe this was done to indicate [Moctezuma's] presence. And when he alighted from his litter they took one [of the staffs] in their hands and carried it to the place where [the sovereign] was going. The customs and ceremonies observed by the servants of this lord were so numerous and so complicated that I would need more space than I have to tell it all, or even to keep it in my memory. For none of the pagan soldiers or native lords known till now is regaled by so many and such elaborate ceremonies in his service.

López de Gómara speaks highly of the skill of the Aztec artisans:

The first and most skilled craft is that of the jeweler. He makes for the market finely worked pieces cast with fire and set with stones —eight-sided plates with fourths of gold and fourths of silver, none of it soldered, but joined in the casting; a small caldron with its handles; a bell with its independent clapper; a fish with its numerous alternating silver and gold scales; [the natives] can cast a parrot with a movable tongue and with movable head and wings; they also can found a monkey whose head and feet are movable and who holds in his hands a spindle whorl so that he appears to be spinning, or a fruit which he appears to be eating. Our Spaniards admired these things greatly and the present-day silversmiths do not attain this high degree of craftsmanship. The natives also enamel, inlay, and carve jade, turquoise, and other stones, and know how to pierce pearls. . . The finest part of the market place is that where things wrought in gold and feather work imitating any figure or color are sold. The Indians are such deft craftsmen that they are capable of fabricating with feathers a butterfly, an animal, a tree, a flower, many flowers, plants, rocks, so perfectly made that they seem real. Occasionally the artisans go without eating for an entire day setting, then removing, finally fixing the feather, observing one detail and another, looking at the lights and shadows, constantly observing, to see which is better: smooth or against the grain or translucent, the right side of the feather or the other side. In conclusion, they will not leave their work until it is perfect. Few people have such patience. . .

Romero de Terreros[1] describes one of these works of art that has survived from shortly after the Conquest:

. . .the most outstanding object of all [featherwork pieces that exist]: the parade shield which the *amantecas* or feather workers made for Philip II, and which is preserved in the Royal Armory in Madrid. The complicated design of featherwork mosaic decorating the front of this shield is such that it is amazing to see it could be accomplished only with particles of feathers for, aside from its many arabesques and other adornments, the battles of Navas de Tolosa, the Pozos de Tunez and Lepanto, as well as the entry of the Catholic kings in Granada, are represented in great detail.

Neither Bernal Díaz nor Cortés nor any of the chroniclers exaggerated in extolling the beauty and quality of the objects wrought by the Indians. Dürer, an exceptional witness to these things, leaves a stirring testimony in these words:

> I saw the things they brought from the land of gold to the king: a sun made all of gold, about five feet wide; also a silver moon the same size; various rare objects in arms, weapons, and projectiles; strange clothing; and every kind of rare things for human use. It is a marvel to see how beautiful all these things are. In all my life I have never seen anything that has gladdened my heart like these things. Among them I saw amazing art objects and the subtle skill of the people in those remote lands astonished me. Truly, I cannot say enough about the things I had there before me.

INFLUENCES

Listen to me, Álbar Fáñez and all your knights
In this great castle which we have captured:
The Moors are dead, I see few who still live.
We cannot sell the Moors nor the Moorish women
And we will gain nothing by breaking their
[skulls.
Let us take them for ourselves, since we have
[won the kingdom;
We will live in their houses and they will be
[our slaves.
(After the Poem of the *Cid*).

The Spaniards who came to this New Spain, we see that all are of the same lot and condition, and all are gentlemen, *because we did not see them dig, nor plow, nor build walls, nor do other things with their hands*, because none of them knew how to make the churches that were constructed... and we have not seen any of the Spaniards take part in these works; but the Indians made their houses and corrals, they do their cultivating and their sowing, and are occupied in all their works.
(Memorial de los caciques indígenas).

ONCE THE SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF MEXICO-TENOCHTITLAN had been consummated, the conquerors were faced with the gigantic undertaking of conserving that which had been won and, if possible, increasing it. Since the search for gold was their principal aim, in order to obtain it they began to organize a new state and occupy themselves with the new society that was beginning to take shape.

Because of this Cortés and his officers had to carry out an extraordinarily complex policy. On one hand they had to encourage the conquerors to persevere in their determination, making such concessions as allowing them to turn their prisoners into slaves, and permitting these slaves to be sold then in the Antilles. When this measure was prohibited, the *encomienda* —originated in the Antilles— was established in México. On the other hand, as the number of conquerors was fairly small in comparison to the enormous indigenous population, and the conquered territory immense, the Spaniards continued to take advantage of existing divisions between Indian groups, and at the same time manipulated the remaining Indian lords as instruments of the new power. Thus was woven a tight net of interests, protections, and concessions. This situation lasted more than a century, until the viceregal regime managed to consolidate its solid structure.

Explorations and the foundation of new cities, missions, and garrisons increased in a gigantic manner the jurisdiction of the Viceroyship of New Spain which had been founded April 17, 1535. Subordinate to this were five *Audiencias*, each one comprised of various provinces: the *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo, including the authorities of Isla Española, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Florida, and Venezuela; the *Audiencia* of Mexico which, aside from that in the capital of the viceroyalty, included the government of Yucatan; the *Audiencia* of Los Confines or borders, to which were subject Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and the Soconusco region; the *Audiencia* of Guadalajara, covering the governments of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo Reino de Leon, New Mexico, and Coahuila; and the *Audiencia* of Manila —suppressed in 1589 but restored in 1595— whose authority covered the Philippines. The abundant funds necessary for maintaining the structure of the Spanish Empire in the territories covered by the five *Audiencias* or governing bodies was obtained from the viceroyalty of New Spain, in addition to the money sent to the capital.

The purpose of all explorations was to locate mines and when these were found, every effort was directed toward their exploitation. The Indians were forced to work in the mines, roads were built, and —given the great distances at which the mining camps were found— towns were organized and farming and livestock raising were fomented. The control of property through land grants —where rich veins were found or where immense herds of cattle could graze— brought about the creation of large landed estates. Thus began the latifundia, the greatest economic and social calamity suffered by México.

The legend of easy gold evaporated at the end of the first quarter of the XVI century, but then began the exploitation of the first silver mines. By 1532 mines in Taxco were producing well but in 1546 the immense riches of Zacatecas came to light. A silver rush was on, not to be cut off by anything. At the end of the XVI century there were three principal mining centers: Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, and Guanajuato. By the end of the XVIII century silver production in Mexico was somewhat higher than that of the rest of the Americas and almost equalled that of the rest of the world.

In order to exploit the incredibly rich resources of Mexican mining it was necessary to employ another source of wealth: the human one. This type of exploitation in the mines, together with diseases brought by the conquerors —smallpox and typhus— decimated the Indian population. It can be said that the viceroyalty of New Spain rose on pyramids of bodies. Father Motolinía says about this:

> ...the sixth plague was that of the gold mines. Besides demanding the tributes and services of the people, Spanish possessors of land grants then began to look for mines; it would be impossible to count the Indian slaves who have died in these mines up to now. The gold in this land was like another golden calf worshipped as a god. The [Spaniards] began adoring it in Spain, and go through many dangers and difficulties [to obtain it]; and having overcome these, please Our God that it not be for their own condemnation... The ninth plague was service for the mines; Indian carriers brought food for these mines from sixty leagues or more distance. Their own food was eaten up by some of the carriers on reaching the mines, by others on the return trip before reaching home; others were detained by the miners a few days in order to help them unload or to aid in building houses or in other occupations; in this way their food became exhausted, or they died in the

> mines or on the roads. They had no money to buy food and no one would give it to them. Others returned in such a [weak] condition that they died immediately. The stench from these and from the slaves who died in the mines was such that it caused the plague, especially in the mines of Oaxyecac; here, half a league roundabout, a large part of the road could barely be passed except over dead men and bones. So many birds and ravens came to eat the dead bodies that they made a great shadow over the sun, and this is why many towns along the road and in the region became depopulated. . .

Excesses committed by the conquerors and their descendants provoked in New Spain a serious conflict with the early ecclessiastical authorities, made up in those years of friars, especially Franciscans. Their obstinate denunciation, especially that of the Domican Bartolomé de las Casas, loosened a fiery controversy in Spain.

This celebrated Dominican priest was justified in sayirg that all his writings in Spanish and Latin had been seen by "the most learned theologians here [in Spain] and have been read to the letter in the classes of the universities of Salamanca and Alcala." This was true, for Las Casas had the support of the Emperor's father confessors, of Chancellor Selvagio, and especially of Friar Francisco de Vitoria —also a Dominican— who at that time held the chair of Prime of Theology at the University of Salamanca. On January 19, 1539, Vitoria began his exposition of his *Relectiones de Indias*, in which he confronted the Emperor and declared himself in favor of the rationality of the natives of the New World —throughly refuting Sepúlveda— and therefore, of their right to be respected as people, to not be deprived of their property, and to not be obliged to embrace Christianity.

The Emperor's law was founded especially in the Alexandrian papal bull *Inter Coetera* of May 4, 1493. Vitoria opposed the very Sovereign Pontiff, saying: "The Pope does not have temporal jurisdiction over the barbarian Indians nor over other infidels." Therefore, he declared illegal the universal authority of the emperor, the universal temporal authority of the Pope, the pretext of the Indians' sins in order to dominate and despoil them, and argued that the natives themselves were to accept or refuse the new Faith.

In those times it was not the lay jurists or the secular clergy, both of whom were too committed to the reigning powers, who defended the natural and civil rights of man, but the theologians and regulars of different religious Orders. They took an energetic, persevering, and courageous attitutde before the king, the Colonial authorities and the conquerors and settlers. This conduct was the fruit of severe reforms introduced by the inflexible Cardinal Cisneros who was backed by Isabella the Catholic, and went so far as to become disrespectful and ignore every consideration that was not the recovery of these rights. In fact, Luis Vives said to Charles V:

> What is it to rule and govern people except to defend them, look after them, and guard them like sons?. . . And is there anything more irrational than to pretend to watch over those who do not wish guardianship? Or to try to attract through harm those whom you say you wish to benefit? Or could it be that to kill, destroy, and burn, also is to protect? Take care that it does not become clear that rather than rule, that which you pretend is to dominate; that you desire not a reign but a tyranny; that you want to have many subjects, not so that they may live happily but that they may fear you and obey you without discussion. . . What is building a great empire but accumulating a great mass in order to make great ruins?

Fray Julián Garcés wrote to Pope Paul III:

> The time has come to speak up against those who have judged badly the Indians and it is well to refute the empty opinion of those who pretend that they are incapable and affirm that their incapability is sufficient reason to exclude them from the lap of the Church. . . satanical voice that springs from the jaws of some avaricious Christians whose greediness is such that, in order to quench their thirst, obstinately maintain that the rational creatures made in God's image are beasts and asses, with no other object than allowing the men who have [these Indians] at their command take no care to free them from the rabid hands of their greediness, but [on the contrary], be allowed to use them for their service, according to their whims.

The commotion raised by these accusations led to the airing of these complaints by the Spanish courts in session in Valladolid in 1523, and instigated the royal decree that prohibited Cortés from controlling the Indians by *encomienda* or land grant, and ordered him to free those who were in this condition. The council of Castille, assembled in Barcelona in 1529, reiterated the royal order. Nevertheless, these orders clashed with interests created by the Conquest. It was necessary to assemble another council in Valladolid, which worked from 1539 to 1542, advised by Friar Bartolomé de las Casas. In view of the magnitude of the resistance, another reunion was celebrated in Barcelona, and as a result of these studies the so-called New Laws were proclaimed, signed by Charles V in that city November 20, 1542, prolonged in Valladolid June 4, 1543, in Madrid in 1585, and in Valladolid in 1603.

The reunion of prelates reached conclusions that replevied the rights of the natives and, in agreement with the rights of people, "they have and possess dominions over their own things," and war should not be given as a pretext to strip them of their goods and their liberty. The "kings of Castille and Leon" were immediately requested to be vigilant of the Christianization and their protection.

Of the forty-six laws contained in the diges, the sixteen that referred to good treatment of the Indians and to *encomiendas* and land grants aroused general opposition.

Discontent on the part of land grantees not only did not subside but broke out again when the second Marqués del Valle, Martín Cortés, son of the conqueror, returned from Spain in 1563. He had a violent dispute with the viceroy Luis de Velasco, who was trying again to make valid the laws favorable to the Indians.

When the viceroy suddenly died the Audience took charge of the government of New Spain. On receiving accusations against Martín Cortés to the effect that he and a number of others were conspiring to crown Cortés king of New Spain, thus evading the laws of the Indies, the Audience proceeded against these men and executed the Ávila brothers, the Quezada, and the Oñate y Victoria. The Audience also accused the new viceroy, Gastón de Peralta, Marqués de Falces, of protecting Martín Cortés. This caused the viceroy's ruin, who was quickly removed from his office and returned to Spain.

In Perú the resistance was much more violent. When Viceroy Blasco Núñez de Vela tried to subject the rebellious *encomenderos*, he was defeated and killed in the battle of Añaquito. His successor, Pedro de la Garza, defeated the insurgents in the battle of Jaquiragua, then decapitated Gonzalo Pizarro and his principal followers. In order to gain adherents, however, he had to distribute one hundred and fifty encomiendas in Guaynarima that were unoccupied and "that amounted to one million forty thousand pesos assayed in rents" (Palencia).

A pernicious mechanism was then created. This consisted in "respecting but not fulfilling" dispositions coming from the King or from his Council of Indies that were favorable to the Indians. A minimum fulfillment was accepted but only when the desperation of the exploited people provoked outbursts that obliged those in power to conduct themselves more carefully, but only temporarily.

Exactions and resistances widened the breach between the conquerors and the conquered. This situation was frequently relieved by kinship, due to Spaniards having married native women, thus creating children of mixed blood.

The Spanish crown reglamented Indian property with the intention of protecting it, reaching a compromise between forms of traditional land holding among the natives and that practiced by the Spaniards. Town property was sanctioned, and that destined to collective or individual use, the parcel or field, divided into communal land. Property that had belonged to the pre-Conquest nobility was converted into private holdings. The Indians resisted having to abandon their collective form of possession and the usufruct of the land; in this they had to condescend to the authorities. In order to protect the Indians, Spaniards were not allowed to live in Indian towns or to build their properties near these.

But the separation of Spaniards and Indians did nothing to resolve the pressing problem of labor to exploit the mines, attend the herds, and take care of great farming lands. Artisans from Spain were few and quickly rose to the position of masters. Due to the force of these circumstances, Cortés established the *encomienda*, which gave the right to the conquerors and their descendants to comand service of the Indians. The Crown accepted the state of *encomiendas* "for a second term" in 1536. The clamor of these land grantees harassed Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza until he tolerated the extension of the *encomienda* for "a third generation... so that the grandchildren and wives of the conquerors and first [Spanish] settlers not suffer poverty." It was Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almanza who had to "tolerate" this lapse for a

> ...fourth term... until the year 1607, in which year, nevertheless, the prolongation of the fourth term should be prohibited, and even the third rescinded; this was confirmed, and the other conceded, at the petition of those Provinces. (Treatise of Royal Confirmations.)

In view of the ravages caused by the *encomienda* among the Indians, it was substituted by personal service, which prevailed until the last stages of the viceroyship. This system covered all the indigenous population, not only those who were part of a land grant, and obliged each one to work for his respective master approximately six months of the year. This type of servitude is described by the masterly hand of a witness, Friar Miguel Agía, who commented the famous Royal Decree of Philip III made known November 24, 1601, thus:

> Personal service is no more than a perpetual service given by the Indians to the Spaniards who are their patrons, in employments and occupations. These [occupations] are held without pay, and without difference

> of sex or age. [This service] was introduced by the power of the sword, to the measure and taste of certain persons who introduced it. And it should be known that when the Indies were discovered and trade and transactions of the Spaniards began, the Governors and first discoverers used [this system] . . . and many Spaniards full of greed and devoid of fear of God, in many parts of the Indies converted [the Indians] into perpetual slaves, lacking in all reason and justice, as it seemed to them that those *encomiendas* were not for free men but for slaves, and that they could subject them to any type of hard servitude. . .

Referring to the length of service, which theoretically was six months a year but customarily was extended one or two months more, Miguel de Agía adds:

> . . . and in this way two months and at times three or four passed, and so the year ended without their returning home, without having sowed their crops or done anything with which to sustain themselves; and thus the Indians endured in the mines, because it was injurious for the *encomenderos* to remove from the mines those men who were adept at taking out gold or silver, and put [in their place] inexpert Indians. . . and in this way they kept those Indians busy, with their wives and children. It filled me with the greatest pity and compassion in the world, that they ate only what their wives managed to bring them; because the *encomendero* [considered them] paid by sending them rotten vegetables and dried beef and a little salt, whenever he felt like it, because the pay for these people which is regulated by some Inspectors, is neither paid by the *encomendero* nor do the wretched Indians dare ask for it, except when they know that the Inspector is coming, which takes place every six years. . . and many times when the visit of the Inspector has passed, the *encomenderos* take back from the Indians everything they had given them. . .

When personal service (forced labor) was suppressed during the middle of the XVII century —except for the mines— owners of agricultural or cattle ranches, or of the mills, rooted the Indians with the system of advancing money against their salaries. Since this sum was never paid on time, but on the contrary, grew, the worker was actually converted into a true serf. This type of worker was called a *peón* and the system continued until the times of Porfirio Díaz.

In view of the meager results obtained with the treasure taken from the Indians by the conquerors, Cortés and the Spanish Crown were forced to organize the exploitation of the natural resources of the new lands. The conqueror had to be transformed into a colonizer and in this task he took advantage of the work of the natives.

> And three wise men [in the cult of] Ehecatl, of Tezcocan origin, were eaten by the dogs. They came alone to surrender. No one brought them. They came alone bringing their papers with paintings [codices]. There were four of them, but one fled; only three were caught, there in Coyoacan. . . (Anonymous Manuscript of Tlatelolco, 1528).

IN PRE-CONQUEST SOCIETY religion had been one of the main elements of organization and, above all, of stratification. In the great kingdoms of central and southern Mexico the priesthood constituted an extremely important social level, in that it possessed knowledge relating to the interpretation of the world and man's association with natural forces. This group developed, therefore, the philosophical, religious, and social concepts. The priests calculated the course of time and made rudimentary meteorological forecasts. They were thoroughly acquainted with tradition and severely guarded the public and private morale. They organized the cult, externalized by precise and inflexible ritual. A very close interdependence existed between secular and spiritual power which frequently became one, as it did among the Aztecs, since the monarch was also the high priest, and supreme military leaders were chosen from the high religious hierarchy, and from the latter the former were chosen.

At the same time the priestly caste was formed, great temples were built to house representations of the gods. Objects associated with the cult such as symbols of the gods or of their attributes, acquired such essential importance that no religious ceremony could be carried out except in a determined place and within the most complicated ritual. Religion was one of the most important uniting forces in ancient society, and a forceful instrument of the domineering classes. For this reason, during the European conquest the Spaniards virtually annihilated the military and priestly castes of the Indian kingdoms, implacably destroying representations of ancient deities, which denominated 'devils.' The conquerors occupied the *teocallis* or 'God Houses,' usually pyramids of decisive military importance, since in traditional pre-Conquest warfare they had been the main objective of the battle and the last bastion of resistance. Not only figures of gods were destroyed but also the codices that contained philosophical and religious principles of the vanquished peoples, and the conquests of their sciences. The annihilating furor of the military was joined to some extent by men of the Church, among them the first Bishop and Archbishop of Mexico, the Erasmian Juan de Zumárraga, protector of the Indians, and Friar Bartolomé de las Casas and Vasco de Quiroga, both defenders of the wretched natives. These words written by Juan Bautista Pomar fill us with sadness:

> . . . and if the discussion does not examine in detail and specify the significance of some of the things of their gods and idols and ceremonies, antiquities, and customs, this is not due to carelessness and neglect but to the fact that it is impossible to know more; because even the old Indians eighty years old or more usually do not know everything about their antiquities, except some about one thing and others about other things. Those who knew the most important things —the priests about the idols, and sons of Nezahualpiltzintli, who was king of this city and province— are now dead. Furthermore, their paintings in which they kept their histories are lacking, because when the Marqués del Valle, Don Hernán Cortés, and the rest of the conquerors entered [Texcoco] the first time, more or less sixty-four years ago, they burned a great room in the royal houses of Nezahualpiltzintli; this was the general archive for his papers, on which were painted all the ancient things. Today his descendants weep with much sentiment because they have remained in the dark without knowledge or memory of things of their ancestors. Those [manuscripts] that had remained in possession of some of the principal men, some [documents] dealing with one thing and others with another, were burned for fear of D. Fr. Juan de Zumárraga, first Archbishop of Mexico, so that he would not accuse them of idolatry; because at that time D. Carlos Ometochtzin, son of Nezahualpiltzintli, was accused of idolatry, after he had been baptized; so that they eradicated all [documents] and burned them. . .

The Indians were not the only ones to complain about the destruction of the codices. Father Durán also censured this act:

> The symbols representing each day of the month functioned as letters. In general these painted characters were used as picture-writing describing native history and lore, memorable events in war, victories, famines and plagues, prosperous and adverse times. All was written down, painted in books and on long papers,

> indicating the year, month, and day on which each event had occurred. Also recorded in these painted documents were the laws and ordinances, the census, and so forth. All this was set down painstakingly and carefully by the most competent historians who by means of these paintings recorded extensive chronicles regarding the men of the past. These writings would have enlightened us considerably had not ignorant zeal destroyed them. Ignorant men ordered them burned, believing them idols, while actually they were history books worthy of being preserved instead of being buried in oblivion, as was to occur. Even for the ministry we profess, that in the salvation of souls and aid to the natives, they left us in darkness.

As Pomar, Durán, and Landa tell us, the destruction of idols and manuscripts and, at the same time, of representatives of the ruling castes, was carried out in accord with a perfectly defined political design: the extermination of everything that could contribute to the restoration of the ancient society, its symbols, and its dignataries.

The conquerors used the pyramids as bases for their churches, thus taking advantage of the symbolism that represented the occupation and destruction of the temple of those people who had resisted the victors. Old places of worship were consecrated to the deities of the new religion. The cave of Oztoteotl was dedicated to the Holy Christ of Chalma; the church of Our Lady of *Los Remedios* was built on top of Mexico's most important ancient shrine, the pyramid of Quetzalcoatl in Cholula; in Tepeyac, at the northern edge of Mexico City, the basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe was constructed, on the site where Tonantzin (Our Mother) had been adored. The latter, the major act of religious syncretism, played a decisive role in the pacification of the recently conquered lands. In the same way that the ancient temples and pyramids were used as bases for new sanctuaries, the spiritual catechists used certain customs and rites as a basis for the religious conversion and the subjection of the Indians to the power of the Crown. This syncretism is defined clearly by Solórzano y Pereyra, when he says about the Church: "Convinced that it would not be easy to deprive the heathens of their ancient customs immediately, and after having considered well, [the Church] decided lo *leave them their customs but call them by a better name.*"

Fortunate coincidences aided the work of evangelization and the acceleration of the syncretism of the old Indian religions with the Catholic. The symbol of the Cross was not new to Mexico, since in ancient rites it symbolized fire, and therefore, the Sun and Venus. It also represented the Universe because —with its five points in the form of a quincunx— it was associated with the four cardinal directions and the center. In each direction a deity was placed who was one of the representations of the Sun. The union of these five points with two lines crossed in the center part made a cross. ✕ The triple representation of this symbol was equivalent to the heavens, the earth, and the world of the dead.

Quetzalcoatl and Christ came to be seen as one and the same, inasmuch as both had been sacrificed by men. On Quetzalcoatl's cape there are red and black crosses. This fact, together with the legend that he was blond and bearded, gave rise to his identification by some missionaries as the Apostle Saint James, Saint-patron of Spain.

In order to make the natives understand the meaning of the Christian heaven, the catechizer made use of the description of the *Tonatiuh-Ichan* (House of the Sun), the place where warriors killed in battle dwelled, or those who were sacrificed to the gods. These souls accompanied the sun during the first part of the day, as far as the zenith, and from here they returned to earth in the form of precious birds with red feathers, to suck nectar from the flowers. Poems after de Conquest used this same theme but substituted the warriors for angels.

Durán tells us of ceremonies similar to Christian communion, made in honor of different gods. We reproduce one of the most characteristic:

> On the same day it was a solemn rule in all the land that no one eat anything but *tzoalli* with honey: this was the dough with which the idol —Huitzilopochtli— was formed; it had to be eaten at dawn. No one was supposed to taste water nor any other food until afternoon, as it was considered an ill omen, a sacrilege, to drink anything after having eaten that food, until the rite and sacrifices had ended. Because of this, water was hidden from the children. Young people who had reached the age of reason were told: "Do not drink, for you have eaten *tzoalli*. The wrath of the god might descend upon you and you would die." This rule was observed as strictly as that of the Jews in not eating the flesh of pork.
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> After these ceremonies, dances, sacrifices, farces, and games had ended, all performed for the gods, the actors, priests, and dignitaries of the temple took the dough image and stripped it of its ornaments. Then this and the parts representing its bones and flesh were broken into small fragments. Beginning with the elders, everyone received communion with this *tzoalli* —old and young, men and women, old men and babes. All the people received it with such awe, reverence, and pleasure that it was really a wonderful thing. Everyone claimed he had eaten the flesh and bones of the gods, though he was unworthy. Those people who had sick ones at home begged for a piece and carried it away with respect and veneration. All those receiving communion were obliged to give tithes of the same seed that had formed the dought of the flesh and bones of the god
>
> Let the reader note how cleverly this diabolical rite imitates that which is observed by Our Holy Church, which orders us to receive at Eastertide the True Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, True God and True Man. Another thing, too, is remarkable: this feast fell on the tenth of April, around Easter, which usually comes at this time; though it is a movable feast, sometimes Easter falls eight or ten days before and sometimes it falls the same number of days after. From these things two observations can be made: either (as I have stated) Our Holy Christian Religion was known in this land, or the Devil, our cursed adversary, forced the Indians to imitate the ceremonies of the Christian Catholic religion in his own service and cult, thus being adored and served. All this will be noted in many other passages, especially referring to this same day and feast.
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> Once these solemn rites had terminated, an elder with high authority, one of the temple dignitaries, arose. In a resonant voice he then preached words regarding their religion and ceremonies, together with the Ten Commandments that we are obliged to keep:
>
> I. Fear, honor, and love the gods; these gods were so honored and revered by the natives that any offense against them was punished by death. They held the gods in more fear and reverence than we show to our own God. II. Never use the names of the gods on your tongue or in your talk. III. Observe the feast days. With extreme rigor and without exception the people observed all these ceremonies and rites with fasts and vigils. IV. Honor your father and mother, your kinsmen, the priests, and the elders. No people on earth has held their elders in such respect and reverence as these. The old father and mother were held in reverence, under pain of death. These people recommended to their children that they revere old people of any rank or social position, above all else. And so the priests of their religion were as esteemed and respected by old and young, rich and poor, lord and peasant, as in our own wretched times old people are no longer honored but are held in contempt and are scorned.
>
> V. Killing one another was strictly prohibited but was not punished by physical death, but rather by a civil one. The murderer was given to the widow or to the relatives of the deceased and remained forever a slave. He had to serve them and earn a living for the children of the dead man. VI. Adultery and fornication were condemned, to the extent that if a man was caught in adultery a rope was thrown around his neck, he was stoned, and then dragged throughout the entire city. After this his body was cast out of the city to be eaten

by wild beasts. VII. The commandment against stealing was kept in a more rigorous way than it is today, since the thief was either slain or sold for the price of the theft. VIII. These people fled from bearing false witness and punished those caught lying. IX. Those who had committed these sins and broken the law always went about filled with fear, imploring mercy of the gods, asking that they not be discovered. X. Pardon for these sins was granted every four years in the jubilee year; their remission took place on the feast of Tezcatlipoca.

Immediately after the conquest of Mexico by Cortés, three missionaries came to this country: Juan de Tecto, Juan de Aora, both priests, and Pedro de Gante, a lay brother. García Icazbalceta informs us that —in view of the ruined state of Mexico City— they started their catechizing in Texcoco, where they met with the difficulty of not knowing the language. When the first twelve Franciscans led by Fray Martín de Valencia arrived, they were amazed at the small amount of evangelization accomplished, and asked what the three missionaries had been doing. Answering in the name of the three, Fray Juan de Tecto said: "We learned a theology completely ignored by Saint Augustine," meaning that they had learned the Nahuatl language, indispensable for carrying out the conversion of the Indians.

In this catechizing work, Fray Pedro de Gante, with accurate judgment, made use of song and dance, as he informs King Philip II in his letter of June 23, 1557:

> Yet the common people were like animals without reason, indomitable, and we could not attract them to the lap and congregation of the Church, nor to the doctrine or sermon. . . they fled like savages from the friars and even more from the Spaniards. But by the grace of God I began to know and understand their conditions. . . and the reason is that all their worship to their gods was [manifested] in singing and dancing before them. When they sacrificed some [victims] for some reason, or to be victorious over their enemies, or for temporary needs, before they killed [these victims] they danced before the idol. And as I saw this and that all their songs were dedicated to the gods, I composed a very solemn song about the religion of God and the Faith. . . and I also gave them designs to paint on their mantles because this custom was used by them, in accord with the dances and songs that they sang. Thus they dressed in gaiety or in mourning or in victory. When Christmas was near I advised all those who were invited from all the land ten leagues around Mexico, and [asked] them to come to the feast of the Birth of Christ Our Savior; so many people came that they did not fit in the courtyard although it is very large. . . In this way the people first became obedient to the Church and since then the churches and courtyards swell with people. Many ceremonies they observed, dedicated to the devils, such as cutting their hair in a manner that the office of each one be known —all these things disappeared in such a way that after a little while no one remembered them.

But the missionaries' main activity was the education of the natives. To this end they established as part of each monastery a school where they gave instruction, especially to sons of the "lords and chieftains." In schools personally attended by Fray Pedro de Gante there were soon more than a thousand boys. Fifty of these, the most advanced, were converted into catechizers, and were sent by pairs to proselytize in nearby towns. At times Gante accompanied them and "in passing destroyed temples and idols." Indian judges, mayors, and councilmen were trained in these schools; they exercised the authority delegated by the viceregal government. Later music, singing, and Latin were added to the courses. Fray Arnaldo Basacio formed good Latinists and Fray Juan Cano good musicians and singers who were constantly in demand in the many churches that were being built. The excellence of the Indian musicians and singers madre Pedro de Gante assure the Spanish Emperor that "they could excel in his Royal Chapel."

Soon the teaching of music and song spread throughout all the territory of New Spain. Fray Diego Basalenque tells of the Tarascans' capacity in these arts:

> At one time there was an organist named Francisco, so eminent and scientific, that —at the event of a competition between Spanish organists, on the occasion that the great master Manuel Rodriguez brought out the organ— this Indian went and said he wished to play before everyone, and that he knew they would not let him win the position of organist because he was Indian, and he insisted so that they see there were skilled Indians also. He played everything they requested, the most complicated pieces, without missing a note, and all the musicians were astonished!

The increment of these arts caused Torquemada to assert:

> One thing I can truly affirm is that in all the reigns of Christianity [outside the Indies] there are not so many flutes, *chirimias*, sackbuts, trumpets, *orlas*, and drums as there are just in this kingdom of New Spain. There were also organs in almost all the churches where there are priests. And although the Indians [for lack of funds] do not make these, but rather masters from Spain, the Indians produce all that is necessary for the instruments, and play them in our monasteries. The Indian both make and play all the other instruments that are for the solace and pleasure of secular persons: *babeles*, guitars, small guitars called *discantes*, another type of guitar called *vihuela*, harps, and monochords, and from this one concludes that there is nothing they cannot make.

Fray Alonso de la Rea corrects Torquemada to some extent when he states that the Tarascans built organs for their churches:

> And amongst all this magnificence should be included the fact that the Tarascans have made some organs, all of wood, with the pipes and everything only of wood, with a beautiful tone, like the finest of metal; some of these are to be seen today in this province, and it is amazing to hear such pleasing consonance.

Mendieta informs us that:

> Aside from writing [music], the Indians began to rule the paper and write musical notes [composing], both plain chant and polyphony; with both types of song they made exquisite books and psalteries with thick letters for the friars' choir, and with large letters, well illuminated for their own choir. They did not look for someone to bind these [books] because together they accomplished it all. And it is remarkable that, when they copied images from plates with perfect figures, everyone who saw these was amazed, because the first time they drew them they made them exactly like the original.

The skill of the scribe-artists, the *tlacuilos*, was also directed to decorating churches and convents. Toussaint says that in the beginning the new churches were adorned with

> . . . mosaics of flower petals inlaid in the straw mats the Indians called *petlatl*, but that form of decoration was extremely fragile and evanescent. Another possibility was to make images and even decorations in feather mosaic, but featherwork also was perishable by its very nature, and especially susceptible to the attack of insects. So they resorted to painting. The friars organized real art centers, such as the famous School of Arts and Crafts founded by Fray Pedro de Gante . . .
> . . . In this first school of painting they used engravings as models for the painters, and the images they had brought with them were reproduced in great numbers. There is no other type of painting in which we find so intimate a relationship between the Indian and the European character, and this is why we call it 'Christian-Indigenous.' It is Christian because the purpose is essentially religious, but it is Indian inasmuch as we still feel in it the indigenous hand, and sometimes the poverty of means of the untrained artist . . .

Among the mural paintings that magnificently decorated the Augustinian monasteries of the province of Mexico —such as Acolman, Actopan, Ixmiquilpan, Epazoyucan, Atlatlauhcan, and Culhuacan— these outstanding for the mixture of pre-Hispanic and Spanish elements are, we feel, the paintings in the church that forms part of the Augustinian monastery at Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo. Abelardo Carrillo y Gariel, an erudite scholar, has studied the paintings in detail and has found a mixture of pre-Conquest figures and motives, side by side with European decorations. Thus we have warriors wearing the *copilli* headdress of the chieftains and armed with *macanas* —ancient wooden and obsidian war clubs—, bows, arrows, and the pre-Conquest type of shield, the *chimalli*, fighting infernal dragons; and centaurs wearing Indian sandals, *cactlis*.

At the foot of *Cerro de la Estrella* (Star Hill) is the town of Culhuacan (Twisted Hill), now part of Mexico City. Here the Augustinians began the construction of the Church and Monastery of Saint Mathias. The establishment became a school of languages; it is said that Fray Bernardino de Sahagún taught there. José Gorbea has studied the mural paintings discovered in the church during conservation work. He says:

> The *tlacuilos* or indigenous master painters assimilated perfectly the teachings of their masters and in the beginning copied sacred scenes from German prints or wood engravings, painting them on the walls of the monastery buildings. Due to this we have been able to admire on the walls of the Monastery of Saint Mathias that which time and slow destruction of the building has left us.
>
> The paintings of Culhuacan were executed in three periods which can be easily recognized. The first two correspond to the XVI century; the older paintings are those done in black and white with a little turquoise blue in some. Those of the second period, also from the XVI century, but which in some places are superposed on the former, are also in black and white and have a gray tint in the background, created by means of black dots. Those of the third period correspond to the XVIII century. They are filled with frankly baroque elements superimposed on the original paintings and are not al fresco paintings but tempera.
>
> On walking along the corridor we discover the paintings that decorate the main doors which give access to the courtyard. These paintings are framed by small painted Plateresque-type columns and represent Augustinian friars, some praying, some digging in the earth, in the midst of a jungle-like setting with figures of lions, deer, and other animals. All these figures stand out against a background of typical Indian turquoise blue, with trees and foliage. It is unusual to find this theme in painting in the XVI century convents and in Culhuacan it suggests the surroundings of the place when the convent was founded.

Toussaint gives a short list of indigenous painters who worked during the XVI century. They are: Pedro Quauhtli, Miguel Toxoxhicuac, and Miguel Yohualahuach, who painted —among other things— 'Lords who had Governed the Aztec Country'; Fernando Colli and Pedro Xochmitl, who in 1536 painted 'Fourteen Works of Mercy' for the jail in Mexico City. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso and other historians mention the Indian painter Marcos Aquino or Marcos Cipac, cited by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who painted many works in collaboration with Pedro Chachalaca, Francisco Xinmanal, and Pedro San Nicolás. The most important of these is the altarpiece in the chapel of *San José de los Indios* in the Saint Francis Monastery in Mexico City. This reredo may be seen in the drawings of the Codex Aubin. Toussaint believes that Fray Diego Valadés, a well trained artist, taught European pictorial techniques to the Indians.

Indian sculptors demonstrated their ability with great ease, as Mendieta, one of the first chroniclers, states:

> After the Indians became Christians and saw many images made in Flanders and Italy, there was no reredo or sculpture, no matter how exquisite, that they did not copy and imitate. They carve them in the round, of wood, or of bone, so exactly and so finely that [the Spaniards] take them to Spain [as examples] of astonishing work, as they also take the hollow crucifixes made of corn pith. [These latter] are of the bulk of a tall man,

> [yet] weigh so little that a child can carry them, and they are so perfectly proportioned and exact that if they were made of wax they could not be more perfectly finished.

Romero de Terreros mentions other places where images of this material are venerated:

> To this date a Christ [made of heart of corn stalk] is venerated in the Parish of Saint John the Baptist, in Telde, Great Canary Island. In Mexico various images of this type are preserved, among them: a Holy Christ in the Church of Saint Francis in Tlaxcala; the famous Lord of *Santa Teresa*, now in the Cathedral [of Mexico City]; Our Lady of Health in Patzcuaro, which according to tradition, was made for Vasco de Quiroga; and the Holy Christ in Tizapan.

José Moreno Villa, attracted by the beauty of pre-Conquest and Colonial sculpture, studied different pieces and found the same mixture of elements and symbols that Carrillo y Gariel had discovered. He was so impressed by the number and quality of the works studied, that in order to characterize them correctly he applied the Nahuatl word *tequitqui* (tributary).

> Each thing should be called by its name if we wish to understand each other. And Mexico's [sculpture] cannot be called *Mudéjar* [Moorish], although it has in common with this style the fact that it is an interpretation of various styles according to its own tradition and manner of carving. I propose that ancient Nahuatl *tequitqui*, tributary. And I invite the experts in aboriginal languages to choose a better one.
>
> . . . The style I refer to is represented well in those monumental crosses located in the atrium or area outside of the churches. In the finely worked Acolman cross we see Gothic and Renaissance elements in very low relief; but this *fleuretté* cross —as crosses whose arms are finished with fleur-de-lis are called in herladry— because it presents the head of Christ, a human head, without a body, nor arms nor legs, converts the whole into an idolatrous body, as if it had been decapitated, rigid, not at all like European crosses.
>
> Even more like an Indian idol is the [cross] of Atzcacoalco. Because it is incomplete it seems shorter and more elaborately adorned. By finishing the central arm with huge or disproportioned irises, a certain nostalgia for Indian feathers or headdresses is indicated . . .
>
> Gothic, slender, and finely executed is the [cross] of *San Felipe de Los Alzates*, a small town between Zitácuaro and Morelia, Michoacan, and anyone can recognize here the style I call *tequitqui*.
>
> Christ's face is not seen. With delicate sobriety it exhibits symbols of the Passion; but its flattened reliefs, penetrated into the stone, are typically indigenous. In the intersection of the arms and the tree is an obsidian disk.

García Granados explains the reason that led indigenous sculptors to place pieces of obsidian in these crosses and in other sculptures:

> The Indians placed in his monuments or images of his divinities a precious element, foreign to the monument itself whose mission was to give it life, in the same way that the human heart is the symbol of life in man. It was usually of obsidian.

The construction and conservation of churches and monasteries dissimulated fortresses in the early part of the Colonial period— called for a growing number of masons, stone workers, metal workers, carpenters, and wood carvers. Mendieta states:

> Indian stone workers were diligent in making sculpture (as I have said) and carved amazing things, using only stone [tools]. Later, when they came to possess picks and hammers and other iron instruments and saw works that our [artisans] made, they advanced greatly, and made and carved in the round, arches and complicated portals and windows; and as many mosaics and figures as can be seen. They carved everything, and they have made many handsone churches and houses for the Spaniards. What they had not known (and were impressed when they saw them) were true vaults. When the first one was made [here] (the chapel of the old Saint

> Francis Church in Mexico City, by a stone worker from Castille), the Indians marvelled greatly on seeing this vault, and they could not believe that on removing the scaffold and boards, everything would not collapse. And because of this, when the time came to remove the scaffolding, none of them dared to walk below it. . . But when they saw that the vault remained firm, they lost their fear; and shortly afterward the Indians alone made two chapels with vaults that are still standing in the courtyard of the main church of Tlaxcala, and later they made and roofed many excellent vaulted churches here, and houses in the hot country.

The enormous number of catechumens was the factor that determined a typical construction in Mexico: the open chapel or 'Indian Chapel.' This was invented by the missionaries in order to facilitate the evangelization by allowing great masses of Indians, men, women, old people, and children, to observe religious functions carried out in the enormous atriums of the churches and monasteries. Toussaint writes about these structures:

> With the real conversion of the Indians the numbers of the faithful grew so rapidly that the churches, large as they were, proved inadequate for the multitude of converts. The friars therefore found a special solution to meet this problem: their solution was the creation of the Open Chapel or *capilla de indios*, Chapel of the Indians.
>
> The open chapels constituted perhaps the unique analogy possible between the Christian church and the indigenous *teocalli* [small 'House of Gods']. In both cases, the ceremony took place in the open air; the priests alone were in a covered enclosure, while the congregation stood in a great churchyard, exactly as they had in the sacred precint of the Indians. These chapels, moreover, were the most original religious architecture of the Colonial period, since the basic conception was different from anything in Europe, even the mosque.

It would seem that originally the *capillas posas* (small shrines or chapels in the four corners of the churchyard), like the monasteries and churches where they are located, had their walls covered with *al fresco* paintings and also had altarpieces; in Calpan, Puebla, some of these are preserved, although the paintings have been lost. Our idea is corroborated by the presence of a great fresco painting —6½ × 7½ feet—representing Saint Catherine, in the open chapel dedicated to this saint in the monastery of Acolman, Mexico. These were discovered and restored by the architect Luis MacGregor.

These small corner shrines in Calpan, *capillas posas*, still contain splendid things. It was here that Fray Juan de Alameda and his extraordinary Indian assistant the architect Bernardino planned and built the monastery, church, and shrines. Native influence may be seen on all sides, beginning with the church façade adorned with century plant flowers. In the first *capilla posa*, stylized cacti ending in shells adorn the angles and "a ring of *chalchihuites* or Indian jewels, with a mechanical organ cactus coming out of its top, splendidly completes the capital." In the second shrine "appear. . . the seraphic [Franciscan] shield with the five wounds of Christ Crucified —represented by the pre-Conquest *chalchihuitl*, symbol of that which is precious." (Flores Guerrero.)

The monastery, church, and *capillas posas* at Huexotzinco were also the work of Fray Juan de Alameda and his Indian assistant Bernardino. These structures were built near the place where the ancient *teocalli* or temple once stood, and whose materials were used in the Christian building. The *tequitqui* character of the church and *capillas posas* are pointed out correctly by Flores Guerrero, for the sculptors placed *chalchihuites* in place of the Isabelline pearls. The Franciscan cord is identified with the pre-Hispanic serpent.

As in many religious buildings, the platform of the ancient *teocalli* was used, and the dressed, polished, and geometric stones from the same ancient structure were used in the convent, its church, and the *capillas posas.* Only one of the latter is still standing.

Capillas posas in the Augustinian monasteries contain many indigenous elements. In the three still remaining in Epazoyucan, Indian flowers are well represented and in some cases leaves change into eagle feathers, underneath which appear the precious *chalchihuites.*

In Tepoztlan, near Mexico City, in the monastery, church, and *capillas posas* still standing,

> . . . the carpenters. . . (says Mendieta) do all kinds of carpentry and make images of wood; and everything that the very skillful artisans or architects want made. And finally. . . almost all the fine and well made works that in every type of occupation and arts produced in this land of Indies (at least in New Spain) are made by the Indians, who build and make them, because the Spaniards, masters of these arts, seldom do more than give the work to the Indians and tell them how they want it done. And they do it so perfectly that it could not be done better.

Ornaments, vessels, crosses, candlesticks, litters, daises and many other objects made by de Indians were required for religious ceremony. The Italian lay brother Fray Daniel taught them the art of embroidery. The Indians quickly dominated this, since they had had long experience in featherwork. Pieces done by indigenous embroiderers made one of the leading specialists in Colonial art. Toussaint expresses his admiration on observing a magnificent cape embroidered by the Indian Antonio Rangel, dated 1699:

> The most important piece from this Baroque period. . . is, without any doubt, the enormous pluvial cape which Don Diego de Malpartida y Zenteno had made for the image of St. Peter. This embroidery on crimson damask in two tones of gold, representing enormous flowers of incomparable harmony, seems to express the very spirit of that humble, manual art of embroidery.

The speed and diligence of the Indians in learning the fabrication of machines and assimilation of techniques is amazing. Mendieta states:

> The vestments of the early priests were so poor that Fr. Diego de Almonte stated that —seeing the habit he had brought from Spain so torn that he could not wear it. . ., he had the children in school take it apart, unravel the woven and spun thread, and leave it like woolen fibers. And they again spun that thread and some Indian women wove it the way they weave cotton; and from this another habit was made, very loose, which was of some use. Fray Diego had this done because at then time there was no wool with which to make another. . . And because it seems to fit this subject, I will tell about the devotion one principal Indian had in dressing the friars, and the skill and diligence of his servants in making sackcloth. This principal [man] was called D. Martin, chieftain of the town of Guacachula [Huaquechula, Puebla]. He was extremely devoted to the priests and used great liberalities with them, and knowing that an artisan who made sackcloth had arrived in Mexico, and that he was the first, and that as soon as the [sackcloth] was made, it was sold. This Indian [D. Martin] sent some subjects of his to Mexico [with instructions], that they go as paid hands with that sackcloth maker, and that each one watch carefully and in a dissimulated way [to see] how it was made, and on learning the trade well, return home. They did this so well that they secretly took the measurements of the loom and stand; and each one observed how this was done and on finishing work they discussed what they had seen. So that in a few days they learned the craft well, except that making the warp of the cloth confused them. But soon they understood this, and —without saying goodby to the Spaniard— they took the bundle of sticks with which they had taken the measurements, and, returning to Guacachula, set up looms and made the sackcloth worn by the friars. These Indians were [weaving] masters in making this [cloth] from then on.

This same thing happened to another Spaniard, an artisan who made brocaded and embossed leather ornaments. Although the hid his craft from the Indians he could not preserve his secret and one day learned that the natives were making these adornments, gold plating and silver plating them as did the master artisans in Spain. Mendieta describes how the same fate befell the Spaniard who made saddles:

> When the Indians wanted to copy saddles for riding, which a Spaniard was beginning to make, they found out everything that was necessary for these —its cuirass and cuirass cover and packsaddle, except that they did not understand how to make the saddletree. But as the saddle-maker had a saddletree (as it is customary) at the entrance to his house, they waited until he went in to eat and took the tree to copy another one from it. And this done, the next day at the same time that the [Spaniard] ate, they replaced the saddletree in its place. Since the saddle-maker saw this, he was afraid that his craft would be falling into the hand of the Indians (like other trades), and in fact this is what happened. Six or seven days later one Indian came selling saddletrees along the street, and coming to the house [of the Spaniard], the Indian asked if he wished to buy those trees and others ha had made. The good saddle-maker was seized with fury and wished to hit [the Indian] on the head with the trees, because as he had controlled this craft alone, he sold his work as he wished, and in the hands of the Indians they would sell at a much lower price.

We know that when Fray Pedro de Gante learned "how the Indians stole the secrets, he was deeply amused by this."

One of the chroniclers of Michoacan, Fray Alonso de la Rea, clears up all doubts about whether the Tarascans were acquainted with the process of lacquer making before the arrival of Oriental wares in Mexico. He says:

> The paint of Periba [Periban], not imitated up to now, was invented in this Province. Not only is this very beautiful, but it is so strong that it tenaciously resists being conquered by time, together with the piece it adheres to. Although it is natural for all colors to fade with time, run off and peel with hot water, blows and being knocked about this [lacquer] of Michoacan neither fades nor decays with time, but sinks into the wood or vessel so much that it lasts as long as [the object]. The first step taken [in making lacquer] is to apply the first varnish. This done, when it is dry and ready, the design is prepared with a pointed burin or steel [instrument]: cutting out the figures, *misterios* or landscape as one wishes. Then the colors are inlaid, with the division, proportion, and fitness required on the piece. They make excellent writing desks, boxes, chests and panniers, handsome *tecomates* and vessels, trays, gourds, and tables, and many other fine things.

Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, who became Viceroy of New Spain, expressed in writing his admiration for the skill of the Indians:

> ...And regarding their skills and mechanical arts they are very capable. In the trades of painting, gilding, carpentry, masonry; and in others of stone working and architecture they are not only good workmen but are master artisans. They have great ability in learning crafts, because when they see [someone] painting, in a short time they paint, and seeing [someone] carve, they carve; in an amazingly short time they learn four or six trades and they practice these according to their time and their qualities... In the Cathedral works an Indian called 'seven trades' was employed, because he knew all these well. Comprehension and ability to understand things, no matter how difficult, is extremely rare; yet in this I do not doubt that they [the Mexicans] are superior to all the nations, and in doing things so quickly and with such artifice that the others do not do, nor know how to do.
>
> Their skill in cutting stones and the delicacy with which they display them may cause admiration, as it is evident to Your Majesty from some that I have sent you; these are true gems, of excellent color and quality,

> and of these they have great knowledge. [The Indians also have knowledge of] other natural things, such as plants, roots and herbs; of these they make remedies por different illnesses, with amazing success. In order to not spend, since they are so poor, [these people] use the very stones with which to make blades and lancets for bleeding, and they make them easily, quickly, and finely. They use these with the same facility as we do the finest and most excellently worked steel [implements]. . . In all mechanical things they are exceptionally clever and dilligent, and the same in building, at less cost and with more speed; they are ahead of any others I have known. . .

Fray Juan de Zumárraga quickly observed the facility of indigenous children educated in the school annexed to the Saint Francis Monastery and therefore decided to create a special school where they could study further and become teachers. He made this suggestion before the Second Audience, which approved his idea. The Emperor gave his consent. The inauguration of the *Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz* (Imperial School of the Holy Cross) in the parochial church of Santiago Tlatelolco took place on January 6, 1536, day of the Epiphany, "so that," says García Icazbalceta "the Indians will consider the feast as their own. . ." Fray García Cisneros, one ot the first twelve Franciscans, was the first director of the College and counted with eminent teachers: the Frenchman Fray Arnaldo Basacio, who had begun his teaching in the Chapel of Saint Joseph built by Fray Pedro de Gante, taught Latin and music; Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, who dedicated his entire life to educating and defending the natives and to saving their history from oblivion; Fray Andrés de Olmos, who spoke four or five indigenous tongues and was a leading historian; Fray Juan de Gaona, an accomplished theologian and distinguished pupil of the University of Paris; Fray Francisco Bustamante, the most important preacher of his time; Fray Juan Focher, a Frenchman, Doctor in Law from the University of Paris. Besides religion and good habits, reading, writing, Latin grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, music, and medicine were taught.

These illustrious men formed teachers like the Indian Antonio Valeriano, a native of Azcapotzalco and a relative of Moctezuma, who became one of the great humanists of his time, an outstanding Latin scholar, a rhetorician, and philosopher, teacher of the historian Torquemada in the Nahuatl tongue. Mendieta tells of the quickness with which the Indians learned:

> In the second year that [the Indians] were being taught, as a sample they gave a [papal] bull to a boy from Tezcuco, and he copied the document so accurately that the writing was almost exact. He made the first line of large letters as it was in the bull and below made the signature of the commisioner and a 'Jesus' with a figure of Our Lady. It was all so exact that there seemed to be no difference between the model and the one he made, and as a remarkable and fine thing, a Spaniard took it to Castille to be shown there. . .

The Franciscans were in charge of the School of the Holy Cross at Tlatelolco until 1546; in this year it passed to the hands of indigenous teachers who had been educated in its halls. Since its beginning, however, neither Archbishop Zumárraga nor Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza or Luis de Velasco had sufficient funds to sustain the school. Yet they were opposed violently by the *encomenderos*. A document, signed by a Jerónimo López, actuary, transcribes a fiery accusation against the Franciscans and the School:

> The third [mistake of the Franciscan friars] was taking many boys to teach them the doctrine, with the monasteries full; then they whised to each them to read and write, and due to their facility, which is great... It was good that they know the doctrine, but reading and writing is dangerous as the very devil... Fifth, that not content that the Indians knew how to read, write, mark books, play flutes, *chirimías*, trumpets, and organ, and to be musicians, they set them to learning grammar. The [pupils] dedicated themselves to this with such diligence that there were boys, and each day there are more, who speak Latin as elegantly as Tulio. And seeing that this thing was growing and that in the monasteries the friars could not manage to teach them [all], they made schools where [the natives] went and learned, and read sciences and books... This has been growing to such an extent that it is amazing to see what they write in Latin, letters, discourses. And what they say: eight days ago a priest came to this dwelling to say mass, and he told me that he had gone to the school to see it, and he was surrounded by two hundred students; while they were talking to him they asked him questions from the Holy Scripture about the Faith. He left astonished, covering his ears, and said that that place was hell and those in it disciples of Satan.

By 1550 the College was in ruins due to earthquakes and lack of funds to repair it. In 1565, it was in complete decadence. In 1580 an attempt was made to return it to its former splendor, but the school's enemies were more powerful than its friends, most of the latter by now deceased.

The School of the Holy Cross of Tlatelolco languished and finally died. Its schoolrooms where the humanities had been taught, the place where the exquisite Badianus Codex was written, the building sanctified by the gigantic work of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Fray Andrés de Olmos, and Fray Juan de Torquemada, all was in ruins. Only part of this was rebuilt, to be used as a warehouse and military prison.

UTOPIA IN MEXICO

Hernán Cortés, in his letter of October 15, 1524, asked Emperor Charles V to send to New Spain:

> ...religious persons of clean life and good example... and that they be given part of the tithes to make their houses and maintain their lives... and that these tithes be collected by Your Majesty's officials... because, there are bishops and other prelates who would not stop following the custom that —because of our sins— we have today, of making use of the property of the Church, that is, spending it in display and other vices and in leaving *mayorazgos* [entailed estates] to their children or relatives. It would be an even worse evil since the natives of these places in their times had religious persons who attended to their rites and ceremonies, and these were so retiring in honesty and in chastity, and if anything [of value] found its way from these people to another's [possession], they were punished with the death sentence. If today they could see the things of the Church and the service of God in power of the canons and other dignataries, and if they knew that these people are ministers of God, and saw them dedicated to the vices and irreverences that are common in our times in those kingdoms [Spain], it would undermine our Faith and they would see it like a thing of jest. And this would be so harmful that... they would not profit by any sermon given them.

The king heeded Cortés' petition and sent first three Franciscans: Fray Juan de Tecto, who had been his confessor, and who was professor of Theology during fourteen years in the University of Paris, Fray Juan de Ayora, well known for his science and piety, and his cousin Fray Pedro de Gante. These three Franciscans landed at Veracruz August 30, 1523. Almost a year afterwards the twelve Franciscans joined them, headed by Fray Martín de Valencia. These friars were men of enormous moral stature, men of a period illuminated by the double splendor of the art renaissance and the rediscovery of Greek thought, and by the discovery of a new world on the other side of the ocean. The twelve men came to these land inhabited by heathens in order to convert them into brothers of Christ. Wisely, they learned the Indian lenguages, aided by native children in their charge.

Theirs was not an easy nor a pleasant undertaking, but one bristling with work and danger. Their concept of their mission and the untiring efforts to carry these out clashed violently with the conquerors' interests. The Franciscans came to convert the Indians into Christians, that is, into their equals, and the men who had won this land with the sword based their prosperity in the unlimited exploitation of the natives.

The missionaries were cognizant of the horrible experience in the Antilles, where the spoliation and cruelty of the conquerors had practically annihilated the native population. Armed with the papal bulls of Leon X and Hadrian VI, the friars defended the Indians from abuses of the *encomenderos.* This earned them the adherence and affection of the former and the strong hatred of the latter, to the extent that the members of the First Audience accused them before the Emperor of pretending to rise in rebellion, together with Hernán Cortés.

The truth is that these men, especially the first three, who were Flemish, were profoundly convinced that their work should not be limited to the simple conversion of the pagans, but that they should guide these people toward a new society, better organized and more just than that of the Old World. Fray Martín de Valencia corresponded lenghtily with Santa Teresa de Jesús, a follower, it is said, of the spiritual reform of Savonarola. Zumárraga, first Bishop and Archbishop of Mexico, was a constant reader of Erasmus and his *Doctrina Breve* (1543–44) "is no more than an almost straight transcription of whole pages of Erasmus *Enchiridion and Paraclesis*" (Almoina, José). Furthermore, García Icazbalceta has pointed out that the first part of the 1546 *Doctrina*, publicly attributed to Zumárraga since he signed it as author, "from the beginning to end is no more than a reprint of Dr. Constantino García Ponce's *Suma de la Doctrina Cristiana*, whose only differences are minor variations and certain cuts skillfully made to transform its narration following the dialog of the original work."

Dr. Constantino García Ponce achieved great fame as a preacher to Charles V, who named him his chaplain. García Ponce accompanied the king a few years in Germany and the Netherlands and traveled with Prince Philip in 1548 through Flanders and Lower Germany, but he died in the Inquisition jails due to ill treatment when he was indicted a heretic. Menéndez Pelayo claims that Dr. Ponce's work used by Zumárraga "is firm, simple, and of outstanding cleanness and terseness . . . a perfect model in the didactic class. Of all the Spanish catechisms it is the best written, althouh unfortunately it is not the purest."

The Conquest and later colonization broke the agglutination that had begun with the merging of various kingdoms in the Acolhua-Tepanec-Mexica alliance, whose object had been to create a strong centralized state. There was no one but were various cultures whose heart was the religion that inspired and regulated all the acts in man's existence. An expression of this cultural mosaic can be seen in the variety of languages spoken.

The missionaries had to face a tremendous fact: from one day to the next, thanks to the Conquest, millions of neophytes joined the Church. The phenomenon pointed out by Guignebert in the IV and V centuries A.D. was repeated, "when took place a mass joining... of the urban and rural population and later of the Germanic tribes" to Christianity. But the mass of converts brought their old religious concepts with them. There was a meeting of old and new beliefs and, we must admit in all justice, Christianity triumphed because it showed itself to be a more simple and accessible religion for the masses and, above all, it answered man's most anguished question in a positive way, promising him eternal salvation.

To the natives Christianity represented immortality, whether he gain it through the eternal beatitude of the Glory of God, or in hell where he would suffer during eternity. But in glory or inferno, the soul would not die but would live for centuries and centuries and would be reincarnated the day of last judgment.

The old Indian religions, on the contrary, offered immortality only to men who died in war, were sacrificed to the gods, drowned, or were victims of lightning, to women sacrificed to the gods or who died in childbirth, and to children. The rest, virtuous or wretched, were offered only darkness, silence, destruction, a void. The clash between these two concepts of life and death necessarily was resolved in favor of Christianity, which operated as an efficient arm against the old religions, thus undoing the ideological mortar of ancient society. More than the sword, the crossbow, and the harquebus, the ideas of Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Therese, Saint John of the Cross and Saint Augustine —which offered the City of God to the new converts— won immense territories and millions of vassals for the Spanish Crown.

Christianity, which was also the religion of the victors and therefore proved indisputably efficient, offered to millions of conquered people not only the hope of immortality but also resurrection of the flesh. This hope inspired to a great extent the gigantic undertaking that covered the immense Mexican territory with cathedrals and monasteries.

With penetrating sharpness Octavio Paz has said that when Moctezuma saw in the sky the omens prophesying the end of his epoch and the return of Quetzalcóatl, the springs controlling his will were broken in his soul. Cuauhtémoc's superhuman courage is remarkable, therefore, since he fought not only against thousands of enemies but also against the will of his own gods and foreign ones. The old religion, literally fed with the blood of the faithful, gave way to the new.

But not everyone is fortunate enough to be converted in a moment, like Paul of Tarsus. A bold form of catechesis was necessary, if not to destroy old idolatries completely, at least to dislodge them from large sectors of the population. As in Europe, in New Spain the monasteries played a singularly effective role, inasmuch as they were centers of evangelization, schools of arts and crafts, markets, and fortresses against Indians who had not been subdued. The friars taught the new religion and, supported by the great capacity of the natives, taught them also new trades, new ways to obtain material goods.

It would seem that the Franciscans planned the creation of an Indo-Christian state, completely separate from the Spaniards yet subject to the eminent dominion of the Spanish Crown, as Nicolau d'Olwer affirms. This opinion is strenghtened by advice given by Fray Toribio de Motolinía to the king of Spain that, with a prince of his own blood, he create a separate dominion with New Spain, to remain part of the Empire:

> This land prays to God that its king is given a long life and many children so that he give it a prince to rule it and ennoble it, and thus prosper in the spiritual as well as in the secular, because in this order is sustained. Because a land so large, so remote, and so distant cannot be governed well from so far away. And a place so distant and so disunited from Castile cannot preserve, but will suffer great affliction and much toil and fall backward each day, because its principal head and sovereign is not here to govern it and maintain justice and perpetual piece, and to do favor to good and loyal vassals, punishing rebels and tyrants who wish to usurp possessions of the royal patrimony.

These words reflect autonomous sentiments that were formed at the very beginning of the Spanish overseas Empire.

The starting point of the enormous enterprise that the missionaries were to carry out was the hospitals, constituted according to medieval patterns: they were hostelries for pilgrims and travelers and asylums for the destitute. Fray Juan de San Miguel created the first hospitals in Michoacan, under the advocacy of the Immaculate Conception. But that extraordinary missionary turned the hospitals into centers of learning; fine organ players and chorus directors were formed here, as well as artisans of different types. After Fray Juan de San Miguel, Vasco de Quiroga came to this region. First he was a member of the Second Audience, then he became the first Bishop of Michoacan. Vasco de Quiroga, with money from his own salary, had bought by 1531 "two leagues from Mexico . . . a number of *caballerías* [a measure] of land, which he rented to Indians who settled on these, which they till and cultivate; and from the rents he built a hospital for the Indians. This hospital and the town are called Santa Fe." (Cuevas). Thousands of natives gathered at this hospital. Here Vasco de Quiroga tested his ideas on comunal organization which later he would propose to the Emperor. For Vasco de Quiroga the best organization is that described below:

> The same Thomas More, author of this very fine state of the Republic —*Utopia*— in his preamble, discussion, and reasoning, made in a manner of dialogue, his intention seems to have been to propose, affirm, establish, and prove with reasons the causes that made him feel it easy, useful, probable, and necessary that such a Republic [should be founded] with people of the quality of the natives of this New World; in truth they are in almost everything and every way as he without having seem them supposes them, pictures them, and describes them in such a way that at times it amazes me, because it seems like a revelation of the Holy Ghost for the type [of state] that would be suitable and necessary in this New Spain and New World.

The hospitals, both the Santa Fe and those of Michoacan, were regulated by the famous rules and statutes elaborated by the founder. The noted Mexican historian Silvio A. Zavala has demonstrated that these ordinances were inspired by Thomas More's *Utopia*.

Everyone in the hospital was obliged to work six hours a day. Children were taught farming and different trades, and also given social and religious instruction. After the harvest the crops were distributed in equal fashion for the requirements of one year, with some set aside for hospital and community use. The rest was kept for lean periods and to be distributed among the needy. The hospital was directed by eight persons elected among the most competent and virtuous members of the community. Its directors were the rector (a priest), the principal, and the regents. The latter were named by heads of households and their task was watching over the morality and work of the hospital members. In case of negligence and through an agreement with the rector, the guilty parties were substituted. Funds were kept in a chest with three keys. One was held by the rector, one by the principal, and the third by the eldest regent. A person of bad conduct was expelled from the community.

Furthermore, following the lines drawn by Thomas More, Vasco de Quiroga distributed different productive functions among the towns he organized. Uruapan was dedicated to the making of lacquered gourds; Teremendo, to the tanning of skins; Paracho, to the fabrication of furniture and musical instruments; Aranza, to drawn cloth; Capula or Xenguaro, to the cutting and selling of wood; Cocupao (today Quiroga) to wood working and decorating; Patamban and Tzintzuntzan, to ceramics; San Felipe de los Herreros, to iron work; Huario, to weaving wool. In every town the land was farmed and every member of the community was obliged to know how to cultivate it.

HOW IS IT THAT SOMETHING WE FANCY UNATTAINABLE —*Utopia*— could take hold of such a realistic mind, so suited to the office of high public official of the Empire, such as that of Vasco de Quiroga? The quick and easy answer is that the influence of Erasmus and his writings was so great among the Spanish and Flemish intellectuals —the theologians, men of State, and even Court proteges— that it had permeated the minds of enlighted figures of Spanish society. But this answer presents another question: how could these people have been influenced? Rightly so, and without wishing to detract from the importance of Erasmus' works, Spanish scholars demand a more profound examination.

Already under the Catholic Kings sects of *Iluminati* had prospered; these postulated a simple Christianity without rites, based on readings in the Holy Writ and in conversations inspired by these, scorning all that was formal and routine. Cardinal Cisneros encouraged them thanks to the profound reform of monastic orders furthered by him and carried out by founders and reformers such as Saint Peter of Alcántara, Thomas of Jesús, Saint Therese, Saint John of the Cross, Saint John of God, Saint Vincent of Calasans, and Saint Ignatius of Loyola. On the other hand, a brilliant group of theologians and thinkers contributed to the enlightenment of the routes that man should follow. This group includes Francisco de Vitoria, Luis Vives, Luis Carbajal, Melchor Cano, Fray Alonso de Castro, Domingo de Soto, Gregorio Valencia, Bishop Caramel, the Archbishop of Toledo Juan Maldonado, Fray Pedro de Soto, Martín Pérez de Ayala, Diego Ruiz de Montoya, Luis Molina, the priest Juan de Mariana, Francisco Suárez, Domingo Bámez, Fray Luis de León, and others less well known. Cardinal Cisneros helped create the University of Alcala. Less rigid than that of Salamanca, it became the seat of a kind of humanism that differed from the Erasmian —intellectualized and removed from the people—, but, like everything Spanish, realistic and solicitous of works. We agree with Vossler when he says that: "Spain . . . has had *its* Reformation and *its* Renaissance and not that of other European peoples, experiencing in *its own* way the fundamental renovation of Christian faith and human culture and education."

Thomas More had intented to become a Franciscan. At the moment of the appearance of his *Utopia*, Luis Vives was in England. Correspondence between More and the Spanish Theologians seems to have been frequent. But, faced by doubts and scepticism, Erasmus stated: "I have scruples about upsetting laws, religion, peace, and all human things." More and the Spaniards adopted a critical and more positive position. Before the deep crisis that signified the death of the Middle Ages —and with it the collapse of scientific, economical, political, and philosophical conceptions that had reigned in this long period— a crisis that would lead to the great Reformation movement that was to turn into the rationalism of later years, More and the Spanish thinkers proposed a coherent way of thought, founded on solid theological arguments. We should not forget that Thomas More has been canonized because he was martyred on opposing the break with the Holy See, which he considered the ruin of European civilization. He thought —as Imaz says in *Topia y Utopia*— that.

> . . . the Reformation of Henry VIII and the high clergy and nobility who seconded him [was] the official consecration and the exacerbation of depredations against commoners described in the first book [of *Utopia*] and who were the nightmare of their forensic Christian vigils . . .

The conception of Spanish theologians, among them Domingo de Soto and Juan de Mariana, was that of Saint Augustine, who says:

> With what right does each one of us possess that which he possesses? Would it not be by human laws? Because, according to divine right, God has made the rich and the poor from the same clay and the same earth nourishes them. Traditional law permits us to say: "this city is mine, this house is mine, this slave is mine." But traditional law is no more than imperial law. Why? Because through intercession of emperors and secular kings, God distributes human law to mankind. Annul the right of emperors and who will dare to say: "This city is mine, this house is mine"? (Saint Augustine, *In Evangel. Joannis Tract.*)

Was it not practical, then, on finding in America creatures who had not been corrupted by European concepts, to organize their society, their material and their spiritual life within the City of God? Utopians are Christians because Christ preached communal living as they practice it. It was Vasco de Quiroga's lot to be the Bishop of a real Utopia, an American one, transforming a dream into reality, thus giving those recently converted the possibility of being true men, on becoming true Christians, restoring the unity of the creature with his Creator. As a good mediator of God, Vasco de Quiroga reasons:

> Because not in vain but with much truth and reason this land [here] is called the New World, and it is a New World, not because it was newly found but because its people is in almost everything as it was that [land] of the first and golden age. Now, due to the malice and great greed of our nation, it has come to be of iron and baser [metals].

But Vasco de Quiroga was not the only one who aspired to place the Indians within a society different from that integrated by the Spaniards. The Franciscans, the Augustinians, the Dominicans, and the Jesuits tried to maintain the Indians separated from the Spaniards and make them live in a different way. The Order of Loyola tried to form a type of social organization and government in northern Mexico like that developed in Paraguay, subject in theory to the Viceregal authorities but in reality to the Company of Jesus. In this way they created a series of communities inhabited by innocent converted workers, good farmers and husbandmen, who labored three days "in the field of God" and the rest of the week in their own fields. These missions were prosperous but were in constant conflict with colonizers and authorities. This situation was liquidated with the expulsion of the Jesuits as decreed by Charles III. Mendieta was not far from Utopia when he wrote that the Indians were capable of organizing themselves in accord with this:

> With only the favor of the king and having the rearguard protected [it would be pledged], with some help from friends, to have a province of fifty thousand Indians, so well arranged and ordered in good Christianity that it could be said that it all was a monastery. And it would be like that island some say is enchanted, and that the ancients called Antille... where there was a great abundance of all worldly things, and most of the time was spent in having processions and praising God... It would be the same as if God were asked that all the Indians be hidden, distributed in islands of that same pattern and good order, for they would live quietly and peacefully in the service of God... as if in a worldly paradise.

In general the Indians were humble, meek, and poor. Their communities had —and still preserve today (where they have managed to survive)— an equitable basis whose foundation was the communal property and family farming of small parcels of land that barely produced the minimum for domestic consumption and the payment of tribute. The first missionaries managed to gain their following with a great deal of patience and, especially, by defending the Indians from exploitation by Spaniards. Cuevas says that:

> On a certain occasion Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal wished to substitute the Franciscans for other missionaries, but since the Indians refused this [substitution], he ask them the reason and they answered: "because the friars of Saint Francis are poor and barefoot like us, they sit on the ground the way we do, they speak with humility among us, they love us like sons [and this is], the reason we love them and search them out like fathers."

The defense of the Indians is described by Landa in the following manner:

> ...seeing the disorder and false Christianity of the Spaniards who took absolutely all the tribute and everything that they could regardless of the King's laws [and obliged the Indians] to do personal service in all kinds of work... the friars turned to the Audiende [denouncing the Spaniards] and to complain to Spain... and that caused the Spaniards to hate the friars very much, causing them to libel [the priests] and stop hearing their masses... This hatred resulted in the Indians being in good favor with the religious men, in view of the interest taken by these [latter] to gain them liberty, receiving nothing in return; to the extent that [the Indians] did nothing without advising the friars and following their advice. This was cause enough for the Spaniards —out of envy— to say that the priests had done this in order to govern the Indies and enjoy what they had taken away from [the Spaniards].

The missions spread through all the territory of New Spain, particularly in the west and north, not with the character that Vasco de Quiroga had given to his hospitals, but with many similar features. The missionaries took advantage of the traditions of communal organization of the Indians to establish workshops, cultivate fields and create community funds. Aside from their religious tasks, the evangelizers performed administrative duties; they watched over the possessions of the community and endeavored to multiply them. The missionary was the doctor, teacher, adviser, and —as judge— administered justice. We shall mention a few cases. For example, the Dominican Fray Domingo de Santa María, first provincial of the Order in the Mixteca region, first learned the language and then wrote the first *Christian Doctrine* in Mixtec. This friar, in the monastery at Yanhuitlan, Oaxaca, built on the platform of a pagan temple, taught the natives the cultivation of the mulberry tree and the silk worm and encouraged that of the prickly pear cactus for the breeding of cochineal cactus insects to produce dye.

The missionary work pushed the borders of New Spain farther north. Father Kino evangelized the Alta Pimería which covers what is today Sonora, and rode through Upper California, Arizona, and New Mexico, teaching the cultivation of wheat, beans, and vegetables. He introduced fruit, trees, and above all, founded husbandry here with the raising of cows, sheep, goats, horses, and mules. Father Junípero Serra founded a number of missions in Upper California and also made many crops grow. Father Margil de Jesús converted thousands of Indians and founded various missions within the enormous borders of what is now Texas.

This gigantic task of exploration and settlement was not carried out only by missionaries and Spanish settlers. Thousands of Tlaxcallans and Aztecs also participated in the endeavor. Father Agustín de Morfi, in his publication *Diario de Nuevo México* informs that in 1591 Buenaventura de la Paz, grandson of the leader Xicotencatl, together with Fray Juan Terrones and at the head of four hundred Tlaxcallan families, founded the town of San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala near the Villa de Santiago de Saltillo. Buenaventura demanded as condition for this settlement that he be given the same privileges he had enjoyed in Tlaxcala: exeption from tribute and personal service, the right to choose his own authorities, etc. Father Morfi tells us that the Indians settlers "abhorred laziness and their lands are perfectly cultivated, without a single untilled *palmo* [handspan] visible in them. The vegetables, fruits, and milk consummed in Saltillo are due to these Tlaxcallans." They successfully defended both their own town and Saltillo from the Toboso, more dreaded than the Apaches and the Coyame tribes.

In 1598 Captain Antón Martín Zapata and Fray Agustín the Espinosa founded Santa Maria de Parras, a place where Tlaxcallan families engaged in evangelizing and converting the Atritil, Mazamorra, and Nagual Indians. In 1666 the Marquis de Aguayo, with fourteen Tlaxcallans families, founded San Miguel de Aguayo. In 1674 Tlaxcallan families were again settled and the town of San Miguel de Luna was established; later this formed part of Villa de Santiago de Monclova. In 1714 thirty-three Tlaxcallan families, instructed by Viceroy Linares, settled in Nuevo Reino de León. In 1715 they created Nuestra Señora de la Purificación, now part of Montemorelos; in 1731 they settled El Álamo, today Viezca.

The chain of fortresses which assured the safe transport of the minerals of Guanajuato, Jalisco, Aguascalientes, Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua, Sinaloa and Sonora, was possible due to the aid of the Tlaxcallans and Aztecs. No wonder that Jiménez Moreno has written that "it can be affirmed... that the success of the Spanish colonization of northern Mexico is due... to the Tlaxcallan."

But the evangelizing thrust was diminished both by the natural resistence of the conquerors and their descendants, who hated the friars because they hindered the transportation of

Indians to the mines and the haciendas, and especially by the consolidation of the cumbersome structure of the viceregal government, which also turned the Church completely bureaucratic. The *Patronato* [Guardianship] conceded by Pope Julius II, who in his bull *Universalis Ecclesiæ* of July 28, 1508, changed the regular and secular clergy into officials of the Crown, was zealously enforced. García Icazbalceta says:

> . . . the kings of Spain acquired such a strong hand in the ecclesiastical government of America that, outside of that which was purely spiritual, they exercised an authority that seemed to be pontifical. Without their permission it was not possible to build a church, monastery, or hospital; it was even less possible to found a bishopric or parish. The clergy and members of religious orders did not come to the Indies without authorized papers. The sovereigns named bishops and, without waiting confirmation, sent them to administer their dioceses. [The kings] marked the limits of the bishoprics and varied them when they pleased; they controlled the presentation or appointment of every position or benefit, even that of sexton, if they so wished. They severely reproached, recalled to Spain, or exiled any ecclesiastical person, including bishops, who —although often disagreed with the governors— never failed to heed the voice of the king. The sovereigns *received and administrated the tithes, decided who should pay these and how, paying scant attention to the bulls of exemption. They fixed the income of the parishes and increased or diminished all these as they wished.* They intervened in many ecclesiastical processes and with their strong resources could paralyze the action of the ecclesiastical courts or of the prelates. In fine, no decree of the Pope could be executed without the approval or 'pass' of the king. In our early ecclesiastical history for every bull, brief, or writ from Rome, there are a hundred decrees, orders or writs letters dictated by the king or the Council of the Indies.

In order to corroborate what we have said, one must remember the promotion of don Vasco de Quiroga from being the *oidor* of the Second Audience into bishop of Michoacan and above all the pressing situations in which bishops and archbishops were made viceroy. As example may be cited don Pedro Moya y Contreras, don García Guerra, don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, don Marcos Torres de Rueda, don Diego Osorio Escobar y Llamas, Fray Payo Enríquez de Rivera, don Juan Ortega Montañez, the latter occupying this position twice; don Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta, don Alonso de Haro y Peralta, and don Francisco Javier de Lizana y Beaumont. Almost a sixth part of the total number of viceroys named by the monarchs of Hapsburg and Bourbon were clergymen.

As time passed and the XVI century moved on, the Spanish monarchy created in New Spain a complicated bureaucratic organization, whose final end was to extract from Mexico the greatest amount of wealth at the least possible cost. Since Charles V and later his successor Philip II were determined to form an empire, which because of its size created unsolvable problems, the overseas territories were destined to obtain means for the Spanish crown so that it might reach its dynastic aims. Circumstances caused the conquerors and their descendants to be substituted by bureaucrats from Spain. Magistrates substituted the soldiers and the missionaries were succeded by the clergy, all dedicated to support the Empire.

The viceroys were not delegates with absolute power. On the contrary, a complicated mesh was woven around them. It limited one and another and left the final resolution in the hands of the monarch and his Council. The viceroys were faced by the Audiences and, if this were not enough, the ecclesiastical authorities. Viceroy Luis de Velasco 'The Elder' learned of humiliations and bitterness inflicted upon him by the *Visitador* or Inspector Valderrama. Gastón de Peralta, who treated Martín Cortés and his complices in a humane fashion, fell into disgrace; the Marqués de Villa Manrique was the victim of intrigues on the part of the Audience of Guadalajara. Not even men of the quality of Vasco de Quiroga escaped the affront of a judgement of residence in which his enemies presented accusations that were not only nefarious but absurd.

The conflict between the conquerors and their descendants and the newcomers increased with time. An example of this situation is the book written by Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza, son of the conqueror Andrés Dorantes, *Sumaria Relación de las cosas de la Nueva España, con noticia individual de los descendientes legítimos de los conquistadores y primeros pobladores españoles* ('Brief Account of the Things of New Spain, with individual notices of the legitimate descendants of the conquerors and first Spanish settlers'). This title denounces the author's intention, which is no more than the recovery of the rights of the men who arrived first and of their descendants, to enjoy both wealth and power in New Spain. His first investigation is remarkable: of the 1326 Spaniards who took part in the conquest, by the end of the XVI century there remained only 109 children of these, 479 grandchildren, 87 great grandchildren, and 65 sons-in-law: a total of 740 persons living in 196 houses. Many of the conquerors died in action but a considerable number emigrated, discontented because of treatment received at the hands of bureaucrats who "again came with their hands washed to eat, thanks to the sweat and prizes of others," leaving only "the sorrow felt today by those who won these lands and by their children, for those who came after it was conquered and cleared took the best."

In his book *España y Nueva España en la época de Felipe II (Spain and New Spain at the epoch of Philip II)* Miranda correctly says:

> Toward the middle of the reign of Philip II a pronounced change could be seen in the Church of New Spain. The optimistic enthusiasm of the early times was dying, confidence in the possibilities of the Indian was slipping, and a distrustful attitude toward the Indian was adopted. The ecclesiastical body was hardened and filled with routine... The new attitude of the friars toward the Indians —perhaps the most far-reaching in this change— was in large part a result of doctrinairism. Results expected within a short time had been obtained only in a certain proportion: the Indians showed skill in learning things from the Spaniards, but it seemed impossible to completely win their spirit. The Indians never abandoned their old way of life nor renounced their pretensions to independence.

Fray Francisco Toral, bishop of Yucatan, wrote in a letter to Philip II on March 12, 1563:

> I have said all this so Your Majesty know that in place of doctrine, the Indians have had these miserable torments, and instead of helping them to know God, they have made them desperate... What is worse is that they [the Spaniards] assert that without torments [to the Indians] they cannot teach the religion of God.

But if complaints to Emperor Charles V, who had excellent advisers, gave such meager fruit, those that were directed to his son were no more fortunate. One example of this is the distrust and suspicion with which any charity or comprehension of the Indians was viewed.

The 'Prudent King' did not like anything that raised the condition of the Indians. A decree given in Toledo on February 19, 1571, ordered that the use of singers and instruments be curbed. Measures like this brought about the decadence of musical instruction, which led indigenous dignitaries to say in 1738 that "the number of singers was so reduced and they sang so badly that they were the laughingstock and joke of those who heard them." (Petition directed to the King of Spain, requesting the reestablishment of the College of Tlatelolco, cited by Gabriel Saldívar in his book *Historia de la Música en México*, México, 1934).

But things did not stop here. Father Sahagún's enormous historical works stirred up great suspicion in the mind of the king and his advisers. The former finally ordered all Sahagún's writings collected and turned over to the Council of Indies, where they were buried in the archives "about three centuries" as Chavero says. The text of the decree says:

> The King. Don Martín Enríquez, our Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain, and President of our Royal Audience [of New Spain] Through some letters written to us from these provinces we have learned that Fray Bernardino de Sahagún of the Order of Saint Francis has composed a Universal History of the most outstanding things of this New Spain which is a voluminous computation of all the rites, ceremonies, and idolatries that the Indians used in their paganism, written in twelve books in the Mexican [Nahuatl] language. And even though it is understood that Fray Bernardino's zeal had been good and his desire was that his work produce fruit, it has seemed that it is not wise that this book be printed and that by no means should it be [available] in those parts, due to certain causes [worthy] of consideration. Thus we order you that as soon as you receive this our decree you endeavor to take possession of these books with great care and diligence. And without leaving any original or copy of these, send them with good care on the first ocassion [possible] to our Council of Indies so they be examined there. You are advised to prohibit any person from writing things that touch on superstitions and the way of life of those Indians, in any language. This measure is desirable for the service of Our God. Madrid, April 22, 1577. . .

This was not the worst: Father Sahagún was obliged to alter his history. These alterations are vaguely mentioned in the following manner:

> In the ninth book which deals of the Conquest, various deletions were made because some things were included in the narration of this Conquest that were badly written. . . and others were concealed that should not have been concealed. For this reason, in this year of one thousand five hundred eighty five, I amended this books, and therefore it is written in three columns. The first is in the Indian language, as they pronounced it and as it was written in the other books. The second column is a correction of the first both in words and in opinions. The third is in Spanish, translated from the corrections in the second.

The 'correction' is in reality a rectification imposed upon Sahagún in benefit of the conquerors. But he cleverly evaded this by leaving in the firts column, in Nahuatl, the direct version given him by the Indians, mocking this way the moral coercion of which he had been victim, and thus saving historical truth. Rightly so, Sahagún insinuated in the language imposed upon him by political and religious censorship the profound content of the Nahuatl version, stressing its lingüistic value but leaving the historical value clear:

> This work is like a sieve to bring to light all the words of this language —Nahuatl— with its unique and metaphorical meanings, and all its forms of speech, most of them taken of its *good and bad traditions of ancient times*. . . [Italics ours]. This has cost me a thousand gray hair and with the infinite toil that I have dedicated to it, those who wish will be able to learn easily a great deal about ancient tradition and the entire vocabulary of these Mexican people.

The truth is that things were not going better in Spain itself. After the apogee of the Erasmian period and the protection of the great theologians by the Emperor Charles a wave of terror appeared that made Vives (surely remembering that his grandparents had died at the stake accused of being Jews) write to Erasmus: "We live in a difficult period in which it is not possible to either talk or remain quiet without danger."

Great spirits were the subject of a persecution that was the fruit of intolerance. He who was suspected of dissent ended in jail, in the torture chamber, or on the stake. The Archbishop of Toledo, for instance, was the Dominican Fray Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, a prestigious theologian, a favorite of Charles V, to whom he administered the last rites. This man enjoyed great fame toward the beginning of the reign of Philip II, but, slandered by his enemies, cruelly mistreated, and submitted to an endless trial, he died in prison. Harsh prison life was not unknown to men like the Carmelite Saint John of the Cross; his escape from prison was due to the aid of Saint Therese whose death left him in the hands of his enemies who stripped him his position and rank and who banished him to Peñuela, in Jaen, where he died in solitude and oblivion on December 14, 1591.

The same Saint Therese, who was later to become patronness of Spain, was on the verge of being persecuted, possibly because of her Jewish origins, as is affirmed by Américo Castro. When her spiritual autobiograpgy appeared in 1573 it was denounced before the Inquisition which took ten years in deciding whether it was to be read or not. Her book *Concepts of Divine Love* was on the Index. On the Index also appeared the *Guide of Sinners* by Fray Luis de Granada. The Apostle of Andalusia, Juan de Ávila, a great preacher, was summoned before the Inquisition. He was saved thanks to the stern intervention of the Inquisitor Manrique who liberated him and proved him to be innocent.

Fray Luis de León was no more fortunate. Suspected of being a Jew, because he preferred to translate the Bible from Hebrew instead of Latin and because of having lent his cousin Isabel Osorio, a nun, his translation of the *Song of Songs* he was jailed for five long years —from 1572 to 1576— in the prison of the Inquisition of Valladolid, a frightful place, where several other persons were locked up, among them Gaspar de Grajal, a great friend of Fray Luis de León. The tribunal of that city, in order to prove the Jewish origin of the great poet and thinker, ordered one of his grandparents exhumed. His remains were burned publicly for "having read Hebrew books, having made gestures like a Jew, and eaten on Saturdays meat cut up and cooked by Jews on Friday afternoon." His maternal grandmother had also been condemned by the Inquisition of Cuenca in 1512. Unable to punish the deceased Juan de Valdés —among his works is the famous *Diálogo de la Lengua*— his leading disciple the poet Carnesecchi was sent to the stake.

Things reached the point where Íñigo López de Recalde —in the world and in the Church known as Saint Ignatius of Loyola— was carefully watched by the Inquisition, suspected of being 'illuminated.' He was forced to journey to Paris in order to carry on his work as founder of the Company of Jesus, which he established in 1534 together with Diego de Láinez, Francis Xavier, and Alonso Salmerón. With some difficulties he managed to have the Pope approve of the Order in 1540. The Dominicans Melchor Cano and Alonso de la Fuente accused the members of the Jesuit of being 'illuminated.' It was an intolerant age: Lope de Vega was to insult Góngora for his Jewish origins:

I will smear my verses with bacon, Gongorilla,
so you won't be able to bite them.

The clerical body in New Spain was formed of two different branches: the secular and the regular. The first followed the Old World norms of forming ecclesiastical provinces governed by a bishop or archbishop, each area divided into a number of parishes. The second, the regular clergy, namely the monastic orders, dispersed throughout the entire territory of the vicerealm, organizing numerous missions, centers of religious instruction, and of ever-increasing economic activity. All of these competed with the parishes, located in the great centers of Spaniards and creoles. The bishops tried to control the friars and these constantly disobeyed. Grave conflicts often broke out such as that between the Bishop of Puebla Juan de Palafox y Mendoza and the Jesuits, at the end of which the bishop was sent back to Spain. But the hierarch prevailed in the long run: in 1767 by order of the monarch Charles III all the members of the Company of Jesus were expelled from the empire.

The result was the non-fulfillment of the Franciscan Utopia. Terentius' statement "I am a man and nothing human is alien to me" was echoed by the great humanists in the first years of Spanish colonization. It was put into other words by Father Sahagún: "It is true that all these people are brethren, who spring from the trunk of Adam just as we do. They are our neighbors, whom we should love as ourselves." Sahagún's cry was smothered by a landslide of interests of *encomenderos* and government officials. García Icazbalceta spoke the truth when he stated that that which was not done in favor of the Indians in the sixtheenth century was never done at all. The quick fusion desired by the missionaries traveled long, slow, tortuous, and contradictory roads when viceregal society devised the eighteen castes which divided it, discriminating against those who could not prove 'purity of blood.' About 1570, the Church had become an instrument for the preservation of the Empire, attacked on all its European borders and turned by unsurmountable contradictions which led it to its ruin. Philip II ordered the establishment of the Inquisition in New Spain and this institution, actually a political tribunal, began to function in 1571. The resolutions of the Council of Trent, which tried to stem the Protestant tide, caused a series of measures known as the canons of the Counter Reformation. In order to make them suitable to the viceroyalty of New Spain, the Second Mexican Council met in the capital in 1565. Their work was continued by the Third Council celebrated in 1585, whose measures were legal precepts until the Independence of Mexico.

The Church, who was responsible for religious, educational, and charitable activities, rapidly began to monopolize great wealth, a part of which was made up of mortgages on rural and urban property. The Church in this way became the banker of viceregal society. Objections against its economic power began as early as the middle of the XVI century.

THE GUILDS

The first artisans' guilds in Mexico were formed during the first half of the xvi century. Following European tradition, the artisans worked out the statutes of their respective guilds which, in order to have the exclusive right to practice a trade and sell the product of their labor, had to be authorized by the municipal authority. The guild organization procured protection of its affiliated members by persecuting disloyal competition and insuring a market for its products. The statutes carefully fixed salaries, lenght of the work day, and prices or finished goods; they indicated the quality of raw materials, weight and dimensions of the piece, instruments to be used, and even the time of year when certain activities should be carried out.

The Spaniards tried to implant in America all those dispositions found in Spain that they considered to their advantage. One of these was the establishment of guild ordinances, adapting them to the special conditions of a new environment. Orozco y Berra, in his *Relation of the Conquerors*, cites Bartolomé González, Alonso Hernando, Francisco Gutiérrez, Juan García, and a man named Lorenzo, as blacksmiths by trade. This document states that the City Council, meeting in the house of Cortés in Coyoacan, issued the first Ordinance of Blacksmiths as early as March 15, 1524.

The Ordinance of Silk Workers followed in 1542, that of embroiderers in 1546, of rope and bridle workers in 1550, gilders and painters in 1557, shoemakers in 1560. Guilds became organized and were officially established in later years. Some viceroys, such as Luis de Velasco the first, ratified twenty-five guilds; Martín Enríquez de Almanza, thirty-seven; Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, twenty. Santiago Cruz says:

> Judging from the compendium of ordinances made by Licenciado [Lawyer] Francisco del Barrio Lorenzot in the xviii century in accord with the dates when they were confirmed or ratified by the viceroy, a total of two hundred twenty-three ordinances were issued. . .

There was also an indigenous antecedent of guilds in Mexico, centuries old. Sahagún tells us about the most important crafts:

> The featherworker. . . is accomplished, skillful, ingenious in his art. . . he is diligent in arranging [the feathers] with care; the goldworker [is] skilled of hand. . .; the blacksmith. . . is energetic, dexterous, wise in his work. . .; the lapidary [is]. . . well informed in his art; the stone cutter. . . of skilled hands. . . accomplished. . . sculptures [in all types] of stone; the scribe. . . a craftsman, an artist. . . a painter who dissolves colors, grinds pigments, uses colors. . . an applier of colors. . . makes shadows, draws gardens, paints flowers, creates works of art. . .; the singer. . . who cries out, clear sounds. . . who raises [the voice], who lowers it, who composes, who sets to music, originates [songs]; the tailor. . . skilled of hand. . . sews. . . fits well. . . sews firmly. . .; the spinner stretches [the thread] delicately. . . shapes it into a skein. . . is persevering and diligent. . .; the weaver. . . presses down [the cloth she is weaving]. . . compresses it, beats it down. . . weaves [well]. . .; the potter. . . a skilled man with clay, a judge of clay. . . a fabricator, a knowing man, an artist. . . skilled with his hands. . .; the woman weaver is. . . able and skilled in her craft. . .; the woman spinner. . . forms a thread of even thickness. . .; the seamstress knows well how to apply fine work to all she sews. . .; the dyer of rabbit-hair cloth [wool]. . . sells the [material]. . . well prepared, harmonious. . .

Not only in Mexico-Tenochtitlan, capital of the Triple Alliance, but in all important cities, artisans lived in a special section. Each craft had its protecting god, in whose honor great feasts were made. There was even a market where craftsmen were organized: "...in all the markets and public places in this city of Mexico, every day many masters and journeymen in all the trades, wait until they are hired for their journeywork" writes Cortés in his letters.

The other antecedent for guilds in Mexico is European. It will be remembered that in Greece and Rome corporations of artisans were formed to defend their interests. But it was not until the Middle Ages that the guild began to define its character and appeared in England, southern Germany, and northern France, as early as the IX century. The first time guilds were formed according to regulations was in Germany, Flanders, and France in the XII century. In the XIII there were guilds in Provence, Montpellier, Marseilles, Aquitaine, and Roussillon. About the middle of this century Stephen de Boileau, Provost of Paris, describes the corporative organization in his *Livre des Métiers*, where he indicates the three fundamental categories in the guild: master workman, trained worker or journeyman, and apprentice.

The development of the economy of the cities, which basically determined the constitution and subsequent development of the guilds, took place later in Spain. The Catholic Kings and their descendant Doña Juana la Loca directed a series of decrees in which they ordered that all similar trades within the kingdom produce in identical manner and in the same conditions, stating in detail the operations of their production. The municipalities were given the authority to sanction the transgressors. Thus ordinances for wool-dressers and silk weavvers came into existence in 1500 in Madrid (?), in Seville in 1527, and in Granada in 1532. Besides master artisans, officials or journeymen, and apprentices, some guilds designated foremen, mayors, treasurers, and masters, who were in charge of examinations, saw that the ordinances were strictly carried out, and checked the internal discipline of the guild and methods of fabrication. They visited workshops and stores, and meted out punishments and fines. They managed guild funds. These men could be chosen only by the master workers and their term of office lasted one year.

At the beginning of the XVI century a prohibition that was to last various centuries was decreed. It reached New Spain where its limitations were imposed by an unfair reality. No one could be admitted as an apprentice who was "of bad race, Jew or new Christian, nor of any other imperfect origin," nor anyone who had been condemned by a tribunal of the Inquisition, nor black slaves nor their children. This was the fruit of the expulsion of Jews and Moors in Spain, of dealings with negroes, and a result of the Counter Reformation.

But in Mexico a different reality was imposed upon these resolutions. The conquerors and their immediate descendants did not come as artisans but as masters, in order to enjoy the toil of the Indians and the riches of the conquered land. We have already cited the testimony of the first chroniclers, who speak about the advanced productive indigenous technology and of the rapid assimilation of new technologies brought by the conquerors and settlers.

In the middle of the XVI century, Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, chronicler of the city of Mexico, tells how the use and subsequent trade in Indian textiles still persevered in those years:

> The richest trade is in cloth, and this of many different types. [These cloths] are of cotton, some thinner than others; white, black, and of all colors, large, small, some for bed [spreads], damasklike, very rich and fine;

> others for capes, or for hangings, others for *zarahuellas* [breeches introduced by the Spaniards to replace the *maxtlatl* or indigenous breechclout], shirts, sheets, toques, table cloths, handkerchiefs, and many other things. The cloths were woven richly with colors, and even after the coming [of the Spaniards] some were made with threads of gold and silk in different colors. Those that are sold worked [brocaded] have the design woven of rabbit hair and feathers of very small birds, an amazing thing to see. They also sell mantles for winter made of feathers, or rather, of down, some white and others black and others of different colors; they are very soft and warm; they look good on the bed of any gentleman. [The Mexicans] sell yarn of rabbit hair, cotton cloth, fibers, white skeins and [skeins dyed] in colors.

Those who governed New Spain soon found themselves faced by a tremendous contradiction. On one hand, the existence of a tight net of ordinances insuring for the Spaniards and their descendants the monopoly of the most highly qualified and best remunerated work, and, on the other hand, the pressing needs of a population —capable of producing abundant monetary resources— that created a strong demand for goods and services. The Spanish trade monopoly impeded the opportune fullfilment of this demand given the slowness of supply made periodically by the fleets.

Express conditions of the ordinances were evaded by necessity. For example, in 1527 one of these stated that no one "...dare to have made any gold jewel or gold disk by the Indian silversmiths of this New Spain, now or at any time, under pain of losing all his property to the His Majesty's Treasury and perpetual banishment from this New Spain."

Genaro Estrada mentions the Ordinances of the Gilders and Painters Guild of 1686 which commanded "That no painter may receive an apprentice who is not Spanish..." The Ordinances of Calenderers of 1605 were more detailed: "Examinations may not be taken by Indians, *mestizos* (half breeds), negro, or mulatto..." The Ordinances of Wheat and Flour of 1553 declare: "That in order to avoid the ills which come from mill being run by Negroes or Mulatto slaves, the owners of the mills must be obliged to keep in them a Spaniard in charge, to keep the necessary accounts and management, being just to all."

Rules governing school teachers in 1601 state "...that he who is a teacher cannot be negro, mulatto, nor Indian, but [must be] old Spanish Christian, in his life and customs, of which he must inform the *Regidor* [Councilman]." Blacksmiths and veterinarians, in their statutes of 1709, established: "That only master workers may have apprentices, and these must be clean Spaniards, without blemish, presenting their act of Baptism, since this trade is a noble one." The most powerful and richest of the guilds, that of silversmiths, gold-beaters, and gold and silver wire-drawers, says in the statutes of 1746:

> ...not receive as apprentice any person of mixed blood, nor can he be admitted, unless it be conforming to information before the Judge Inspector, that he is Spanish, of good and laudable customs; and with this declaration of the Judge Inspector, before whom it be made, if these qualities [be true], the patron may admit [the apprentice] and not by any other manner. (Vázquez, Genaro).

But in reality the enormous need for workers forced people to bypass laws not adapted to them. As Carrera Stampa has aptly put it, the number of artisans who could come from Spain was not great because the expulsion of the Jews and later that of the Moors:

> ...left the Spanish artisans such a wide and advantageous field that few decided to risk coming to the Americas

> to continue their work as artisans... Furthermore, it was not logical to think that Spaniards —a privileged caste— would be dedicated to manual work when Indian and even Negro labor was abundant. The Spaniards did not work with their own hands in agriculture, in building, in mining, or in cattle raising, so why should they do it in manufactured articles when they had a hierarchical superiority (as the did) over other racial groups? No, it is not credible that, in a country where labor could be obtained by a simple command of authority by means of the odious and feared distribution of the Indians, people belonging to a privileged class would work by their own resources.

Viceroy Antonio Sebastián de Toledo, Marquess of Mancera, said in his Instructions to his successor Pedro Nuño de Colón, Duke of Veragua, in 1673: "The craftsmen's guild —artisans of New Spain— includes much of the people, and except for some masters, the rest and almost all the journeymen, are of different mixtures..." (De la Portilla, Anselmo).

Resistence stemmed from the very viceregal authority. At the moment of the guilds' highest peak, the Attorney-General of the Royal Audience, in the revision of ordinances of potters of September 25, 1681, manifested the need of great liberality for those who were not Spaniards:

> ...it states that the fourth of said laws is null and void since it prohibits Indians, Chinese, Negroes, and Mulattos, and other persons of mixed races from being examined as masters in said craft. It also prohibits them from possessing stores of their own; they are only to practice their trade as trained workmen in the establishments of Spanish or mestizo masters. This is opposed to the ability and natural skill which [the Indians] possess in learning these trades and becoming skilled craftsmen to the good of the Republic. Furthermore, in regard to Indians and Chinese, His Majesty has proclaimed through repeated royal decrees that [Indians] be treated like Spaniards and free vassals, which they actually are. Furthermore [it is to be noted], that *half of the aldermen of this noble city are Indians and caciques.* Not many years ago we saw that in Spain a Negro was examined in the noble art of fencing by His Most Serene Highness and that San Benito de Palermo, a Black, because of his virtues, was canonized a saint. And in Flanders another Negro was awarded military honors, even that of general. Other examples could be cited in which [Negroes] have occupied honorable positions in different fields because they have proved remarkable in them. Therefore there is no just reason for denying then the right to be examined as masters and to own stores or to practice a mechanical art such as that of pottery. ... The persons who possess the above qualities will never be elected inspectors, due to the reluctance of Spaniards in recognizing their superiority.

The need of qualified labor caused the Spaniards to ignore many obstacles since the beginning of the viceregal period. Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy, told his successor:

> I have endeavored to have Indian artisans work in all the trades in this republic, thus there is a large number of them. These artisans are ordered to not practice their crafts if they have not been examined according to [the examinations] made in the Spanish republic. (De la Portilla).

The ordinances of trimmers and garnishers of March 20, 1572, dispose: "That each year the inspectors visit the shops to see how bad they are, so that they become incensed and [therefore] not fail to make this visit, the penalty being twenty pesos." (Carrera Stampa).

The statutes of gilders and painters of April 30, 1557, state:

> No Indian may sell said articles of painting, or sculpture, unless he be examined [to see] if he knows his trade perfectly... and he is not to be charged for the examination and, if he is not examined, he is prohibited from painting or carving figures of saints. He is to be allowed to paint, on small wooden pieces, flowers, animals, birds, petals, and other designs, in order to prevent bad painters from fabricating saints. (Carrera Stampa)

Here we see that the first limitation is of commercial order: the Indians must not sell their paintings, exclusive right of the shop's master, who profited with the well-paid work. The second is the impediment regarding the painting of saints, a measure inspired not only by esthetic reason but as a safeguard against the usual practice of the Indians of slipping into graphic arts —sculpture, architecture, and in this case painting— symbols of their ancient religion. Someone has said that in those distant times reredos or altar-pieces, of long tradition, were born. The ordinances of sackcloth weavers of July 11, 1771, indicated:

> In agreement with the request of our senior attorney, the Indians remain free and exempt from these laws. They are not to be prohibited from weaving their fabrics, as has been done in Texcoco and other areas, not taking the Indians into account because of the prices at which the textiles sell. According to these laws, the Indians] are not to be prevented from seeking their own means of supporting themselves and of paying the royal tribute. (Carrera Stampa).

Earlier we mentioned how the chieftain Don Martín of the town of Huaquechula managed to have his vassals learn the weaving technique on pedal looms and also how they reproduced this loom and used it to make the first sackcloths used by the missionaries in Mexico.

Everyone who has seen the remains of the monastery of Huexotzingo admires its magnitude and beauty. Few know, however, that and Indian architect intervened in its construction. All we know about him is that his name was Bernardino and that as a child, attending the religious services of the chapel of Saint Joseph of the Natives in the Saint Francis Monastery in Mexico, came to know Fray Pedro de Gante, who taught him Latin and the rudiments of drawing and calculus. Then Gante had him learn the cutting and carving of stones and the planning of arches and capitals. Bernardino was one of the first pupils of the School of the Holy Cross of Tlatelolco, where he began to study in 1536, and where he distinguished himself in rhetoric and logic and was an excellent student of painting. In 1537 Bernardino met in this school Fray Juan de Alameda, a noted architect who came to New Spain with Fray Juan de Zumárraga in 1528. Bernardino became Fray Juan de Alameda's companion and thus was completed his formation as an architect. We know that Bernardino carved with his own hands the stones of the vault of the presbitery and the Franciscans symbols of the church façade, whose cords remind us of the serpents of ancient cults. When Fray Juan de Alameda went to Tula in 1539 to direct the building of the church there (as in other places, Tula's church was erected on the base a pre-Hispanic pyramid), Bernardino went with him, and there was in charge of the plans and drawings; he surveyed the land, set the building site, selected the workmen, found the best stone workers, and insured the water supply.

It is a known fact that when the beams of the Cathedral of Mexico were to be painted, the Spanish painter Andrés de Concha requested the aid of the *tlacuilos* or native painters of Tlatelolco, Texcoco, and the city of Mexico. He used Diego de León as interpreter in order to make himself understood by the Nahuatl-speaking natives. These painters also worked in the chapel of the *Santo Sacrificio* of the Cathedral. On April 27, 1600, the viceroy ordered that "in view of the fact that" the painting of Our Lady that is being done in the Cathedral, under the direction of Luis Vargas, "is not finished, he will be aided by the Indians called Pablo and Baltasar, because they are the only ones" who can help finish the painting. This same viceroy ordered on May 14, 1600, at the request of the Jesuits, that "the Indian named Lucas of Tarascan nationality. . . who teaches music to the rest" return to San Luis de la Paz to continue "teaching the children."

Torquemada tells us how the Indians dominated the European sculpture technique:

> . . . There exist fine sculptors of images and in this town of Santiago I have a native artist, an Indian, whose name is Miguel Mauricio. Among the finest [sculptors] he is remarkable, and his works are much more esteemed than that of some Spanish sculptors. Aside from being a good artisan he is a clean living man.

Toussaint coments: "In 1610 Manuel Biera appeared. He was a sculptor who took as assistant an Indian helper by the name of Juan Lázaro to aid him in his work in payment of a loan for forty pesos. . ."

The Indians who joined the guilds, those who had rights in urban centers, and especially in the large cities, enjoyed a privileged situation in contrast to the immense rural masses, which had been despoiled of their best lands by the conquerors and colonists. Their misfortunes did not end there but increased under the terrible conditions which included free labor, imposed by the victors. One must remember that when the Conquest was consummated, the exploitation of labor had no more limits than the greed of the conquerors who, throughly convinced of their role as *teules*, considered the natives as beasts of burden, and their pitiless exploitation triumphed over the repeated edicts of the Spanish monarchs. As soon as the royal edicts were published in New Spain they were nullified by the game played by different interests and the corrupt viceregal bureaucracy.

Finally, toward the end of the XVI century, came the *repartimiento* of workers. The number of laborers destined to each enterprise, the hours of labor and type of service, and their remuneration were fixed. This was assigned to judges named directly by the viceroy who established a permanent quota of 4% on mining, the most important economic activity. The same percentage was set on public urban services and farming, except at the time of sowing and reaping in which the tax was raised to a 10%. The *caciques* or local rulers were put in jail if they did not furnish the fixed number of peons on time, and this pressure was to be felt even within trades such as carpentry, masonry, etc. On the other hand, any type of work, rude or elementary as it may be, demands some specialization, the control and application of certain techniques. The personnel furnished by the caciques always alternated in shifts. But the Spanish and Creole miners, farmers, cattlemen, and craftsmen, struggled against a mass of workers who were forver learning the basic types of work, and furthermore, had no interest in learning any technology, no matter how elementary. On the contrary, this mass put up a passive resistance to the brutal forms of exploitation of which it was the victim.

Conditions that could not be attained by the long and persistent struggle of the missionaries or by the royal decrees were brought about by the reality of a situation that forced the ruling group to substitute the *rapartimiento* or labor draft by direct contract or hiring. The latter system insured a *permanent* labor force, capable of assimilating techniques that raised the efficiency and yield; in this way the individual hiring of workmen became more frequent. Toward the end of the XVI century when Gaspar de Zúñiga, Conde de Monterrey, was viceroy and the labor draft still existed, hiring of hands in mining, farming and woolen mills became more common and was especially notable in sugar planting and sugar mills. Thus we find out that the Indian Pedro Hernández, a native of Cuernavaca, "sugar master," was paid "a high salary aside from the maintenance of his own person as if he were a Spaniard, and that of his wife, children, and family . . ." in the sugar mill at Amilpas del Marquesado (of Cortés), May 10, 1599.

The expansion of mining exploitation which largely conditioned that of the farming and cattle raising haciendas, increased direct hiring at the same time that the system of indebting the workers in order to subject them to the management took wider hold in a parallel fashion. The lack of operators in the mines caused the *sonsaques* or enticements. These *sonsaques* were denounced, for example by Diego Fernández de Velasco, who in the name of his wife Francisca Infante y Samaniego, complained to the Viceroy on August 13, 1599, that the miners of San Luis and Sichu took away the Indians from his *encomienda*, either by the offer of gratifications or by force.

Actually, the old system had come to a crisis when the Law of Audience was proclaimed on June 30, 1580. This law sanctioned the system of debts in the hiring of workers, a measure which the Viceroy Conde de Monterrey approved by issuing on August 25, 1599, a New Order of treatment and payment of the Indians of the *repartimientos* or labor draft of New Spain in which, taking into account —it said— the abuses suffered by the Indians, it reminded the people that forced labor of these Indians had been established not for the special benefit of miners and farmers but for the general welfare.

Another reason was presented. On August 19, 1631, King Philip IV sent a decree from Madrid to Viceroy Marqués de Cerralvo ordering him to suppress the labor draft of Indians. Probably the royal order was not obeyed immediately. The viceroy summoned the most outstanding personalities in New Spain in order to hear their opinions and it was not until December 31 of this same year that he ordered that from January 1, 1633, the Indians were to be liberated so "that they serve those who offer them the best treatment and wages or engage them in the best way," except for the mines, whose service should be attended to with permission only by direct order from the King. The truth is that the exploitation of the mines was carried out by salaried workers, as Viceroy Marqués de Villena tells us, when he recognizes in a document of January 31, 1642, that these "salaried workers are the main nerve of the mine material," who were paid "a salary of four *reales* [50 cents of a Spanish dollar] a day plus the usual maintenance."

A new industry, begun by Hernando Cortés, had appeared: that of sugar cane and its derivatives, honey and 'wines.' Sugar cane plantations extended through the *Marquesado del Valle*, and also in the region that is now Morelos, in the surroundings of Jalapa and Orizaba in Veracruz, and in the Province of Michoacan. The industry prospered due to price rises. Mills were run by hydraulic force or by animals. Philip II understood the economic importance of this new activity and, almost at the end of his reign, recommended in instructions to Viceroy Conde de Monterrey in Aranjuez, March 20, 1596, that the establishment of sugar mills be increased, but that the owners employ Negroes and not Indians. The viceroy answered the monarch on August 4, 1597, saying that he believed it "more necessary to favor the mines and wheat fields"; that the sugar mill owners did not want to buy Negroes because they were accustomed to the free or miserably paid work of the Indians. The 'Prudent King' insisted again, as did his successor.

In this business of the sugar industry the viceregal authorities adopted the conservative point of view of the New Spanish miners and farmers who, benefitted by a regime of constantly rising prices, did not wish to diversify or increase consumption nor contemplate the distant possibility —in view of Spanish commercial politics— of exporting excess products. The viceregal state did everything it could to discourage the construction of sugar mills and the extension of the cultivation of sugar cane, and refused to facilitate opportunely the labor needed for these enterprises. In an order of August 19, 1599, Viceroy Conde de Monterrey prohibited the use of more land than that already sown for the cultivation of sugar cane, since he considered it more judicious to plant wheat and corn, for both of these were in high demand and their prices had gone up.

THE FACTORIES

When Tenochtitlan-Tlatelolco was finally conquered on August 13, 1521, Hernán Cortés launched two enormous enterprises: the first was to extend the conquest to new and wider territories and the second, organize life in the new society. Both were connected and demanded an immediate attention to all types of consumer goods, due to the disastrous disorganization caused by the war, the new needs of the conquerors, and the enormous difficulties of importing goods from Spain.

The Conqueror, in 1522, imported from Spain sugar cane, mulberry trees, and grape vines, according to what was reported by Antonio de Herrera. Cortés also asked the Emperor, in his letter of October 15, 1524, that each ship from Europe bring plants and useful animals for the new colony. Cortés showed in these acts an ample vision of the future, while forgetting for the moment the mirage of precious metals.

The voyage between Spain and Mexico was long and the limited capacity of the ships —about 200 tons— obliged Spanish merchants who came to America to transport merchandise which was light and costly. Soon there was a great demand for European goods which gradually had to be satisfied by local production. Thus local factories were founded. Therefore, their continued existence from the first third of the XVI century to the dawn of Mexico's Independence in spite of suspensions and prohibitions.

Mendizábal feels that Cortés himself was an active organizer of manufacturing enterprises and one of the first industrialists. Mendizábal deduces this from an inventory of the possessions of the Conqueror carried out by order of Charles V after the former's death, a document which states that at the mill of Tlaltenango (near Cuernavaca) "there is a fulling mill" (dedicated to dressing and fulling cloth), and a "factory" near the fulling mill with "two looms for *jerga* (coarse cloth), well set up with their material. . ., two looms for cloth, not set up as yet. . ., twenty-one lathes for spinning wool with their spindles and iron handles. . ."

Need created different factories, mills, and plants: aside from those dedicated to the elaboration of wool, silk, and cotton, others were established to fill the needs in foodstuffs, pork and bacon shops, bakeries, plus pottery workshops. These appeared in the first years of the new regime and before or at least together with the crafts workshops. Owners of the former profited by political privileges that permitted Spanish conquerors and colonizers to make use of both the natural resources of the country and of the labor of the vanquished people, in spite of all royal dispositions contrary to these practices.

Spanish artisans organized the textile works since the Indians were not acquainted with the elaboration of raw materials for cloth, except for cotton. Zerón Zapata says:

> Among the people who came later, those who stayed and lived in Puebla were from the Archbishopric of Toledo de Alcarria began the workshop now called mills, to make woolen cloth, friezes, sackcloth, and other woolen textiles. This was because little [cloth] was brought from Spain, and as there were many people, they used [animal] skins and cotton cloths that were not finished [as well] as they were later. And for these mills they made houses with all the necessary things as their disposal and all the artisans needed for this work.

As Bazant tells us, Francisco Peñafiel established a mill in Puebla in 1532 "to make woolen cloth like that of Segovia, bringing with him techniques of the most advanced Spanish city of its time in the production of this cloth. . ."

The mill had the advantage of not being bound by guild ordinances and thus could organize the work more profitably, buy raw materials wholesale, and benefit by forced labor of 'personal service' first and later by slave labor. In this way it could compete in the expanding market of New Spain with lower prices than those of the cloth created by local artisans or of costly imported textiles.

The enormous profits gained by the mills and factories led their owners to use the most brutal methods to insure a labor force and thus exploit the people without mercy. In vigorous terms, Vázquez de Espinoza describes working condition of the wretched Indians who worked in these mills:

> In this city [Puebla] there are great textile mills which produce large quantities of fine cloth, coarse cloth, and of other textiles which bring in good profits, since this trade is widely extended in the land, and even those who possess mills are like pagans within their so-called Christianity. In order to maintain their mills they keep people indentured to work the cloth and other textiles. They employ people who are dedicated and paid to deceive the innocent and poor. When they set their eyes on some Indian from out of town, with wiles and pretexts, seeing he carries comething on his back, they pay him and then lead him to the factory. Once he is there the trap has been set and the wretch will never leave his prison until he dies and is ready to be buried. In this manner they have caught and deceived many Indians who are married and have children who thus are abandoned for 20 years or more. The wife and children never hear from him again. If he wants to escape, this is impossible due to the precautions of the guards at the gate. These Indians are made to card, spin, weave,

and perform other tasks in order to produce the different textiles made there. From these the owners obtain great profits through un just and illicit means.

Don Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain, created the first laws for weavers of wool, both artisans and mill workers. These were valid for a good many years. But measures of protection for the Indians were constantly ignored. We have heard Father Mendieta's heated protest:

> What should the Indian do if he sees so much laxity in the execution of justice if, although the king orders that the doors of the mills be kept open and not closed, only when the *oidor* and *visitador* [inspectors] are present are they kept open, and as soon as the officials turn their backs [the mills] are closed as before; or at least, when they are opened as a formality, a man on horseback carrying a lance or javelin guards the door, and watches and prevents the Indian from leaving (yet urging him to enter. . .). The owners of these mills are the greatest thieves because they assault and steal free men and then lock them up, keeping them captive as in the land of the Moors.

Actually the decadence of the guilds of Medieval times began in Europe before the discovery and colonization of America, but this was precipitated by the affluence of precious metals flowing from our hemisphere, and the enormous demand for merchandise in the New World. The old family workshop grew, the number of apprentices increased, and as a result there was also an increase in a labor force that did not need the old knowledge of the artisans, thanks to simpler techniques and the use of machines. Louis XI of France sold a degree of master craftsman to anyone who contributed considerable sums to the royal treasury and thus could become a patron without knowing the secrets of his craft. The master who obtained his degree this way, without going through a long and complicated period of apprenticeship, was frequently a rich merchant who loaned money and raw materials to the artisans who, living in the suburbs or country, worked with his family; in this way guild ordinances were violated more and more. In the textile regions of Normandy, Picardy, and Flanders the transformation of the craft workshop into a factory was quick. King Henry III in 1581 and 1597 granted franchises to eight manufacturers.

As Henry See, citing Sir William Ashley, states, during the same period in England the clothier bought the wool, had it woven, fulled, and dyed, paying the artisans for each step of its elaboration, and then sold the finished product to the merchant. Bazant cities Hume who refers to Spain:

> The same region where the insurrection of the Commoners took place, twenty-five years after its defeat, reached the zenith of its prosperity. Medina del Campo. . . became the center of wool trade. . . Toledo, Segovia, and Valladolid became active industrial cities. Spanish life experienced a profound change. People fled from the country to the city, where salaries rose with amazing speed. Workers in Toledo quintuplicated between 1525 and 1550. In some cities, beggers and vagabonds were obliged to work in the factories. The wool industry extended south to Granada; the silk industry north to Seville and from there to Toledo. . . The small master artisan gave way to the capitalistic industrialist who employed many hundreds of workers. [And Bazant adds:] From the above it is evident that the factory was the last word and was precisely that was imported to New Spain, overlooking the small artisan's workshop. The number of inmigrants in Puebla [the Mexican textile center] who came from regions known for their cloth production is remarkable.

The mills were persecuted by monopolist merchants of Seville and due to strong pressure on their part they were closed for a time, a fact that caused great displeasure in New Spain.

Viceroy Luis de Velasco II ordered that these mills renew their activities, which they did on June 1, 1590. Immediately the price of wool rose with the hearty approval of farmers and sheep ranchers; employment increased and the price of cloth went down. The price of imported cloth was lowered because native competition forced merchants to reduce it and the price of domestic cloth dropped also due to its abundance. Revenue in the Royal Treasury increased and the pace of the country's economy improved.

The brutal treatment of the Indians and the castes continued until the end of Spanish rule. As late as October 4, 1805, Viceroy José Iturrigaray decreed new laws for the mills, proving that former laws had not been enforced.

PRE-HISPANIC TRADE

Gibson claims that "Tenochtitlan in the XVI century became the capital of a recently conquered region —the last military feats of the triple alliance, before the arrival of the Spaniards— that extended it to the frontiers of Guatemala. The post-Classic period was the extension of urbanism." The same author, basing his opinion on investigations by Sears, Palerm, Deevey, and Tolstoy, feels that an extended and productive farming system based on the invention of the *chinampa* was the economic base of the Classic civilization. On the other hand, the fact that resources were obtained in much slower proportion than the population growth was probably the cause of the fall of some Mesoamerican civilizations and the abandonment of their capital cities; this was true, at least in part, in Teotihuacan. But Tenochtitlan, unlike the sacred city of Teotihuacan, overcome obstacles of this type thanks to the extension of its dominion and the growth of commerce with each of the new territories.

The creation of great urban centers contributed to a consumer growth in extraordinary proportions and also to its diversification. The formation of cities was also an expression of hierarchism in society, of work division, and consequently, of the formation of classes. The local market grew rapidly. In order to understand the magnitude of its transactions, we need only remember the amazement of the conquerors who, like Cortés and Bernal Díaz del Castillo, left written records of the extensive trade carried out in the country's capital.

The development of trade is well illustrated by the fact that the specialization of the *pochteca* or merchants had fallen into sixty nine different categories: there were those who dealt in slaves, metals, precious stones (jade, turquoise, and alabaster), tobacco, cacao, animals, *amatl* or bark paper, maize, ceramics, cotton, amber, different types of shells, cochineal and other dyes, *copal* incense, rock crystal, pyrite, vanilla, the red *achiotl* coloring, salt, etc. Clavijero wrote:

> As [the Aztecs] acquired power by means of weapons, their trade increased and extended; at the beginning they were limited to the environs of the lake, later this spread to the most distant provinces. Innumerable Mexican merchants went from market to market through all the provinces of the empire, taking merchandise from each place to trade it advantageously in others. They obtained in other places [outside Mexico] raw cotton, untanned skins, precious stones, and other [raw] materials, and taking them to Mexico they had them

manufactured with all the care and work of which they were capable, in order to use these things for new and profitable trade.

The expansion of economic exchange met with many difficulties, especially the absence of what we call money, which was substituted by barter. Nevertheless, soon certain value symbols began to be used. The most common was the cacao bean. Even after the Conquest the count was vigesimal. Four hundred grains of cacao made a *tzontle;* twenty *tzontles* made a *xiquipilli* or bag; three *xiquipillis* formed a load or 24,000 cacao beans. Another type of currency were the mantles or lengths of cloth (66 × 16¼ in.) called *patolcuachtli*, each one of which was worth 100 cacao beans. 100 cacao beans were equivalent to one tub and the contents (in beans) of one tub were worth one mantle of a special type. According to Cooper Clark, the lenghts of cloth or mantles were the following: a *cuachtli* was worth one tub; a *tototlcuachtli*, feather-adorned mantle, 100 tubs; a slave cost thirty large mantles and a slave who could dance and sing, forty large mantles. Gold dust from the Balsas River region of Guerrero was sent to Mexico in the stems of birds feathers, and were used as a type of money. Another type consisted of small copper axes; these can be called true money since they were precisely for this purpose and had no other utilitarian purpose. Bernal Díaz writes about tubes of gold dust:

> . . . there were many other merchants who, according to what we were told, brought gold in grains to sell, just as they take it out of the mines, placed in thin tubes from goose [feathers], and they were white [so] gold can be seen from the outside. From the length and thickness of the tubes they calculated how many mantles or *xiquipillis* of cacao they were worth, or how many slaves or any other things they bartered.

Where the Maya are concerned, Cogolludo says that ". . . the money they used was copper bells, whose value was determined by their size." This is corroborated by Gaspar Antonio Chí. Landa claims that ". . . they had another [currency] made of certain red shells."

Since ancient times the people of the Central Plateau exchanged products with groups from the south, as far away as Panama and Nicaragua. The people of Teotihuacan traded with the Maya of Palenque, Bonampak, Tikal, Copan, Quirigua, and other cities.

Caravans of *pochtecas* from Tenochtitlan first went through the commercial centers of the valleys of Puebla and Tlaxcala, then reached the great center of Tochtepec (Tuxtepec). According to the chronicles, the caravans divided, some going to the Gulf of Mexico area where there existed five commercial centers: Coatzacoalcos, Cimatan, the Chontalpa region where in turn there were five trading centers, Potochan at the mouth of the Grijalva River, and finally the famous Xicalanco in the Laguna de Términos. The latter was the site of the greatest commercial activity of the Aztec merchants, who came to occupy a ward of the city and were the true rulers of Xicalanco. Traders from Xicalanco journeyed south to Acallan and different ports of the Gulf of Honduras. They also went to Yucatan, since it is known that they worshipped a god of commerce on the Island of Cozumel. In his expedition to Hibueras, Hernán Cortés obtained precise information from the *pochtecas* and even a map on cloth that permitted him to make his ill-fated voyage. Herrera y Tordesillas says:

> . . . when they understood Cortés' intention, they showed him a length of cloth woven of cotton [on which], was painted the road to Naco and Nito in Honduras and as far as Nicaragua; also shown was the government

> of Panama, with all the rivers and towns where they had to pass, and the markets they visited when they went to the fairs.

Caravans that went to the Pacific Coast passed through Coixtlahuaca, Nochiztlan, and Putla, in the present-day state of Oaxaca. They went through the Chiapas highlands to Zinacantan where there was an Aztec garrison and reached the Xoconusco; this was a province subject to Tenochtitlan, a place of fertile cacao plantations and an important trading center. Another busy commerce center was Acallan in what is today the state of Campeche. Since Acallan was located on river routes between the Gulf of Mexico and Honduras, it was a focal point of exchange. Merchants from Acallan also lived in a ward in Nito —a fact mentioned by Cortés in his Fifth Letter to the King— on the Gulf of Honduras, a bridge between Mesoamerica an Central America.

According to Landa, the great Maya Lords participated actively and directly in trade. They established long and well conditioned routes and even made use of the sea, traveling by canoe as far as the Gulf of Honduras and possibly to Cuba. Certainly this trade was influenced by demographic growth and a decreasing yield in an agriculture which failed to feed the population. This latter was a probable cause of the decadence and abandonment of the great urban and ceremonnial centers.

The Anthropologist Doris Stone has discovered remains of Aztecs colonies near the present-day Puerto Trujillo, Honduras. These were Chapagua and Papayeca and are claimed (by Dr. Stone) to have been great commercial centers. The Archeologist Samuel K. Lothrop has presented proof of the existence of a commercial land route from the Valley of Mexico to Panama, a distance of over three thousand kilometers. There is also date referring to a pre-Conquest maritime route from the mouth of the San Juan River in Nicaragua to the Gulf of Mexico, going around the Yucatan Peninsula. Lothrop points out that there lived in the province of Veragua on the Pacific Coast of Panama, "perhaps the greatest exporters of gold jewelry in the New World." This presupposes a very advanced commercial organization. According to Bishop Landa, the Maya had a system of coastal signals to avoid their vessels being lost, and, like the Inca, built long masonry highways called *sac-beob* (white roads) due to the color of the stones and cement made from ground shells in the midst of vegetation; these *sac-beob* took the merchants not only to the markets but to the most venerated shrines.

Did trade exist between what we now call Mexico and Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru? Archeologist Henri Lehmann says:

> Along the entire coast of Ecuador influences from the Mesoamerican zona may be seen, as well as from Peru and the Upper Amazon. They appear in the earliest periods and continue without interruption —as far as Mexican influences are concerned— until the Conquest. This indicates permanent relations, probabley coastal trade between both countries.

Latchman assures us that Mexican objects have been found in Argentine territory. Von Hagen believes that the emeralds possessed by the Aztecs "were obtained only in a narrow mountainous region called Muso" in what we today call Colombia. According to Lothrop, a gold pendant found in the sacred well at Chichen Itza, Yucatan, is identified through its style with other similar jewels found in the Cauca Valley of the Central Andes of Colombia, inhabited by the Quimbaya Indians.

It would seem that the people of the Mexican Central Plateau region did trade with South America, by way of Panama.

At the time that the Arabs ruled the eastern Mediterranean, an important and growing commerce existed between the Christian states of Europe and the enormous Asiatic region called 'the Indies.' Arab merchants were the main agents of traffic with the Orient, following various routes. Skilled navigators sailed along the coasts of the Red Sea, thus reaching the coasts of Persia and northern India, and dominated all of the southeastern region of Africa and the Malabar coast. By land the trades followed either of the two great silk routes, crossing the deserts and reaching the commercial markets of India and China. Frequently they combined the land caravans with navigation; their object was the Spice Islands.

The Arabs were in possession of the ports of Palestine and Egypt; Venetian and Genovese galleys pulled in here, where they were loaded with merchandise later distributed all over Europe. The science of navigation was well developed among the Arabs as a result of their long voyages on one hand, and on the other from contact with other navigating peoples. An example of this is Ibn Majid, the pilot who conducted Vasco de Gama from Melinds to Calicut. Just between the years 1460 to 1495, Ibn Majid wrote thirty-three nautical treatises.

The Arabs had penetrated into the Archipelago of Sonda since the XIII century and their commercial activities had connected the Arabian zones with those of the Tamil, Chinese, and Malays. On the other hand, Tamil navigation and commerce from Ceylon to Coromandel facilitated contacts with the Bengal Sea, at whose ports junks called regularly, laden with Chinese goods.

From the XI century the Mongol-Turks who had been converted to Islam began to strip the Arabs of their possessions. By the XV century the former dominated Syria and Asia Minor. In 1453 they took possession of Constantinople. But unlike the people they conquered, the Turks were not merchants, and therefore trade between Europe and 'The Indies' fell sharply, and with it the prosperity of Italian city-states. Imported articles and especially spices brought fabulous prices, since the risks to obtain them were great. According to chronicles of the XV century, spices had to pass through no fewer than twelve intermediaries before reaching the consumer.

Pepper, cloves, ginger, and other spices were indispensable elements in the preservation and flavoring of meat. Kermack tells us that, as the use of many fodders was unknown, especially beet root, "a large part of the animals were sacrificed when winter pastures disapeared. Thus there was a great demand in all European countries for spices, above all for pepper and similar products from the Orient." The tremendously high prices reached by these spices made it imperative to find other routes not controlled by the Turks. Spain and Portugal, thanks to their peninsular condition, enjoyed a privileged situation for the enterprise that history presented to them. The Portuguese, before the Turks took Constantinople, had not navigated farther than Gambia. But before the end of the century Vasco de Gama, after traveling along the African coasts, crossed the Indian Ocean and reached Calicut. He returned with a fabulous load of Oriental riches that he sold at a profit of six thousand to one.

Cristopher Columbus, stimulated by his own trips, readings and conversations with different navigators, thought out another route. As his son, Hernando wrote, the Great Admiral "thought that, as all the water and land in the world constitute a sphere, it was possible to go around from Orient to the West." According to the testimony of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and of Hernando Columbus, son of Admiral Christopher, the latter had correspondence with Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli who, knowing of Columbus' desire to "go where the spices grow" sent a copy of a letter of June 25, 1474, to Fernán Martínez, canon of Lisbon and adviser to the king of Portugal, the letter was accompanied by a map, a "navigation chart." The letter was a commentary on the map and, in both documents, Toscanelli pointed out the possibility of reaching the Indies —the Orient— by sailing west.

In ancient times and in the Middle Ages the term India referred to far-away regions. Ethiopia, Arabia, and parts of central Africa were called India by the Greeks. The Romans stretched the term to include the Far East and atributed fabulous riches to this region. The legend acquired confirmation with accounts by the monks Juan Pian del Cárpine and Guillermo de Rubruquis, who crossed the deserts and reached Chinese cities in the XIII century.

At the end of the XV century Marco Polo spread extraordinary news about *three* Indias. There was nothing strange in Christopher Columbus' insisting —as the Duke de Medinaceli hear him say in 1493 on returning from his first voyage— that he had sailed to "search for the Indies" and in this enterprise had discovered lands that pertained to Asia.

Columbus died convinced that he had fulfilled his purpose of communicating Europe with Asia by the Atlantic route. Spanish mariners and cosmographers did not agree with the Admiral's idea. They denied that he had reached the 'Indies' and conceded only that he had discovered a group of unknown islands that they called 'Of the Holy Cross.' It was Americus Vespucci, aided by two great cartographers, Juan de la Cosa and Martín Cortés, who established the truth: that this was a new continent or a *Mundus Novus* on the other side of which existed another ocean whose waters bathed the shores of 'the Indies' and China. Vasco Núñez de Balboa, a Spaniard like Hernán Cortés, discovered the 'South Sea': this was the nautical route that would lead to the Spice Islands.

During the first years the new hemisphere constituted an unsurmountable barrier. King Ferdinand of Spain, overwhelmed by the cost of colonization, agreed to propositions made by the Portuguese navigator Ferdinand Magellan who, acquainted with the Orient, promised to find a route. His undertaking was not one conquest but simply commercial. Magellan actually did find a route but much farther to the south than he had expected. Braving innumerable storms and privations he reached the Island he named San Lazaro. He never saw the end of his enterprise for he died in Mactan, near Cebu.

Juan Sebastián del Cano, at the helm of Magellan's ship the *Victoria*, managed to return to Europe with only eighteen men on board, of the 275 who had originally sailed with it. The ship was loaded with spices that easily covered the expeditio's expenses with considerable profit but it had to use the route reserved for Portugal. The expedition had navigated 14,460 leagues, and by sailing around the world had demonstrated that the world was a sphere.

A new expedition was organized under the command of Frey Jofré García de Loayza, Prefect of the Order of Saint John of Rhodes. Juan Sebastián del Cano was the chief pilot. The flet of seven ships was captained by the *Santa María de la Victoria*, an enormous vessel for those times since it weighed 250 tons. They sailed from La Coruña July 24, 1525. Following Magellan's route, they ran into many difficulties and privations. Many ships were lost and Loayza, Sebastián del Cano and other leaders died.

Jofré de Loayza's fleet was the last one to sail directly from Spain bound for the Philippines. In the future and until the end of the XVIII century, Mexican and Peruvian ships explored and traded with the Orient.

Cortés, like Columbus, dreamed of the Spice Islands. When the siege of Mexico-Tenochtitlan was over, he journeyed to the Pacific coast those people who had made the brigantines that helped defeat Cuauhtémoc. Under the direction of Martín López and next to the shores of the Lagoon of San Mateo del Mar in Oaxaca, expert carpinters, metal workers, workers in cordage and laborers built the ships that were to cover the route from New Spain to the Philippines.

In order to have his way free of impediment, Cortés asked the king to give him as a reward the territory covered by Indian routes to the Pacific. One of the Conqueror's officers, Antonio Carvajal, by Cortés' orders made use of Tarascan roads that passed through Michoacan to the mouth of the Balsas River in Zacatula, where the ships for the Orient were being made ready. Other roads used by the Indians passed through lands belonging to the Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca (Cortés) and led to Tehuantepec.

The fulfillment of Cortés' proposition was interrupted by the disloyalty of Cristóbal de Olid, who took ships and men given him by the Conqueror for exploring with the object of finding a way to the South Sea, and placed them at the disposal of Cortés' worst enemy, Diego de Velázquez, Governor of Cuba. When he was informed of this treason Cortés was obliged to postpone his explorations and made the difficult journey to Las Hibueras. At the end of this trip he discovered that Olid had died.

While Cortés was away from Mexico City, things changed. Friar Diego de Altamirano advised him that the *factor* (commissioner) Salazar and the *veedor* (inspector) Peralmíndez Chirino had deposed and persecuted the established authorities. The Conqueror made a quick return but in Medellín he was given a royal decree signed in Toledo November 24, 1525, in which he was ordered back to Spain to "inform about the things of those lands," and at the same time was told that Luis Ponce de León had been designated resident representative, a fact that was to be made public July 4, 1526.

In spite of the attach from Spain, and as Cortés continued to be Captain General of New

Spain, the sovereign sent a decree of June 20, 1526, dated in Granada, in which he was ordered to search for the Prefect Frey Jofré García de Loayza and Sebastián Caboto, who having set out to find a short route to the Philippines, had not been heard from in over a year.

Cortés organized an expedition at whose head he placed his cousin Captain Álvaro Saavedra. Then he had news that the tender *Santiago* of Loayza's fleet had made a forced entry into Tehuantepec. The *Santiago* had become separated from the other ships at the entrance to the archipelago of San Lázaro, called thus by Magellan. Captain Ruy López de Villalobos, envoy of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, called this group *Cesárea Caroli* and later baptized Leyte Island as *Filipina*, in honor of Prince Philip. After this the name Philippines was applied to the whole group of islands. In his Fifth Letter Cortés writes to Charles V:

> ...I hereby offer to discover in this region all the Spice and other islands should there be a ship for the Moluccas and Malacca and China. I also guarantee that Your Majesty will not use the Spice Islands simply for trade, as does the king of Portugal, but that you will hold them as your own, and that the natives there will recognize and serve you as their king and natural sovereign.

The expedition set sail from the port of Zihuatanejo in October, 1527. It consisted of the ships *Florida*, *Santiago*, and *Espíritu Santo.* It reached the coasts of Mindanao and then Tidore in April, 1528. The *Santiago* and *Espíritu Santo* became separated from the lead ship and were never heard from again. In Tidore the remains of Loayza's expedition were found. The small aid that Saavedra could offer could not save the Spanish base and he decided to return to New Spain. This was attempted three times and, during the third, Saavedra died and the *Florida* was forced to return to Tidore. When there the ship received news from the Portuguese that peace had been signed between Spain and Portugal in Zaragoza and that Charles V, in return for 35,000 ducats, had ceded all his rights over the Moluccas and Spice Islands. This new situation allowed the Portuguese to repatriate the survivors of Loayza's and Saavedra's expeditions by way of South Africa. Andrés de Urdaneta was among those who returned.

A new attempt was made by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, who outfitted an expedition of three ships, whose leader was the famous mariner and cosmographer Ruy López de Villalobos. They sailed from the port of Navidad November 1, 1542, and in two months reached Leyte, where Villalobos took formal possession of the Archipelago. Due to his meager resources and personnel he could not exercise his authority and decided to return to New Spain. Unfavorable winds and currents hindered him. Toward the end of 1544 he reached Amboina and there died. Twenty years were to go before other attempts to reach the Philippines were made. Meanwhile, the Pacific coast was explored.

Until then three routes to the Orient across the Pacific had been marked out. Magellan's route to the south; Saavedra's route, from Acapulco to Guam, which was to be called the 'Lady's route' because of its good navigation conditions; and the third, from Peru to the Moluccas, which was that traced by Hernando de Grijalva. Rafael Bernal, in his book *México en Filipinas*, tells us that these sailing efforts had formed a marine population in various places along the Pacific coast of Mexico, not only of ship builders but of navigators, soldiers, and adventurers. Acapulco took the lead because of the excellent harbor formed by its bay. Nautical affairs attracted so much attention in New Spain that in 1587 the first book on navigation and naval architecture in the world was published in Mexico City: *Nautical Instruction for the Correct use and Sailing Instructions of Ships, the Plan and Administration, according to the Altitude of Mexico*, written by the famous doctor Diego García de Palacio. This book was used as a text by Mexican and Spanish sailors and by the English navy for a long time. The 'Prudent King' sent a letter to his viceroy in New Spain, Luis de Velasco, September 24, 1559, in which he ordered:

> I hereby command you that in order to achieve said discoveries you send two large ships with whatever number of men you may deem necessary. You are to send them to discover the Western Islands in the direction of the Moluccas. They are to attempt to bring spices so we can study them. [These ships] are to return to New Spain so that we may know whether return is possible . . . You will instruct the men you send there not to enter the Molucca Islands at any cost, so as not to violate our agreement with the Most Serene King of Portugal.

The king's instructions ended with the petition that Fray Andrés de Urdaneta lead the expedition. This man had abandoned the sea and arms to enter the Augustinian Order in Mexico in 1552. On the same date that he wrote the viceroy, the sovereign sent a letter to the "Pious Fray Andrés de Urdaneta" in which he begged him to go on the expedition. Urdaneta accepted after having received authorization from his provincial superior, Fray Agustín de la Coruña. He mapped out three routes: if the voyage began between October and November it should go directly to the Philippines, making port first at the island of San Bartolomé and Los Ladrones; if it were between November and January, the ships should take the southern route and navigate as far as 25 degrees, below the Equator; if the trip lasted until March, it would be necessary to sail to Japan and from there to the Philippines.

Urdaneta had scruples about the Philippines because he felt they "fell within the terms of the agreement" (Treaty of Zaragoza). He proposed to reach New Guinea, which he considered very rich, or Japan, since both were outside the Portuguese limits. The monk's scruples were overcome when viceroy Velasco stated that he would go to the Moluccas only to rescue Spanish prisoners, and then sail to New Guinea or Japan.

On the other hand an able pilot, Juan Pablo Carreón, who had been in the Orient, believed that the Philippines were within the Spanish limits an that New Guinea had no spices and was poor. His judgment carried great weight because Carreón had been in that island while Urdaneta had not.

When viceroy Luis de Velasco died on July 31, 1564, the Audience and the royal *visitador*, Jerónimo Valderrama, a friend of Carreón, designated the Basque Miguel López de Legazpi y Garrochátegui, Captain general of the navy formed of "two strong ships: one, according to the merchants, of 500 tons, and the other of more than 300 tons, and a small galleon of 80, and a small ship and a frigate," as Urdaneta informed the king on November 21, 1564, before going to sea from the port of Navidad. On November 25, 100 leagues from this port, Legazpi opened the sealed envelope containing instructions. Urdaneta and the other friars who accompanied him were greatly disturbed when they found out that the Audience had ordered them to go the Philippines where they were to occupy the islands and use them as a base, and organize the spice trade. They were to send one of the ships loaded with spices to Mexico, to show that the round trip was possible.

Some days later the tender *San Lucas*, under the orders of Alfonso de Arellano, became separated from the expedition. On January 9, 1565, Legazpi reached some low islands and the 24th of this month came to the Ladrones (Mariana) Islands, and took possession of them. On February 20 they reached Samar and Legazpi proclaimed solemnly that the entire Archipelago belonged to his king. They were well received on Leyte Island. They then sailed to Bohol and later to Dapitan. On April 27 they made port at the city of Cebu where they established themselves firmly as colonizers. June 1, 1565, Legazpi dispatched the galleon *San Pedro* under the command of his grandson Felipe Salcedo, taking as chief pilot Fray Andrés de Urdaneta and carrying a good shipment of spices. The ship entered the Pacific through the San Bernardino Straits, later to be called the Acapulco channel. It sailed north toward the 44th degree.

On September 26 of this year, almost four months after they set sail, the navigators saw the first American shores: the coast of Upper California. Second pilot Rodrigo de Espinosa wrote in his binnacle book:

> When Monday, the first of October of the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ of 1565, dawned, we were by the port of Navidad, and at this time I looked at my chart and saw that we had sailed 1892 leagues from the port of Cebu to the port of Navidad. And at that time I went to the Captain and asked where he ordered the ship to be sailed, and he ordered me that I take it to the port of Acapulco and I obeyed his command, although at the time there were no more than 18 men aboard the ship who could work because the rest were ill and 16 others had died... We reached this port of Acapulco Monday the eighth of this present month of October, with a great deal of toil...

The route foreseen by Urdaneta had become a reality. But there was great amazement in Acapulco when it was known that the lost tender *San Lucas* had cast anchor in the port of Navidad on August 9 and, according to the declarations of its Captain Alfonso de Arellano and its pilot Martín de Ayamontes, had gone to the Philippines and had returned, making the round trip in a small vessel with a displacement of only 40 tons and an inexperienced crew of but twenty men. Urdaneta and Salcedo accused Arellano and his pilot of dessertion and of invented lies. But the report given under oath before the Audience by all the crew members of the *San Lucas* and the corroboration of a series of facts made years later —for example the large rock indentified by the captain of the British frigate *Felice*, Sir John Meares, in 1788— confirm the fact that Arellano and his men had actually gone to the Philippines and had returned. Francisco Javier Salas, commentator of the Overseas Documents in which Arellano was blamed, expressed his admiration for the nautical feat of this man.

On May first, 1566, the galleon *San Jerónimo* arrived in Cebu. All its resources were diminished since its captain had been forced to quell a mutiny. In 1569 Felipe Salcedo, his brother Juan, and a large contingent of men returned with arms and food supplies. But the place which had received Legazpi so well —the town of the Santísimo Nombre de Jesús of Cebu— was not suited to trade. Captain Martín de Goiti discovered at the island of Luzon a splendid bay which he was unable to occupy because of the reduced number of men who accompanied him. Legazpi himself directed a new military operation which expelled the Moslems from the place, and Rajah Solomon was killed in the battle. Upon the remains of the conquered fortress, Manila was founded and proclaimed the capital of the kingdom of New Castille.

The occupation of the Philippines, however, was precarious. Due to the small number of men and elements which Legazpi had at his disposal, he was unable to fulfill the mission on which he had been sent: to establish the trade in spices, which were obtainable much farther to the south, on the Equator. The commercial spice routes went from Malacca to India, without touching Luzon. A providential event helped the Spaniards to discover the correct route. They rescued the crew of a Cantonese junk and returned it to its homeland. This act led to friendly relations with the Chinese, who began to send merchant junks to Manila.

Another generous deed contributed to better relations with the Chinese. Legazpi surrendered to the Chinese ambassador in Manila five hundred prisoners wrested from a pirate whom he had defeated, Li-Ma-Hong. Trade prospered and soon appeared the need of sending to New Spain spices and precious goods which Chinese merchants brought to Manila. After all, the resources of New Spain —men, weapons, and money— sustained Spanish rule in the Philippines. New ships had to be built for the long crossing. Thus was born the 'nao de China' or the 'Manila galleon,' called the 'nao of Acapulco' in the Philippines.

The route to the Philippines and the return trip were a Mexican enterprise. It is thus designated in an anonymous document edited by Paul Cortey of Barcelona:

> A copy of a letter from Seville to Miguel Salvador de Valencia, in which is narrated the happy discovery which the Mexicans have achieved, navigating with the fleet which His Majesty ordered to be built in Mexico. It contains other marvelous things, of great profit to all Christendom, worthy of being seen and read. [The anonymous author of the letter, on describing Legazpi's voyage and that of the boat *San Lucas* ads]: This is a great, a magnificent thing, and the people of Mexico are very proud of the discovery since they believe that [because of this] they will become the heart of the world.

The Philippines, in spite of their tropical situation, do not have a torrid climate. Monsoons determine the climate to a large extent, as do the rains. As result, navigation, due to the magnitude of the storms, make necessary excellent navigators and good ships. As Humboldt states, the route from Mexico to the Philippines, and above all the return trip, were long and dangerous. Nevertheless, fewer ships were lost on this route than on any other. As Bernal points out, the route was extraordinarily successful.

The terminus in New Spain was Acapulco, although it had previously been Port Navidad, and at times efforts had been made to change it to San Blas. In the Philippines the port was Cavite, about twelve miles from Manila, a magnificent haven well fortified since 1600.

During the first two decades after Legazpi's feat navigation was at a minimum. The royal decree of April 14, 1579, ordered that a galleon should sail from Callao, Panama, Sonsonate, Puerto de Navidad, or from another of the west Indies, in route to the Philippines. But on November 11, 1581, a royal command prohibited direct traffic between these islands and South America. Finally, a royal decision of June 1, 1599, stated that one galleon sail exclusively from Acapulco between February and April of each year. Humboldt describes these voyages:

> Navigation between Acapulco and Manila exists thanks to the trade winds: this is the longest possible voyage in the equinoctial region of the seas, and almost triple of that from the coasts of Africa to the Antilles Islands. The galleon, as we have already seen, at first sails South, taking advantages of Northwestern winds that blow along the northern coasts of Mexico. On reaching the Manila Parallel, it goes with all sails up westward, receiving constantly a fine breeze from the part that is between the East and East Northeast. Nothing interrupts the serenity of the sky in those regions, except at times a light wind that is felt when the ship reaches the zenith. Because of this the pilot don Francisco Mourelle —who in 1780 sailed from San Blas to Luzon, and discovered the Vavao Archipelago— was bold enough to cross the great Ocean, abouth three thousand marine leagues, in a *light ship*. This ship, called *La Sonora*, sailed from San Blas in order to take to Manila the news of the final break between Spain and England. The boat is still preserved in Cavite... The crossing from Manila to the coast of Mexico is long and difficult...

From Acapulco to Guam the voyage was 1800 leagues, almost always with calm weather. The ship touched at the cape of Espíritu Santo and crossed the channel of the same name, directed its course through the Capul Strait, and reached the Mastate and Burias Islands. From here it sailed toward Mindoro, leaving at one side the Tuley shoals, until it reached the Bay of Cavite. The trip from Guam to Cavite was dangerous because pirates constantly marauded in those waters and islands. Captains of the ships were advised by smoke signals.

In the beginning the ships were built in the port of Navidad, later in the shipyards at Marinduque, Mindoro, Mastate, and Cavite, where a great number of Chinese, Malayan, and Philippine workers were employed. In Acapulco there were supplies of tackle and rigging, and tools for repairs. The finest oriental woods were used in building the ships. For the hulk, teakwood was used. For the joinings, keel, helm, and interior pieces, there was a wood called *molave* in the Philippines; for the hull, a very flexible wood called *lañang*. The extraordinary quality of the woods justifies the opinion of Casimiro Díaz, who said that "if the resistance of the galleons and the quality of the woods were not so great, such dangerous voyages could not be made."

The ships were solid, swift-sailing, and well armed, since they were not only merchant ships but vessels of war and its construction became increasingly expensive. Governor Vera of the Philippines informed Philip II in 1587 that he had built a *nao* or ship of 500 tons at the cost of 8,000 pesos. By 1615, a galleon of 1,000 tons cost 20,000 pesos, and Grau Monfalcon stated that by 1630 a well built galleon was worth 30,000 pesos. In 1762, the galleon *El Filipino* cost 59,857 pesos. The *San Carlos* brought 100,000; the *San José* 180,000, and the *Santísima Trinidad* 191,000 pesos.

Between 1591 and 1593, merchants of Seville and Cadiz, worried by the increase of trade between the Philippines and New Spain, obtained from the King a decree to the effect that only two galleons a year might transport goods from the Philippines to Mexico and vice versa. But commercial expansion had come to stay and nothing and no one could stop it. The capacity of the ships increased; at the beginning they had a displacement of 500 tons, and reached one of 1,500 tons.

The galleons and their control were not a private industry but property of the Spanish Crown. The business always operated at a loss because transportation was free. Only duty on imports was charged, both in Manila and in Acapulco. Those who definitely realized great profits were the merchants of New Spain and Manila, as well as the religious orders that took part in the trade. Due to limited space in the ships, the unit of measurement was a package $2^1/_2$ feet long, 16 inches wide and 3 feet high. This unit was called 'load' or 'bale' and a ticket was given for each one. The Board of Distribution controlling the tickets was composed of the Governor, the senior member of the Royal Audience, his attorney, the Archbishop of Manila (in his absence, the Dean of the Cathedral), a councilman, a merchant elected by turns, and the city's mayor. The tickets were drawn by lots or were sold. Unemployed Spaniards and Creoles sold their tickets to the merchants.

Each galleon was not supposed to carry more than 4,000 'bales,' but usually transported double, and there were some, like the *San José* (that was lost), which carried 12,000. This practice overloaded the ship, and since the officers and sailors had the right to carry very little merchandise, they loaded the vessel even more with contraband in places destined to supplies.

Chinese packers were so skilled in compressing cloth in the bales that it is calculated that each bale contained 5,000 pesos in merchandise. The bales were sealed and marked with abbreviations or initials. Each sender made various lists of his shipment, giving a copy to the authorities of the galleon.

When the ship reached Acapulco, the captain turned over to the castellan of Fort San Diego, to the officials of the Royal Treasury, and to the inspector named by the Viceroy, the freight list book which carried the names of the persons who were to receive the merchandise; the number, quality, value, and appraisement of the goods. When the ship was anchored, the castellan, officials of the Royal treasury, port authorities, and the inspector checked the coffers and bales, comparing them with the list. All that were not covered with a corresponding ticket were "applied to house, national treasury, and the accuser."

The vast and growing trade between New Spain and China by way of Manila prospered thanks to Mexican silver. Chinese merchants were glad to see that the Spaniards sent by Legazpi paid for everything they bought with solid silver. Soon trade —private enterprise of Chinese and New Spanish merchants— increased rapidly. According to Father Zúñiga OSP, in 1572 the first junks loaded with Chinese goods appeared in Manila. In 1573 the galleon brought to the port of Acapulco 712 bolts of silk and 20,000 pieces of fine gilded porcelain. In 1574 six junks reached Manila, in 1575, 15 junks, and in 1580, 48.

In the halls of the Parian, Manila's main market place, normally more than 4,000 Chinese merchants traded. When the Acapulco galleon arrived two thousand more came. People of all types, speaking many languages, offered an infinite variety of articles: the Portuguese, Arabs, Tagals, Sangleys (From *xianglay*, merchant, and therefore 'Chinese merchant,' or a Chinese and Philippine creole), the Dutch, Hindus, Malayans, Japanese, English, French, traders from Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Celebes, and Siam. Count De la Cortina tells us that the Philippine Parian was the antecedent of that of Mexico: in Mexican provinces the market is still called the *Parián.*

The Parian was instaled on the shores of the Pasig River, in a place called *La Estacada*, by Gonzalo Ronquillo in 1580. Previously it was called Monondoc and today corresponds to the neighborhoods of Binondo and Bay-Bay, or San Fernando and San Nicolás respectively. The Chinese accepted only solid silver for their goods, which were:

> . . . iron, quicksilver, bronze, copper, walnuts, chestnuts, hardtack, dates, linen goods, and furniture made in many colors; net coifs, veils and silk crepes, tin vessels, silk passementerie and braid, gold thread the like of which had never been seen in Christendom, small baskets woven of gold and silver and full of many things made of sugar and almond pasts, such as little castles, jars, plates, dogs, parrots, and elephants; and also spices.

Merchants obtained profits of 250 to 300 per cent and the brokers nine to sixteen per cent. The magnitude of commerce which, on one hand, satisfied many needs in New Spain, obliged the Spanish Crown to make an exception favoring the trade between Manila and Acapulco in the case of general prohibition of trading between the colonies. This active trade allowed Viceroy Revillagigedo to say that it was "acclaimed in the kingdom because its merchandise supplied the poor people."

As Bernal correctly points out, China truly benefitted by trade between New Spain and Manila, for three centuries, in receiving an enormous wealth in silver that it had lacked. Silver from Zacatecas and Guanajuato contributed to the intensification of trade with all the Asiatic southeast:

> Silver from Mexican mines did not leave the country in bars, but was coined and sent to Spain, and from here poured out over the principal countries of Europe... From the port of Acapulco the *Nao* from China, after unloading its Oriental goods... returned to Manila loaded with Mexican pesos and some other products... Oriental countries were the main market for Mexican pesos... The Mexican peso was a precious unit of exportation goods and all those countries trading in the Orient had to acquire it.

This opinion coincides with that of Casasús, who tells us that the Mexican peso enjoyed great acceptation and was sold as merchandise or as metal for casting. Carrera Stampa states:

> I know of Mexican coins with special countermarks: among them, coins of the Catholic Kings, with the bust of Louis XIII and on the reverse side the coat of arms of the Bourbon with the Cross of Saint Eulalia; on coins of Charles IV, a small minted bust of Louis XVI; an R. G. coin of George II of England; and on similar coins, a N. Y. for New York, and a Chinese mark made in China or Manila, or perhaps Filpns from the Philippines, or Pescador from the Pescador Archipelago, that is, Formosa.

Thanks to trade built up through the abundance of Mexican silver, Manila became a great commercial city. Exchange between Mexico and the Orient increased the domestic market —thinned out by restrictions placed by the metropolitan commercial monopoly— and even when there were negative repercussions, such as the death of the silk industry in the Mixtec region, the overflow of wealth and the occupation of many people as muleteers and inn keepers, public officials, soldiers, and merchants, was remarkable. As Humboldt, amazed, commented, and Gage wrote, this situation gave great luxuries to the wealthy class in New Spain, for few Oriental goods found their way to Spain.

Carrera Stampa points out that the Philippines formed a true colony of New Spain. Aside from coins and precious metals, nautical, astronomical, and watch-making instruments were sent to Manila, as well as printing presses and their implements, type, chase, etc. Weapons, books, raw materials, and other things were sent.

In all of our Hemisphere, communications have presented obstacles very difficult to overcome. Mexico is furrowed by various mountain chains and the majority of his rivers are not navigable, due to the violent slope of the land they follow until they reach the sea. The mountains, the desert, and the turbulence of the rivers have had to be overcome in order to join together the different regions of Mexico's enormous territory. The French geographer Henri Enjalbert has wisely stated, in giving a simplified definition of the Mexican territory:

> [It is] . . . a collection of islands joined together in a very reduced manner in the past. . . and that constitute as an archipelago numerous regions, many times isolated, and that now are clustered around the capital [thanks to] communication routes, especially by the railroads and above all by the highways, that permit the isolated regions to be related to the center of the Federation.

Carrera Stampa affirms that "because of the scarcity of communications and the small volume of trade," commerce is carried out "by means of weekly or montly markets, and at annual fairs."

Without the unpredictable pressure of mining, communications would have been far slower in becoming established. Humboldt says about this: "Without the great consumption or merchandise found in the mines, trade within the country could not be very active between provinces that in general enjoy the same climate and therefore produce the same products." Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy, in fulfilling the needs of the incipient mining industry, had a good road for horses built from Taxco to Sultepec. But the man who initiated the transportation system demanded by the mining industry was Sebastián de Aparicio, who built solid wagons which, drawn by oxen, transported heavy loads very long distances, slowly but surely. In 1542 Aparicio began the road between Mexico City and Zacatecas, which was prolonged later as far as Durango and was finished in 1570. José de la Borda improved the road to Acapulco and deviated it to Taxco.

'Carting,' as transportation by wagon was called then, prospered rapidly. Pedro de Ahumada Sámano, cited by Mendizábal, tells us in his account of the *Rebellion of the Zacatecas and Guachichil Indians* that on one occasion an attack was avoided upon a train of "one hundred seventy wagons that were going to Zacatecas loaded with supplies and merchandise." As many as 6,240 wagons came to be used, each one pulled by twelve oxen, carrying 300 *arrobas* (7,500 pounds) of merchandise, whose freightage was expensive at sixty-two ducats a ton (a ton was the space occupied by two barrels). Fear of attacks reduced the use of human carriers, who had been used in earlier times.

Then mule drivers came into existence, a more flexible transportation system and one that could penetrate into places that were inacessible to wagons. This method of transportation still exists in isolated regions of Mexico. We remember that the Independence hero Morelos worked as a mule driver before entering the College of *San Nicolás Obispo* in Valladolid (now Morelia, state of Michoacán), and that Guerrero practiced the same trade. Both these men traveled and traded throught the south, from the port of Acapulco to towns in the interior of Mexico. According to José R. Benitez, in the last years of the viceregal period, after the war of Independence had broken out, in 1811, 67,871 mules, 154 carriages, and 1,000 litters used the Veracruz-Mexico highway. Humboldt points out that on the eve of the war for Independence the most important roads were:

1) The Mexico-Veracruz Highway (169 leagues) by way of Puebla and Jalapa; 2) The road from Mexico to Acapulco, called Asia Road, 66 leagues long, by way of Chilpancingo; 3) From Mexico to Guatemala via Oaxaca —70 leagues between the latter city and Mexico; 4) From Mexico to Durango and from here to Santa Fe in New Mexico —440 leagues— commonly called the inland road; the highways that go from Mexico to San Luis Potosi and Monterrey, or to Valladolid and then to Guadalajara, can be considered ramifications of the Royal Road of the *Internal Provinces.*

We all know that fairs existed since remote times in Europe. In Spain, during the Arab domination, the most important was that of Albacete, and, under the rule of the Christian Kings, others gained prominence: those of Valladolid, Burgos, Villalon, Barcelona, Medina de Rio Seco, and Medina del Campo, the latter the most important of all.

Following Spanish tradition, in New Spain various fairs were established. The leading ones were at Jalapa, a city Called 'Jalapa of the Fair' for many years, and at Acapulco.

Unhealthy conditions in the port of Veracruz, a place scourged by malaria —intermittent fevers occurring every third day, and yellow fever— black vomit, obliged merchants and authorities to move to Jalapa with merchandise that came from Europe. The first fair was held in 1587 and began with the unloading and sale of goods. This fair was formally established in 1718-1720 after a system of merchant ships had been organized; these began in 1561 and lasted until 1778. The arrival of these fleets was not regular, since they came every two, three, four, or even five years. They were preceded by small ships called 'advice boats,' dispatched to New Spain every three months. This delay caused the law that Spanish possessions should not trade among themselves to be repealed for vessels with different goods came to Mexico from Cuba, Honduras, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela. On the other hand, it stimulated contraband, practiced by the English, French, and Dutch. The prices of all these products were, naturally, very high.

Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, in his *History of the Imperial Villa of Potosi*, gives a list of products brought from Spain and at the same time points out their origin. This corroborates the idea that the enormous mining exploitation in Spanish America did not benefit the mother country but other nations, even Spain's rivals:

> . . .all kinds of silks and cloths woven in Granada; stocking and swords from Toledo, clothing from other parts of Spain; iron from Biscay; rich linen from Portugal; textiles, silk, gold, and silver embroidery, and beaver hats from France; tapestries, mirrors, finely made writing desks, embroideries and merceries from Flanders; clothing from Holland; swords and other steel objects from Germany; paper from Genoa; silks from Calabria; stocking and woven goods from Naples; saints from Florence; clothing, embroideries, and fine textiles from Tuscany; gold and silver point lace and fine clothing from Milan; paintings and sacred prints from Rome; hats and woolen cloths from England; crystal from Venice; white wax from Cyprus, Crete, and the Mediterranean coast of Africa; cochineal, crystal, ivory, and precious stones from India; diamonds from Ceylon; perfumes from Arabia; carpets from Persia, Cairo, and Turkey; all kinds of spices from Malaya and

Goa; white porcelain and silken clothing from China; blacks from Green Cape and Angola. . . pearls from Panama. . .

Attempts were made to change the fair first to Orizaba and then to Tonala, but these were not successful, thanks to pressures from the Consulate at Mexico. As soon as the viceroy had news of the arrival of a fleet, he had the news published by proclamation in the capital and principal cities and towns. During the fair a weekly convoy traveled from Jalapa to Mexico City, carrying goods, people, and news.

Merchandise could be shipped out only from Jalapa. These were duly registered and sealed and were accompanied by permits on which were indicated the contents, the name of the consignees, the provenience, and the destination. Merchandise could not be shipped into the country until the fair had ended. Before this fair began products from 'inland' and the 'hot lands' had been flowing into Jalapa, as well as convoys from silver mining towns. By proclamation the viceroy ordered that the European products be brought into the country, and at the same time indicated the date of departure for the fleet sailing for Spain; the latter stopped at Havana where all the vessels that were to cross the Atlantic gathered. In order to avoid smuggling, vigilance was established at the roads that gave access to the interior of the country, at La Antigua, Cordoba, Orizaba, Perote, Tlaxcala, and Puebla.

Both merchants who brought products from Spain and those of New Spain tried to raise the prices of their goods. Because of this representatives of the Consulate of Mexico tangled with those of the fleet in hard-fought discussions.

The Jalapa fair lasted two or even three months. Its greatest peak was from 1720 to 1778. The Decree of Free Trade of 1778, which suppressed the fleets, and the royal order of October 16, 1765, which abolished the commercial monopoly carried out in benefit of Cadiz, determined the decadence of the Jalapa fair, since merchandise was then sold directly in Veracruz, Puebla, or Mexico.

The other important fair was held in Acapulco and was called by Humboldt the "most famous in the world." As soon as the coastal watch towers —In Baja California, San Blas, Navidad, etc.— gave notice that the 'Manila galleon' had appeared on the horizon, in Mexico City bells pealed and the viceroy told the people of its arrival by means of a proclamation. Merchants made ready their wealth or their merchandise, the flag for recruiting soldiers for the Philippines was raised, groups of prisoners who were to serve their sentences in that archipelago were prepared, money was sent by the Crown to Manila for the maintenance of the far-away colony, and travelers and missionaries who were to travel in the ship finished their preparations.

Merchants from the Philippines monopolized the goods and came to be the owners of the Parian, the famous market that existed in Mexico City's *Zócalo* or main square. The clergy frequently bought the ship's entire cargo at one or two million pesos, and then either sold it directly or to merchants for later resale. In 1785 when the Royal Philippine Company was established, Acapulco lost the monopoly and the port of San Blas came to be used for unloading the galleon's goods.

The town of San Juan de los Lagos, which was suddenly converted from a place of religious pilgrimage to a meeting center of merchants, enjoyed and ideal location since it was in the central part of the country. The fair, which registered a gathering of 2,000 merchants in 1630, counted with 8,000 in 1736, and more than 10,000 in 1792. Furthermore, traders from Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, San Juan del Rio, Celaya, Guadalajara, Valladolid, Aguascalientes, and Zacatecas used this fair to sell their surplus goods. Groups of merchants took their convoys as far as Durango, Saltillo, Monterrey, and Chihuahua. Santoscoy tells us of the importance of transactions in the San Juan de los Lagos fair:

> In 1792 one hundred stores of clothing from Europe and China, ten of textile goods, and thirty-one of wines were consumed, having entered [the country] 4,000 *tercios* [packages of mule loads] of goods from Castille and an equal number of domestic goods; the sale in actual *reales* may be calculated conservatively at 500,000 pesos, and 700,000 fraudulently; the number of people who gathered was more than 35,000. For fares for rent of land for the placing of stores 2,300 pesos were received; tax on sales produced between 14,000 and 16,000.

Zacatecas was situated on the route of the great mining centers, and according to Lucas Alamán, produced some 832.232,880 pesos in 180 years. Mendizábal states that the colonization of the mining area, whose center was Zacatecas and which included mining centers such San Martin, Sombrerete, Chalchihuites, Ranchos, Nieves, Fresnillo, and San Demetrio de Plateros, was a mixed economy and included "mining, agriculture, husbandry, and exploitation of woods." This did not include the exploitation of local Indian labor and therefore "Negro slaves and Indians from other areas had to be brought in, always insufficient for the ever-increasing local needs." Agriculture and cattle raising, born in the first years of the viceregal period, not only supplied the needs of the mining centers but also served as a secure basis for colonization, relay posts, and resting places for the convoys journeying northward.

Less important was the fair at Saltillo which began to function toward the beginning of the seventeenth century and took place once a year. Merchants came from inland areas and above all from the Internal Provinces of east and west, such as Sonora and Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Durango, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, New Mexico, Tamaulipas, and Texas. Father Juan Agustín de Morfi, who was in Saltillo around 1749, states that "there is great commerce in Spanish cloth, fruit, seeds, and cattle." This active trade in products from foreign parts—Europe and Asia— was mixed with products brought from the wild regions to the north and with surplus goods from the fairs of Jalapa, Acapulco, and San Juan de los Lagos. Ramos Arizpe gives a vivid description of the taxes which were imposed upon different goods:

> In the entire opulent kingdom of Mexico and its vast Internal Provinces there is only one free port: that of Veracruz. It is there that an outrageous monopoly of European goods exists. These, in Cadiz, are second hand; in Veracruz, third hand; in Mexico City, Queretaro, or Zacatecas, fourth hand; in the great fair at Saltillo, from which goods are distributed to the Internal Provinces, they are fifth hand; and in each one of these provinces, three to five hundred leagues from Veracruz, they are sixth hand. The merchandise has increased at each step due to taxes charged from the place of origin to Cadiz, due to taxes on arrival at Cadiz, due to exportation charges for America, to import taxes on arrival in Veracruz, internal charges for transportation to Mexico City, Queretaro, Zacatecas, etc. More taxes in each one of these cities, paid by the merchant who takes the goods to Saltillo. More local taxes in Saltillo and finally assessments in each of the places in the Internal Provinces, exacted with great harshness and tyranny. . .

In order to reduce the tremendous increase in price of goods, Ramos Arizpe proposed that certain ports in the Internal Provinces of the east be habilitated for commerce with the north. José Blanco suggested that this port be Soto la Marina in Tamaulipas.

The fairs of Chihuahua and Taos were the most remote. Yearly convoys which carried trade goods from Chihuahua journeyed to Taos. Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral states that barter —due to lack of coin— was carried out in Taos.

> Every year people come to the markets or fairs. The governor comes with a large part of his retinue, as do people from the entire kingdom to these commercial fairs. They bring captives for sale, prisoners, chamois skins, thousands of bison skins, wool or garments from other regions, horses, different skins, rifles, munitions, knives, meat, and many other things. No money is used in this fair, but one thing is bartered for another, and thus these people attend [the fair].

In modern times fairs are celebrated in almost all the Mexican states. These fairs take on different characteristics but all coincide with religious or civil holidays. In the majority —excepting those in the more indigenous zones— Mestizo merchants participate in an active way and have introduced modern elements such as merry-go-rounds, ferris wheels, lottery tables, puppets, and other amusements, which add to the traditional attractions of rodeos, cock fights, horse races, and dances which are organized while the fairs last.

Fairs can be cataloged in three groups: 1) Those of the indigenous areas where certain types of regional folk products are concentrated; 2) Those of the larger towns where mestizo tradesmen introduce novelties such as transistor radios, nylon goods, and plastic objects; 3) The type of fair known as agricultural, cattle-raising, and industrial, which is organized with the aid and intervention of the local authorities. Regional products are exhibited and sold at these fairs.

As an example of the first type, one can cite typical fairs such as those of Huaspaltepec in the Mixteca Baja region of Oaxaca (on the fourth Friday in Lent). Here indigenous groups gather, such as Mixtecs, Tacuates from Ixtayutla and Zacatepec, Chatinos and Amuzgos from the state of Guerrero. Each Indian group with its wares sits under a great *ceiba* or cottonwood tree asigned to it by the municipal authorities. In this place are sold seeds, domestic fowl, leather goods, textiles woven on back-strap looms, gourds from Olinala, and other products. The fair at Igualapa in the state of Guerrero (on the thir Friday of Lent) is very popular among Amuzgo and Tlapanec Indians and notable for its trade in back-strap woven textiles and woven palm goods. In Huaxolotitlan, also in the Mixteca Baja (on the first Friday of Lent), there is important trade in *pozahuancos* or wrap-around skirts woven on the belt loom and dyed with snail dye.

Examples of the second type of fair are: that of Ojitlan, Oaxaca (in the second week of August), attended by Chinantec and Mazatec Indians of the Hot Country; that of Huautla de Jimenez (on September 8), where Nahua and Mazatec groups from the mountains gather; the fair at Calpulalpan, Tlaxcala (on June 13), visited by numerous Otomi and Nahua groups; at Temoaya, state of Mexico (the Sunday following July 25), attended by Otomies and Mazahuas. The list of fairs of this type is lengthy.

In Tepalcingo, Morelos (third Friday of Lent) the fair is very important from a commercial viewpoint, and one of the largest in Mexico. Lacquer workers from Olinala, Guerrero, come to Tepalcingo with their wares —small boxes and chests, gourds and decorated toys—which are brought by merchants to resell all over the country, since the use of boxes and gourds from Olinala extends in Mexico from border to border. The fair at Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca (October 8), is very popular with dealers in goat skins and raw or semi-twisted wool. In Papantla, Veracruz (on the feast of Corpus Christi), the vanilla fair is installed, since it is at this time of the year that trade in vanilla is at its height.

As examples of the third type of fair we may cite those of Teziutlan, Puebla (August 15); Amecameca, Mexico (Ash Wednesday); Celaya, Guanajuato (on the day of Our Lady of La Luz, usually in May). These fairs combine products made by local artisans (mortars and grinding stones, pottery, woolen textiles, cardboard dolls, wooden toys, etc.) with the sale of cattle of fine breed, high quality seeds, machinery and agricultural tools, and products such as cheese and candies.

The San Marcos fair in Aguascalientes which begins during the second half of April and lasts until the first days of May, is not very important in trade, although thousands of persons flock to enjoy and bet on games and such amusements as bull fights, rodeos, cock fights, dances, etc. A grape fair is held in Aguascalientes on August 15. In Zacatlan, Puebla, the apple fair is held on August 15 and offer many amusements similar to those of San Marcos.

THE IDEA OF INTEGRATING AMERICA TO THE EMPIRE guided Spain in her colonization of these lands, but this could not be carried out without subjecting the economy of the new dominions to that of the mother country. Religion constituted one of the most efficient factors in the realization of this enterprise. For her colonizing task Spain counted with an extremely rich experience in her own long struggle for national liberation and reconquest against the Arab dominion of the Iberian peninsula.

Imperial policies had good and bad results. In little more than half a century the civil and religious government had been organized to administer immense territories during three centuries, having a chain of cities as a wedge of penetration. Good intentions overlapped selfish motives in the policy of the Spanish monarchy. Wise rules protecting the Indians were frustrated by the growing power of the interests of miners, cattlemen, property owners, and merchants. Humanist legislation coexisted with the brutal reality of exploitation of indigenous labor. It is amazing how a bureaucracy created by the hand of the 'Prudent King' allowed Spain to keep held of the empire in America during three centuries, without an army and almost without a navy.

As Palerm Vich has pointed out, in the central part of Mexico, where Indian societies were strongly stratified, the Conquest was accompanied by a kind of pact between the upper classes of indigenous society and the new rulers. Part of the property of the old Indian chieftains and also part of their authority was respected, subordinated, of course, to that of the Spaniards.

In this way the *encomienda* could be maintained, facilitating the collecting of tribute, not for the old Aztec lords and their allies but for the new rulers. The old priestly groups were liquidated and substituted by the friars and secular clergy. The decline of the *encomienda* gave way to the stratification of society in the regime of castes. The great mining centers were founded, later to be followed by the great cattle and agricultural haciendas.

Since New Spain possessed the dual character of an extraordinarily productive colony and that of an economic, military, political and religious enclave, its exploitation permitted the Capital, Mexico City, to control the north of the subcontinent, the Antilles, the Philippines and other possessions in the Pacific. Men came to Mexico who not only brought trade goods, but their respective languages, religions and customs.

To take an example, our long intercourse with the Orient through the Philippines brought to Mexico Malays, Chinese, Moluccans, Philippinos and other ethnic groups, all referred to as 'Philippine Indians.' At the beginning these were few, but as our trade with Southeast Asia was intensified, their number grew to such proportions that in 1697, during the Holy Week celebrations in the Capital, according to Gemelli Carreri, the 'Indians of the Philippines' were able to organize their own procession, called that of 'the Chinamen.'

Negroes came with the conquerors aside from the possible existence of this race or its ethnic predecessors [in pre-Hispanic times], something which is suggested by the colossal heads at La Venta and Tres Zapotes. Cortés brought a negro slave by the name of Juan Cortés. The conqueror Juan Núñez Sedeño brought several, among them one called Juan Garrido. Pánfilo de Narváez also brought a few, one of whom was ailing of smallpox, or some form of malignant measles, which created an epidemic. Montejo took a few blacks with him to the conquest of Yucatan, and Pedro de Alvarado was permitted to carry with him two hundred. Almost all were brought from the Antilles. Men of different ethnic origins came to be called 'Negroes,' such as the Berbers of Mauretania, the Moors and even the Arabs.

The real Negroes came from the countries along the shores of the rivers of Guinea. Others came from Sierra Leona and a majority from the Bantu region. Both men and women were brought from the Congo. The Portuguese possessions furnished their share.

No precise information exists regarding the sum total of black emigration. Aguirre Beltrán states that between 1595 and 1646, 167,663 Negroes entered New Spain. This author speaks of the quick inter-breeding which took place within Colonial society. In 1570 the Africans numbered 20,569, and the Mulattoes 2,437, a 0.7 percent of a total population of 3.380,012. By 1810 the Negroes were some ten thousand and the Mulattoes 624,461 in a total population of 6.122,354 —that is to say 10.1 percent of the entire population of the country.

The Negroes were not a submissive element, and since their arrival, their rebellion against ill treatment and hard work led to several social conflicts. Their rebelliousness is recorded in many of the viceroy's and chronicler's letters where the Negroe's revolutionary spirit is denounced. Whether some of these accusations were true or invented, the restlessness of the Negroes was put down in a brutal manner and the conflict led the Viceroy don Luis de Velasco the Second reach a compromise with the Negroe chieftain Yanga, permitting him to found, with rebellious Negroes, the town of San Lorenzo de los Negros, in the vicinity of Cordoba, Veracruz.

If the condition of Negroes in slavery was difficult, that of the Indians was worse. The Black represented an investment that had to be cared for. The Indian was another story: there were plenty like him and his work was free.

From the interbreeding of conquerors with black women, that is, 'Philippine Indian women,' and other ethnic groups, came a racial mixture that, over the years, came to constitute a larger part of the population, since the characterization of 'Spanish' and 'white,' such as in the case of José María Morelos, did not fit into the ethnic classifications which had been established.

In order to classify the racial mixtures, an order of castes was established thus dividing New Spanish society. As a result, one social group frequently opposed another, fostering "the mutual hate of the castes," as Humboldt put it.

Eventually the castes became integrated with the interbreeding of Spaniards, Indians, Blacks, and later with mestizos. For practical reasons people were grouped in a number of categories which were zealously watched over by the authorities, inasmuch as each one carried specific rights and obligations, both of a political order and administrative, juridical, fiscal, and religious nature.

Yet, from this background of injustice and age-old misery came some of Mexico's finest men. Alamán wrote:

> These castes, defamed by laws, condemned by prejudices, nevertheless formed the most useful part of the population. Men who belonged to these castes, hardened by work in the mines, trained in the handling of horses, were those who provided the army with soldiers, not only in the corps composed of Mulattos and dark-skinned people from the coasts, but also the rank and soldiery disciplined in the interior of the country. According to law however, these should be made up of the Spanish race. These castes also provided trusted servants in the country and even in the city. They were highly intelligent and practiced all the trades and mechanical arts. In sum, it can be said that it was these men who contributed the major manpower of the country. Lacking education, they were subject to great defects and vices, but they had vigorous bodies and wide-awake spirits, they were susceptible to all that was good and all that was bad.

Mexico has been and is a melting pot of races and cultures. Age-old barriers have been demolished and a fusion of human beings from all parts was brought about by the War of Independence, which destroyed a large part of the structure of viceregal society. The chain of bloody revolutions eliminated the inherited exemptions and privileges that had converted certain social groups in a 'State within the State,' and the great revolutionary Mexican movement of 1910 consummated the process. No wonder Alfonso Caso has said that Mexico is a "country of three breads," because every day Mexican homes consume corn, native of Mexico, rice from Asia, and wheat from Europe.

Highways, railroads, and airplanes now have opened places formerly inaccessible. Today Mexico has not one face but many. The hands of her children have created many and varied things. There are many phases to her landscape and many to her message. Complex and deep, these people, ancient but new, came from civilizations already full-blown when the discoverers arrived from Europe. Its past refuses to be ignored when we wish to forget it. It speaks to us when its relics emerge from excavations in our cities or jungles, where the ancient gods, blind and mutilated, seem to sleep the sleep of the farmer who has finished his toil.

The world is pregnant with the future, suffering from the agony of a past which refuses to die, and from its birth-pains. Hopeful years, these years of ours, at the same time filled with twilight and radiance!

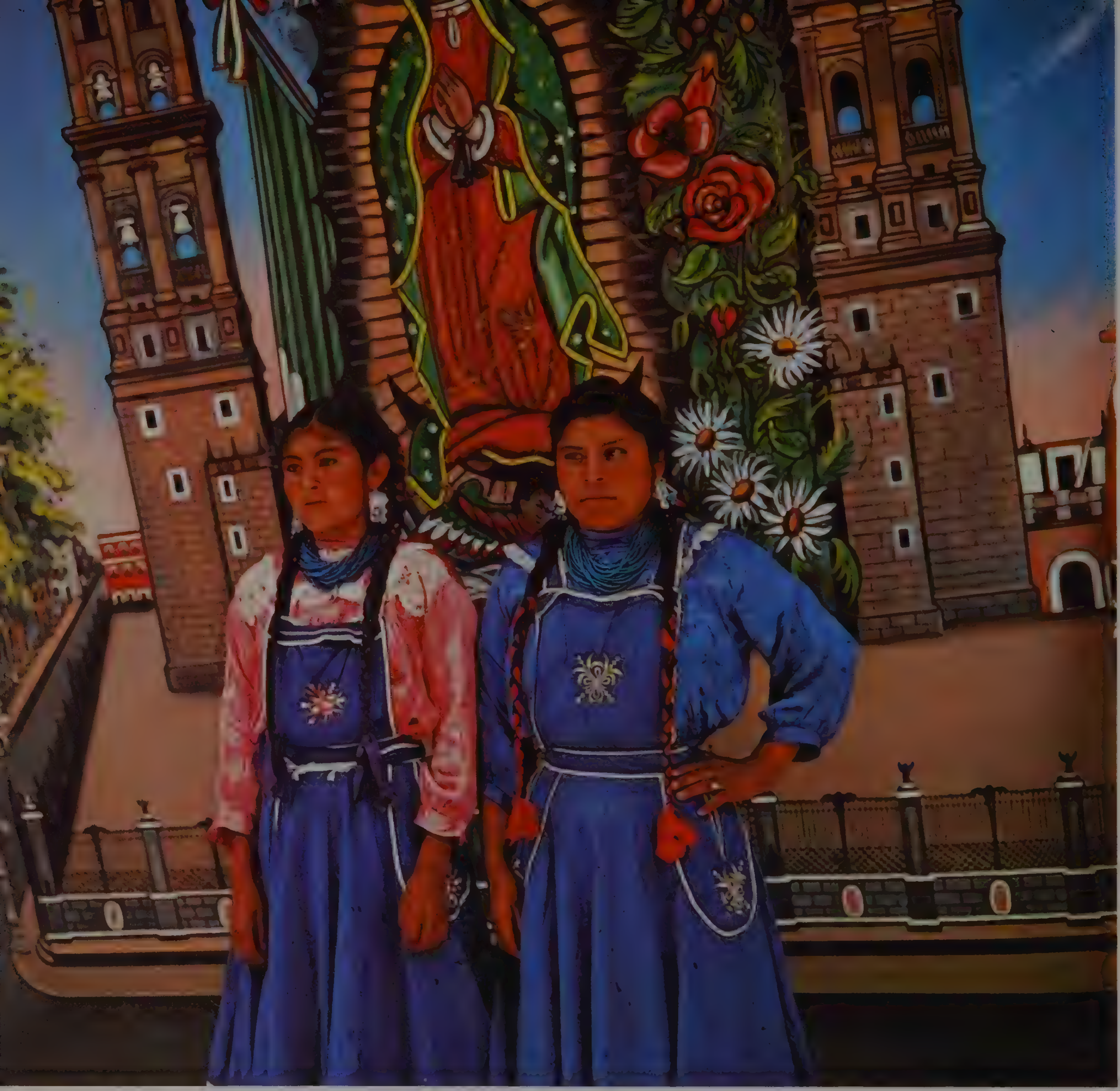
Side by side with Mexico, many nations have risen to an independent life. Today national ways of life are stronger than ever. In Africa, Asia, Oceania, and Latin America, rises an imposing chorus of voices, the voices of people ignored and humilliated for ages who finally have conquered the right to live. All these young and old nations like ours, contribute a part of their culture to a fertile stream manifested vigorously in their folk arts, for all that is folk is national.

The creation of beauty, a part of the lives of Mexican men and women, stems from remote ages. The Mexican love of color and form has weathered the erosion of time, of contempt, and of abandon.

We should encourage and protect folk art, just as the good earth and the good waters are protected, lest they be lost. Just as we enrich our fields so that they return their riches in the form of plants, we must also insure protection and respect to the producers and the fruits of folk art.

Without degrading the quality of their arts, we should foster in our countrymen their enormous capacity of imprisoning forms and colors, of turning their dreams into beauty, even though it be fugitive and perishable. Shakespeare says that man is made of the same stuff as his dreams.

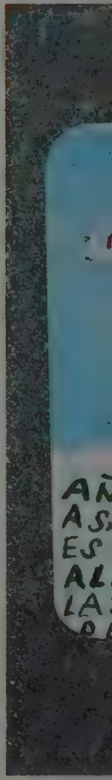
. . . Art was everywhere . . .



1 Posing for an itinerant photographer. Huamantla, Tlaxcala

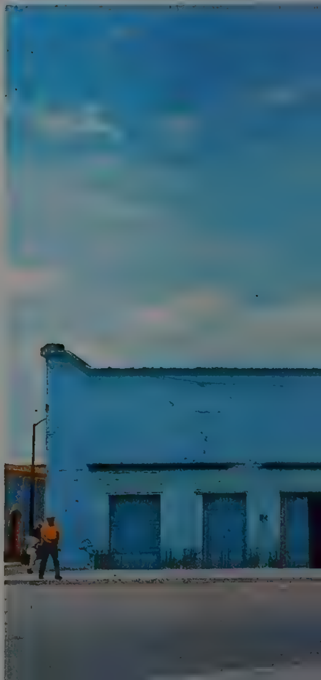
. . . art was everywhere: devotees bribed saints with *ex-votos,* lovers melted the hearts of their beloveds with portraits, artisans and merchants hired the painter to beautify their shops with murals and thus increase business. Sculpture existed for specialized aims —dark pieces, idols of secret worship, semblances used for black magic; innocent pieces, those marvelous toys worth a few cents, beautiful as Han tomb figures. The output was so varied as to be unclassifiable, so cheap as to be despised, so close to all, so thrust under everyone's eyes as to become invisible. The aesthetic instinct, perhaps the prime mover of the Mexican, who has but a weak instinct for economics, forbids the concept of art as a luxury and replaces it by the concept of art as a subjective commodity. Jean Charlot[1]

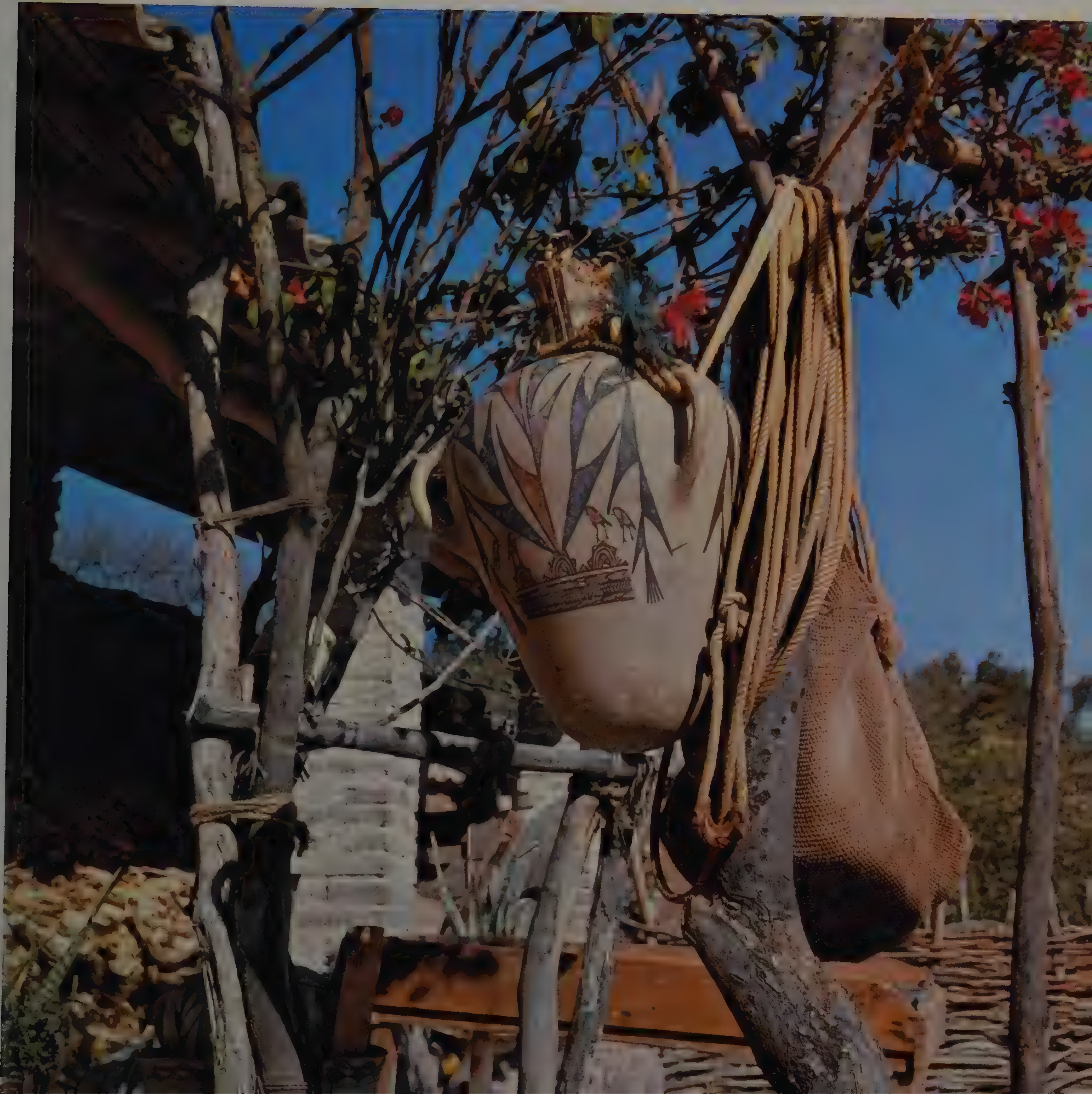
2. Pottery stand. Texcoco, State of Mexico.



5. Ex Voto. San Juan de los Lagos, Jalisco.

8. Facades. Lagos de Moreno,





13. Jar. Ameyaltepec, Guerrero.

OBJECTS FROM EVERYDAY LIFE

By Daniel F. Rubín de la Borbolla

The man of yesterday and of today has lived surrounded as much by a natural environment as by that which he has created —from the most simple dwelling such as the cave and cliff shelter up to the teepee and the more complicated and conglomerate modern city. From the most remote past the association between families and groups forged a community of interests which served to create a human habitat.

If nature provides the primary materials, man, through his imagination and manual hability, transforms them into objects and expressions, some of great beauty and worth: tools and arms; clothing and decorations; houses for himself and for his gods, houses for government and instruction; means of transport and storage; forms of work, music and song, dances and literature— all that reflects man's creative and technological genius.

All that man creates has form or color, content and function. Each one of these elements has its own and independent expression, which makes a harmonic group according to the object or the idea he tries to express and the use to which it is destined. Far removed, indeed, is present-day popular art from the simplicity which today we attribute to its origins.

Popular folk art and folklore are the two aspects of American indigenous culture which have endured, perhaps because through them man can express more freely —and as an individual— his sensibilities, his emotions and experiences, without detriment to the practical function for which they were conceived.

Let us remember that American man lived isolated from the rest of the world during a period of twenty-five to forty thousand years and that during this long period he transformed his culture and enriched it, creating common forms of artistic expression —regional, local, and individual ones— different from those which man conceived and used in other parts of the world. That they should have likenesses in common we do not deny, but the experiences, sensibilities, emotions, and discontents, which lend richness to the objects created, have, in each case, their own human dimensions. Whatever likeness exists is accidental or responds to a phenomenon of cultural parallelism which reflects experiences common to all humanity.

Crafts such as the carving of stones; basketmaking and weaving of vegetable and animal fibers; the carving of wood, bone, horn, mollusk and snail shell, barks and hard husks, and the making of objects of feathers and skins are so ancient that their origins are lost in the mists of time and the space of the Americas.

Pottery-making, architecture, painting, sculpture, metal work, and elaborate garment making appeared about the same time as the discovery of agriculture. The man found more advantageous means of insuring his daily sustenance without depending exclusively upon the collecting of seeds and plants, hunting and fishing.

From northern Mexico to Panama the land is exposed to the most varied climates. Its geography includes deserts, mountain ranges, volcanoes and peaks crowned with snow, glaciers, plateaus and lake regions surrounded by coniferous forests and rivers which have dug out basins of singular beauty and majesty; swampy lowlands and tropical forests; coasts which are arid and coasts which are fertile.

All this immense variety forms Middle America. In this area millions of people constitute and ethnic complex made up of variants of mestizo, Indian, and European features.

In this territory man reached high cultural, artistic and economic levels, comparable to those of Egypt and Mesopotamia, Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, Angkor-Wat and ancient Asia. This rich native heritage is the most vigorous, substantial component of Mexican folk art, the link that joins it to the rest of the American Continent.

The Spanish conquerors, early colonists, missionaries, and craftsmen brought from the Iberian Peninsula both European and Moorish traditions which were imposed upon or adopted by the indigenous population.

Spain enriched the already existing Indian crafts with raw materials such as wool and the skins of European domestic animals; iron and metals such as steel and brass; glass, paper, and pasteboard; gunpowder, and dyes. But its greatest contribution was in providing tools, which inevitably provoked a technological revolution. The Indian craftsman had depended upon tools of bone, wood, stone, horn, obsidian, and flint. In spite of his great civilization, technologically he lived in the Stone Age. From that level he went on to adopt the Spanish technology of the XVI Century, without completely abandoning his traditional techniques and manufacturing processes.

In addition to new materials certain tools were acquired and crafts learned, such as the forging of metal —iron, steel, and copper, and the use of brass and lead; blown and pressed glass which caught the attention and appealed to the curiosity of the natives; European methods of tanning skins and making leather products; the weaving of silk and woolen cloth, and the introduction of the spindle or distaff and the pedal loom; and also the introduction of oils, pigments, caustics, acids, hand and pedal bellows; the potter's wheel, varnishes and lacquers for glazing ceramics, and the manufacture of majolica, bricks, roof tiles, and glazed ornamental tiles.

Soon other European influences were felt, mainly Italian and French. Trade with the New World departed from the port of Cadiz. As a result of this influx of articles, modifications were felt in silversmith, gold and silver work, and jewelry making, furniture manufacture, and in some of the decorative elements and shapes in ceramics and in glass.

Together with the currents flowing from the Old World others equally important appeared from the East. They were different from the European ones but had many characteristics in common with those forms and shapes native to America. The Manila galleon established a permanent contact between the southern parts of Asia, and the New World. Upon the opening up of the direct navigation between Acapulco and the Philippine Islands there began an interchange of products between the so-called West and East Indies. To Mexico and Peru came the finest silks, brocades, gauzes, cotton cloths, bandannas, carpets and rugs from China, India, Persia, and Afghanistan; lacquered goods from Coromandel, Japan, and Kashmir; pottery and porcelains; carvings in jade, ivory, and precious woods; bronzes, furniture, and jewelry. In addition spices, perfumes, and aromatic essences arrived.

All these products left traces or stamped special features on Mexican arts and crafts as in the case of the majolica ware of the cities of Puebla, Guanajuato, Aguascalientes, and Sayula (Jalisco); and in the design of lacquer *(maque)* of Olinala, Chiapa de Corzo, Puebla, Acapetlahuaya, Quiroga, Patzcuaro, and Uruapan; in textiles and in many other objects.

East Indian technology has little influence on Mexican crafts. Although the Mexican artisan copied and adapted Oriental forms and motifs, thus enriching some products such as lacquer ware and Puebla *Talavera* pottery, he had no personal contact with the Orient as he did with his European teachers. African influence on Middle American folk art exists in musical instruments, masks, architecture, and decoration.

The new ruling class —the Colonial authorities, *encomenderos, hacendados,* the military, and the missionaries— demanded new products from the Indian population. Up to this time the Indian artisan had produced for his own needs and those of his community. While he continued to make traditional pottery, basketry, lacquer, stone and wooden utensils, he now enlarged and modified his production to satisfy the new demands, and to conform to the taste of the client, the merchant, or the new market.

From the different types of artistic apportations, at times fused with amazing rapidity, at times very slowly, a general style, with regional nuances, yet common to all areas, was formed. The Mexicans were proud of the products conceived by the artisans of this country, by their own hands and within their own traditions. National fame was acquired by the serapes of Saltillo and Tlaxcala; the Talavera pottery from Puebla and the crockery made of *barro de olor*, a fragrant clay, from Tonala; the *xicalpextle* or decorated gourds of Chiapa de Corzo, the *maque* or native lacquer work of Olinala; the *peribanas* of the West and the marquetry or inlaid work of Oaxaca; the gold jewelry of Huetamo, the gold and silver work of Puebla, the tortoise shell and objects of Campeche; the fine cottons elaborated with drawn work of the Bajio, the *barragán,* a waterproof garment of Patzcuaro, the *rebozos* of Puebla and Santa Maria del Rio, the saddlery of Puebla and the *charro* horsemen hats of San Francisco del Rincon, and so many other products which found their way to the regional fairs which were attended by craftsmen and buyers.

The folk arts of New Spain reflected the artistic sensitivity and technological abilities of the indigenous creator, at the same time that they fulfilled the demands not only of this same indigenous group (almost completely monolingual, disconnected from or barely incorporated into the Western culture), but also satisfied the tastes and the contradictory currents of the ruling class, the Spaniards recently arrived from overseas.

In the midst of all this great social phenomenon were found forces which struggled to express themselves through popular art and handicrafts. The Indian defended himself socially and economically, shielding himself with the remnants of his own culture: his popular art, his folklore and other expressions of his spiritual life. The mestizo emulated the Creole and the latter, in turn, tried to imitate the Spaniard. Although each expressed himself in his own way, they all contributed to the formation of a new expression.

After Mexico's independence from Spain, industrial production of England and France modified the tastes and styles of the period, upsetting the balance within the economic and artistic organization of the popular arts which stemmed from the Colonial Mexican tradition. During this period, a negative one for the folk art of many nations, the Indian continued in his own world, without much change. The urban man, however, was submitted to pressures, heterogeneous influences and changing currents of a different nature. The world witnessed a crisis in the manual crafts and the rise of mechanized production.

The artisan fought against external invasion. Some forms disappeared but soon were replaced by other until new equilibriums were met, sometimes at the expense of quality. At other times traditional artistic expressions were sacrificed. The artisan was increasingly dependent upon the merchant and the merchant in turn upon changing international currents. That folk art succeeded in surviving is proof of its vitality.

The interest in contemporary Mexican popular art is a recent phenomenon which springs from the Mexican Revolution of 1910-21. As a natural expression of a social movement with deep popular roots it returned to its own cultural heritage. Folk art is one of the deepest traditional roots, one which the people, who produce it and use it, understands best.

At present, popular art and Mexican handicrafts are serving in the fields of architecture, interior decoration, and in the garment industry. The possession of folk art gives pleasure to thousands and there is a growing world demand for it, due to more and more facilities in world-wide communications.

New methods of production endanger the very existence of popular art, its uniqueness and ist artistic value. The survival of folk-art —its social, economic, artistic, and educational importance— is a challenge that cannot be ignored. Mexican popular art is no longer only national in its scope but now forms a part of universal folk art. This radical change, although it carries with it many healthy aspects, must not endanger the freshness, the artistic and technical quality of Mexican crafts in the face of competition from other lands.

The different tendencies which are projected in popular art at the present time, correspond to the reality of Mexican life today. In this respect we should be able to sum up the situation as follows:

A substantial and vigorous Mexican folk art exists with traditions and survivals of the currents which shaped it. From these traditions, new expressions have been derived, responding to the stimuli of the environment.

Between the demand for popular art and its production is a gap which is slowly filled in by drawing on Mexican tradition as well as an art of universal currents. With time this imbalance will find its equilibrium. The increased demand has resulted in low quality semi-industrialized products, made by cheap hand production of inferior objects for a market of both deceptively low prices and strong competition in the national and world market. This must be considered a negative phenomenon but one that is not unusual in the world of art. This type of production is not popular art. It is neither handicraft nor a frankly industrialized product and, for that reason, it is called by the public that buys it, Mexican Curios. From time to time some of these products are exceptions because they possess vigor and charm of true value.

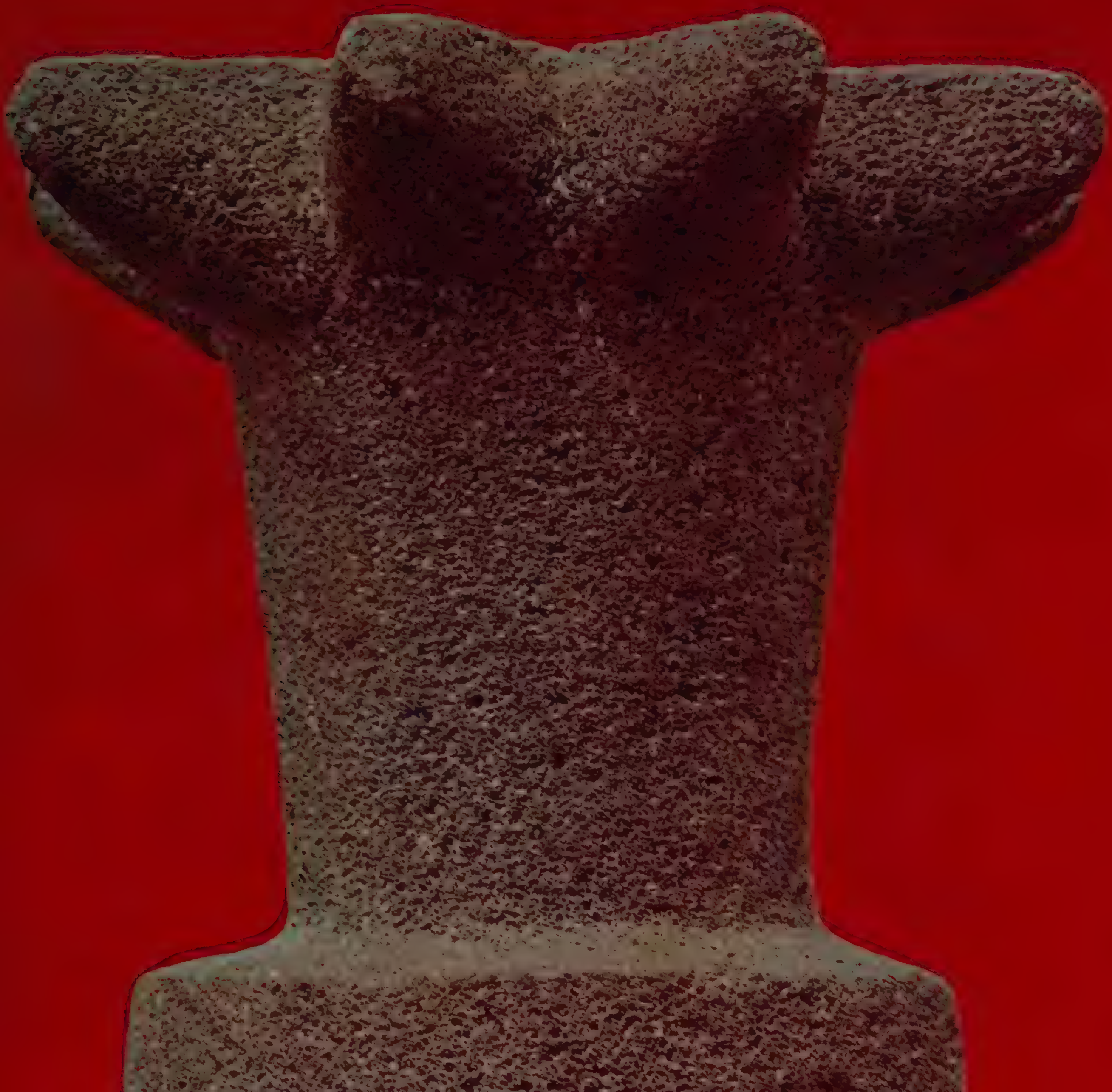
New currents in the fine arts look to traditional folk art more and more for inspiration. They find rich material in forms, techniques, basic solutions that are not academic, a new vein from which to draw. This situation favors, without a doubt, art in general, and opens new horizons for popular art. There are no barriers to true folk art, nor can it be called and inferior art.

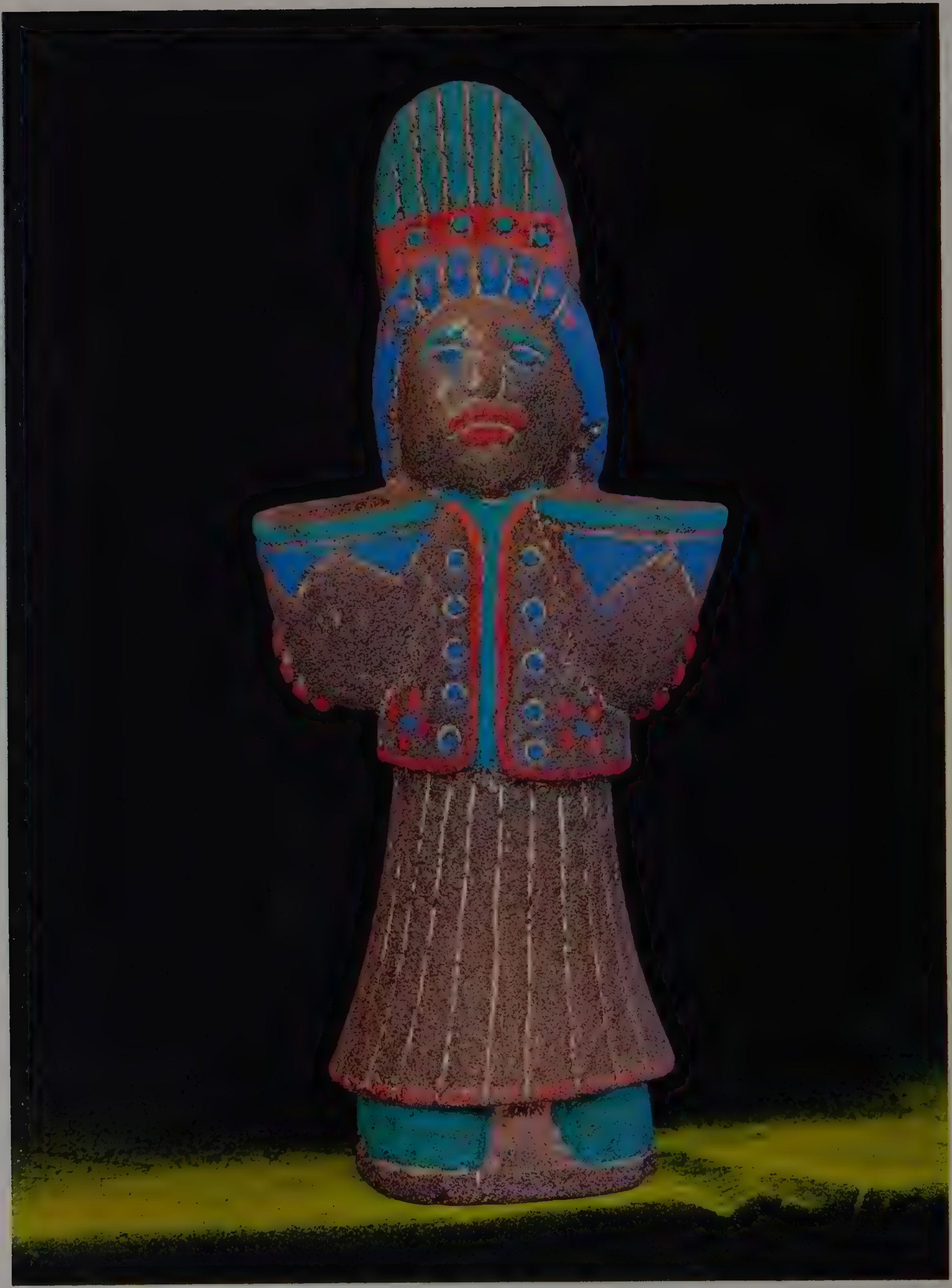
Its true content and use and the intimate contact between the producer and buyer allow the exploration of all the possibilities, all the emotions and all the forms of expression of which man is capable in order that no plastic adventure escape his attention and appraisal.

The technical experience and human sensibility which popular art has accumulated so tenaciously and generously can not be lost, as long as it fulfills the functions its culture demands.

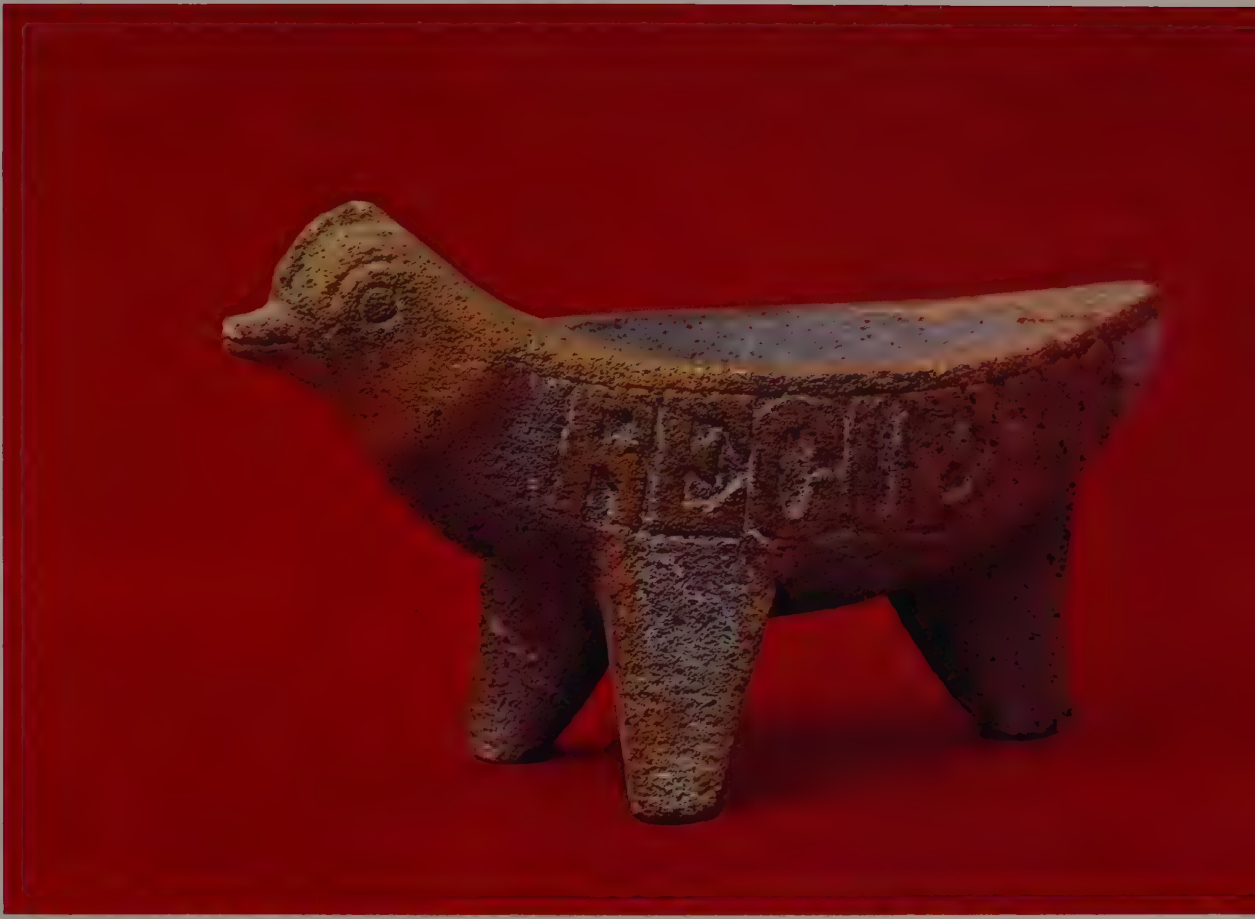
Observe and caress beautiful forms
daily. . . Octavio Paz[3]

On page 95:
14. Saltcellar. San Salvador el Seco, Puebla.

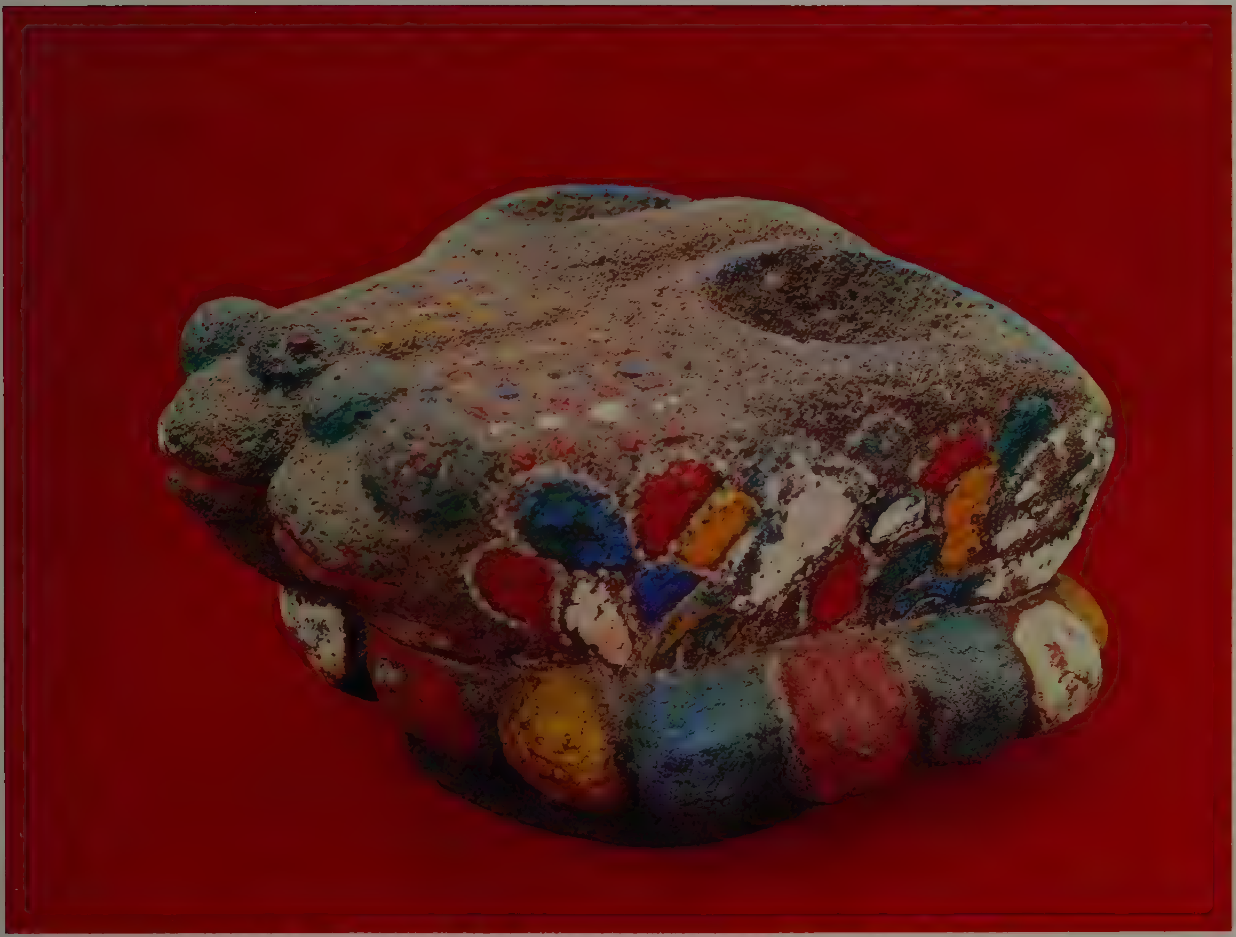




15. Saltcellar. San Salvador el Seco. Puebla.

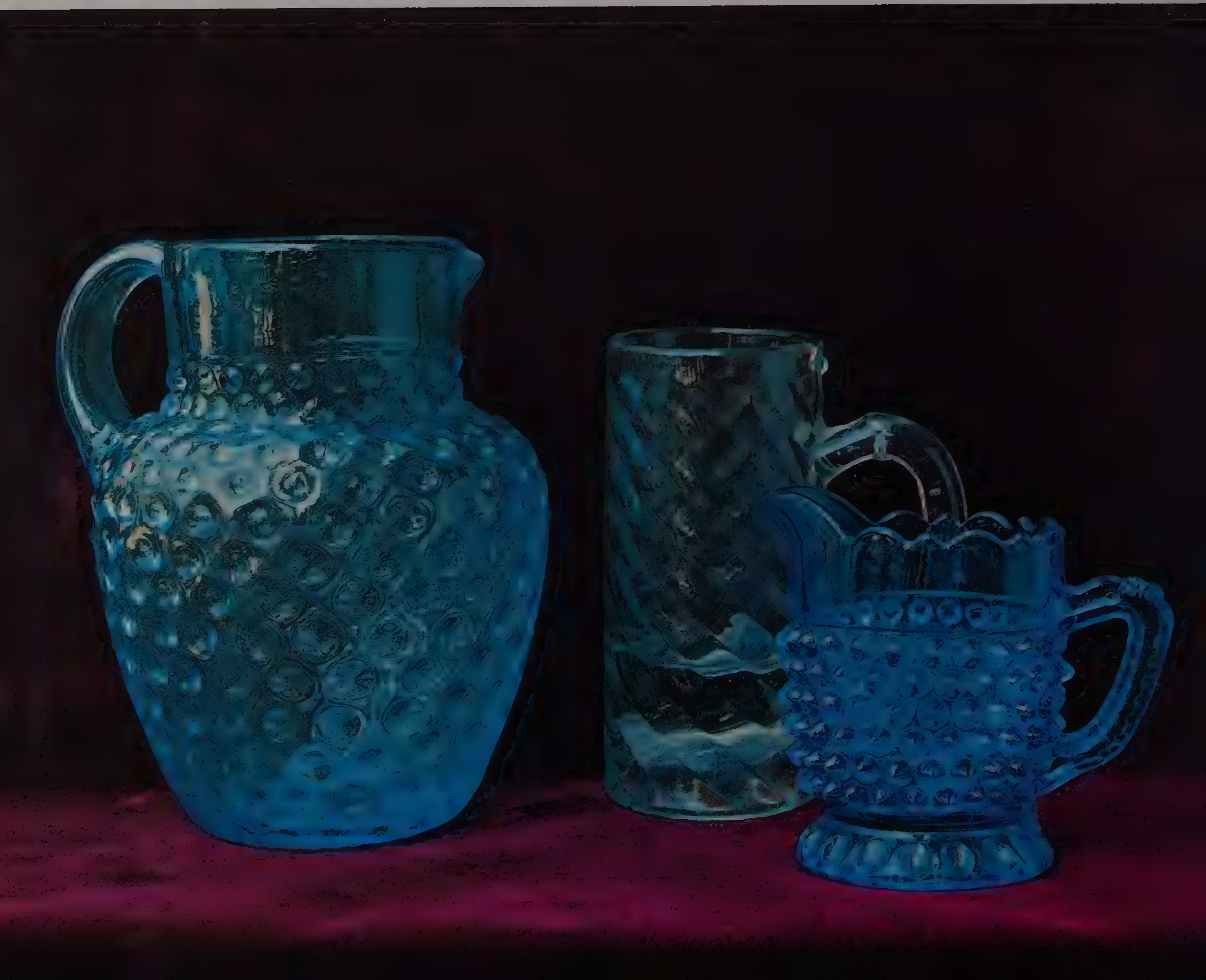


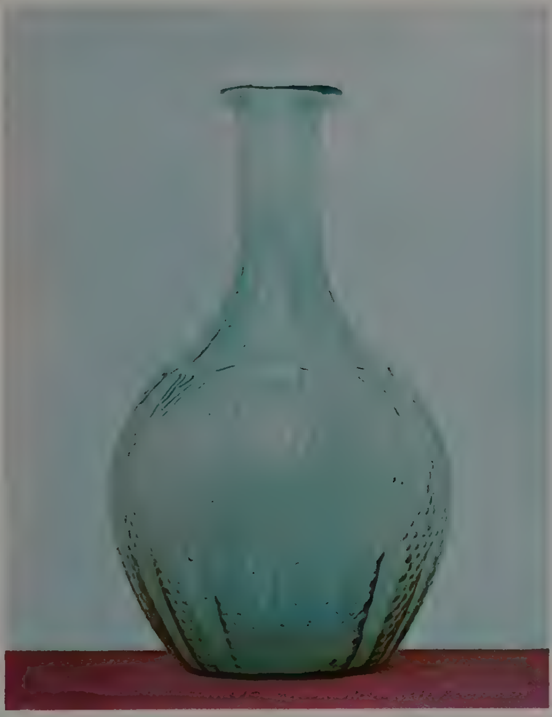
16. Grinding stone. San Salvador el Seco, Puebla.



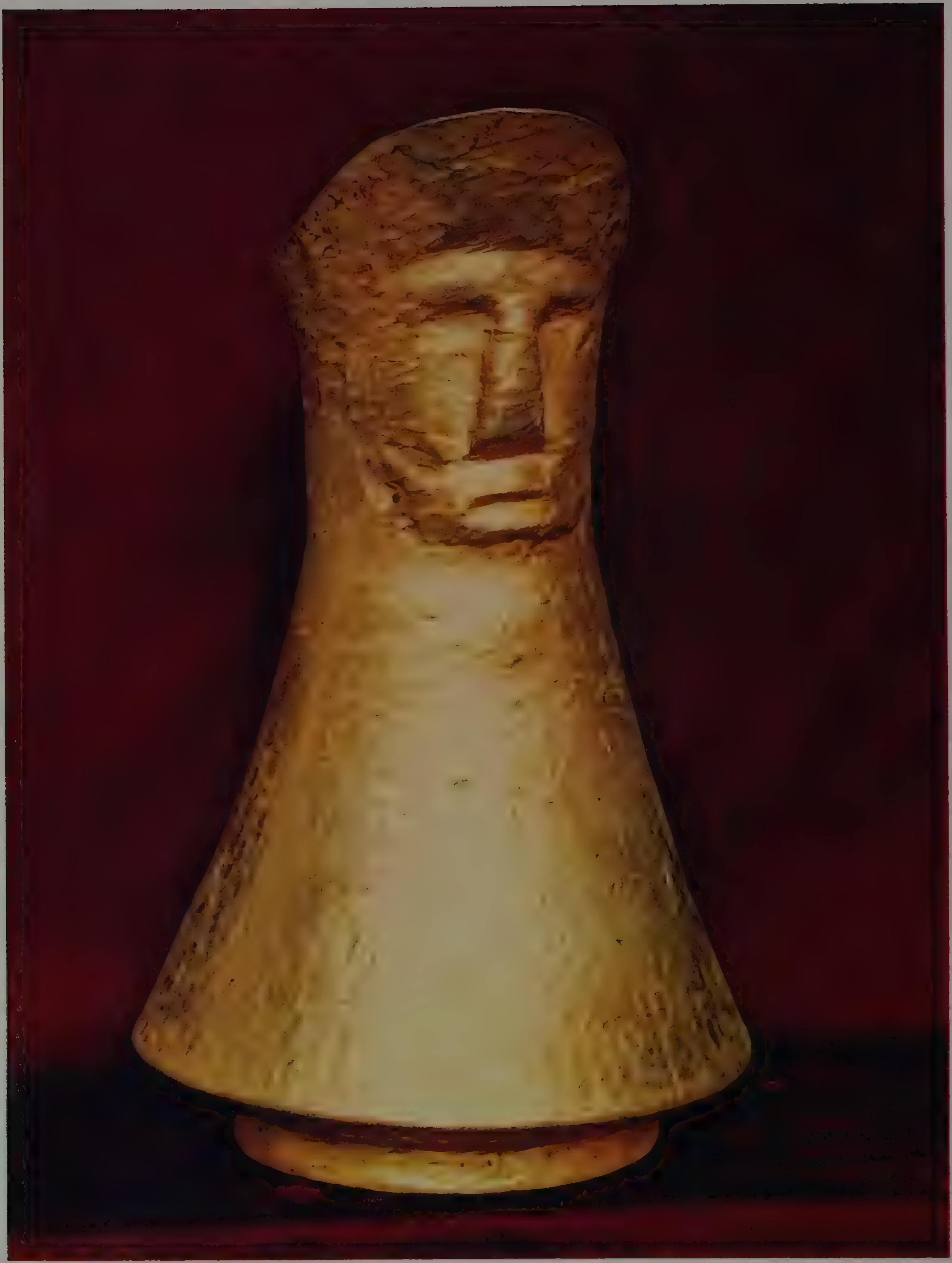
17. Saltcellar. San Salvador el Seco, Puebla.

18 & 20. Glass objects. City of Puebla.

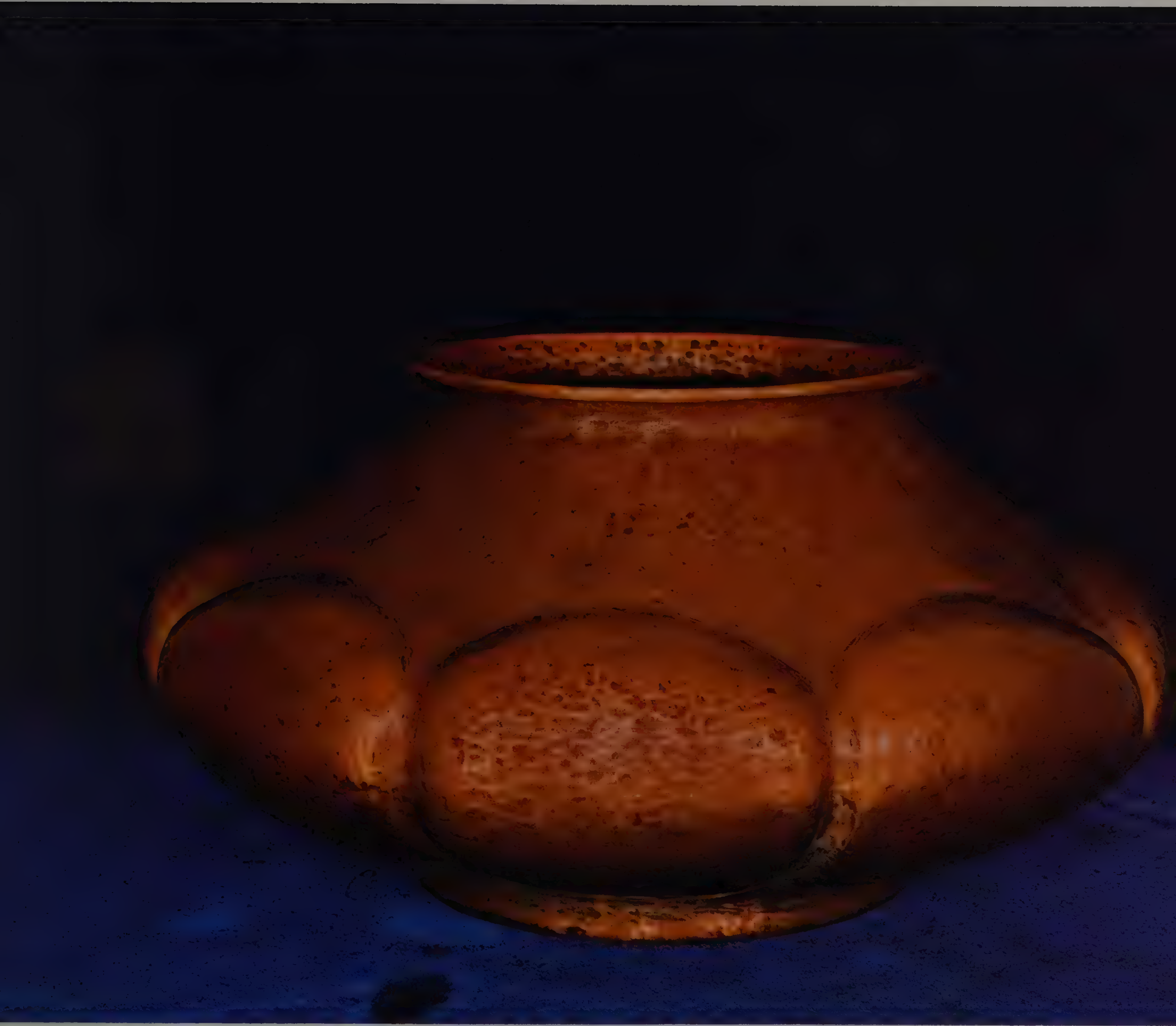




19. Glass water bottle. City of Puebla.

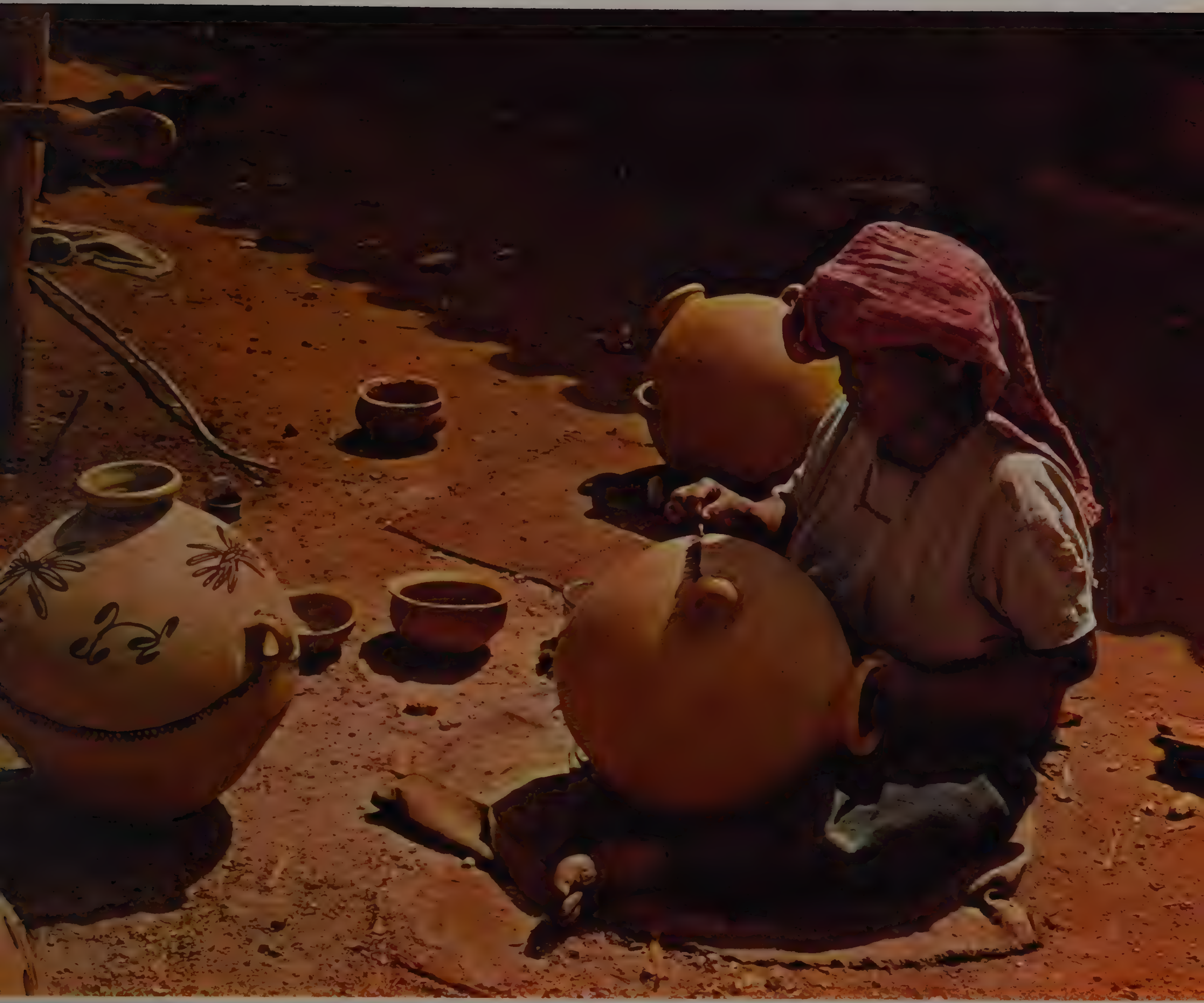


21. Copper pitcher. Santa Clara del Cobre, Michoacan.

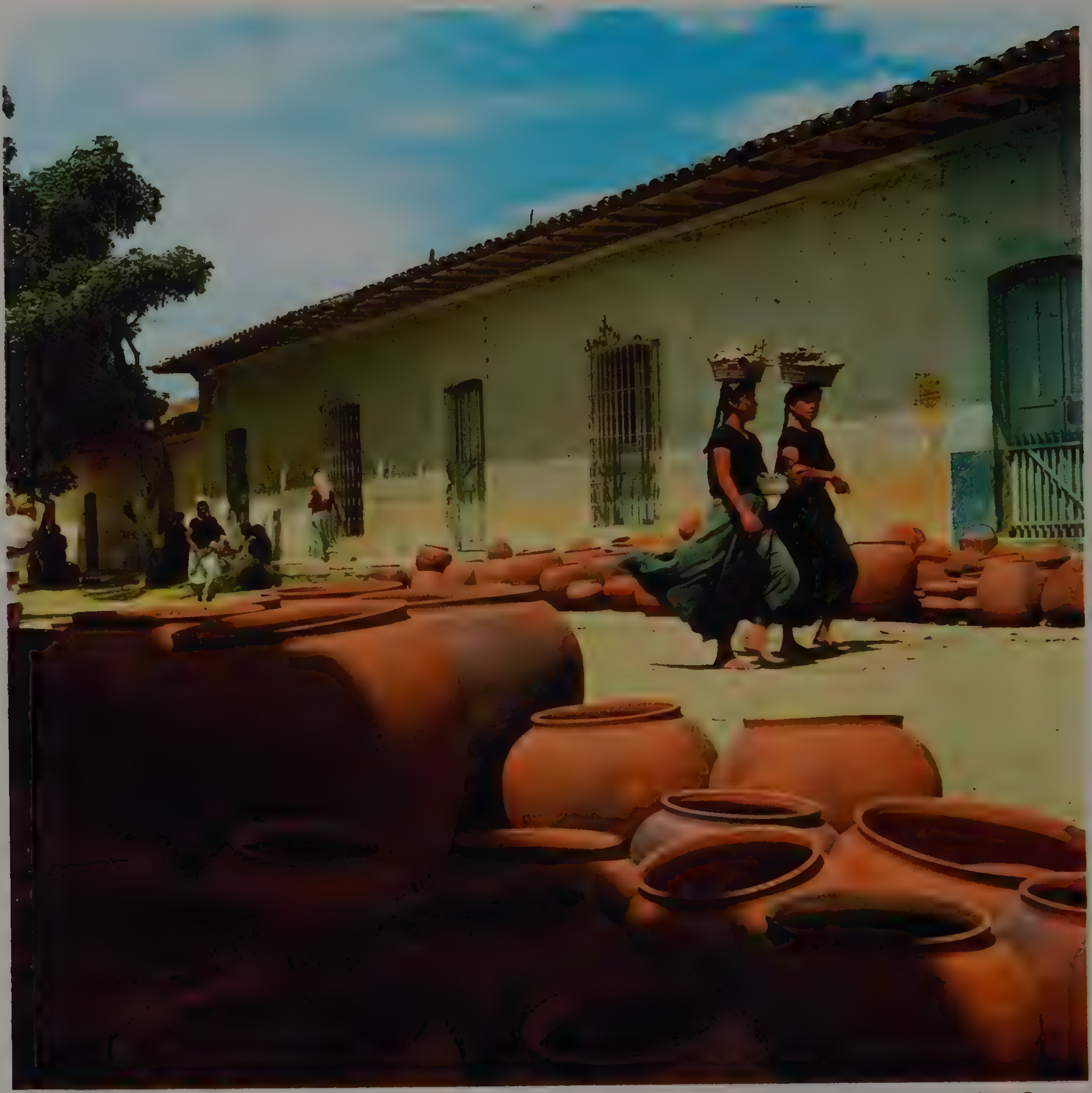


22. Copper pot. Santa Clara del Cobre, Michoacan.

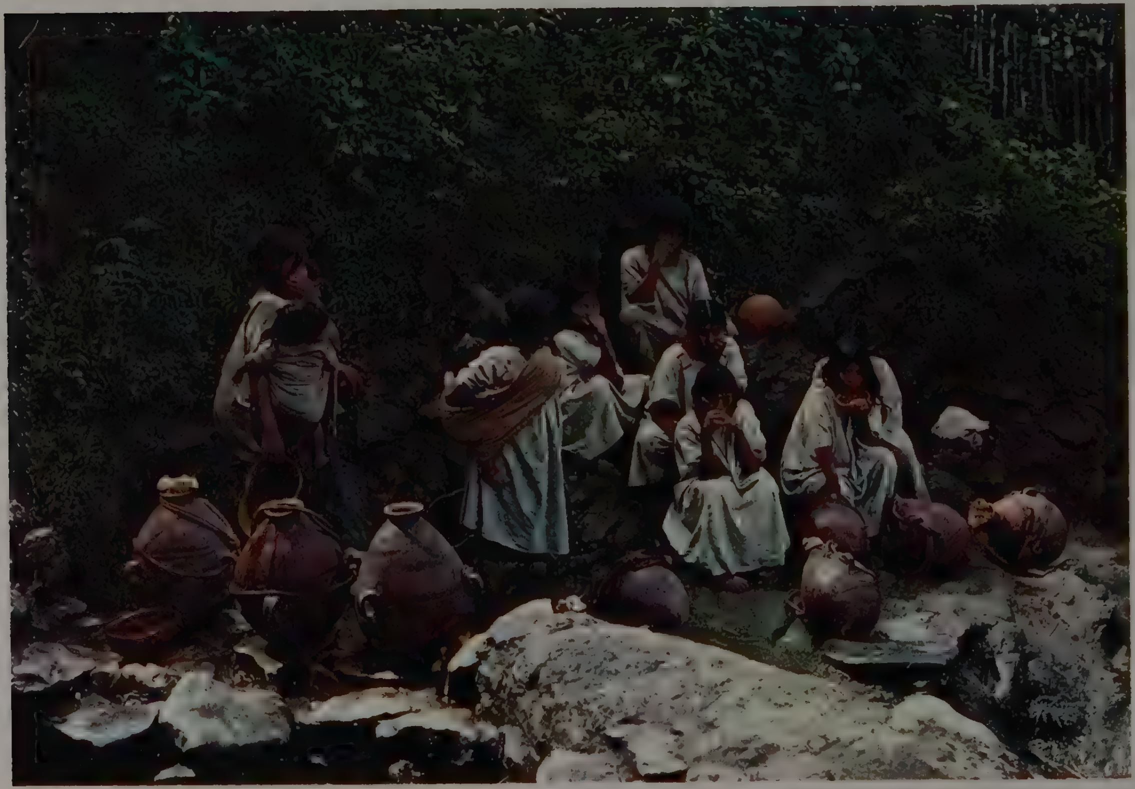
It was above all the minor arts that made life more decorative, for they were applied, with great success, to everything from the humblest earthenware dish to jewels of gold: nothing was vulgar; nothing showed the signs of hasty workmanship or the naked pursuit of effect and profit. The conquerors were astonished by the extraordinary and luxurious productions of the craftsmen of Tenochtitlan, the goldsmiths, lapidaries, and feather-workers. JACQUES SOUSTELLE[1]



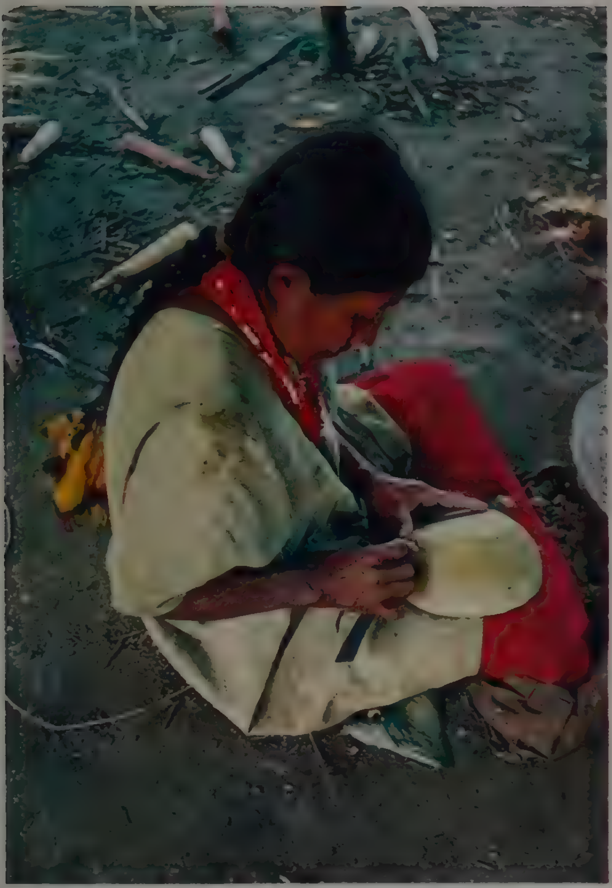
23. Woman potter. Amatenango, Chiapas.



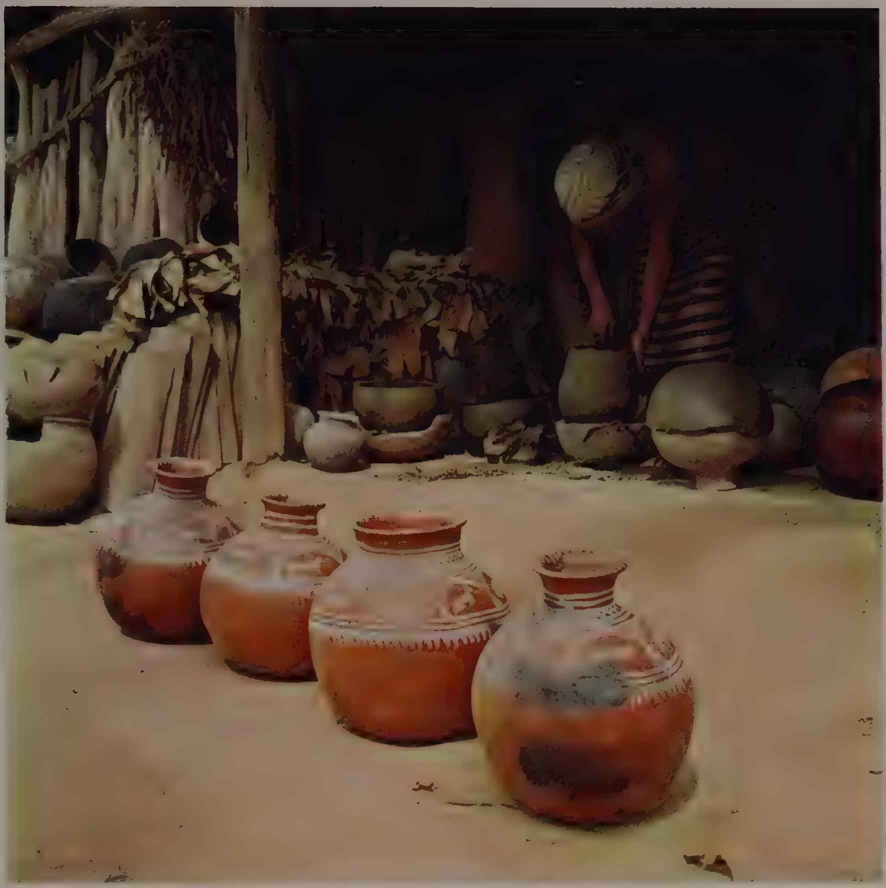
24. Pottery market. Juchitan, Oaxaca.



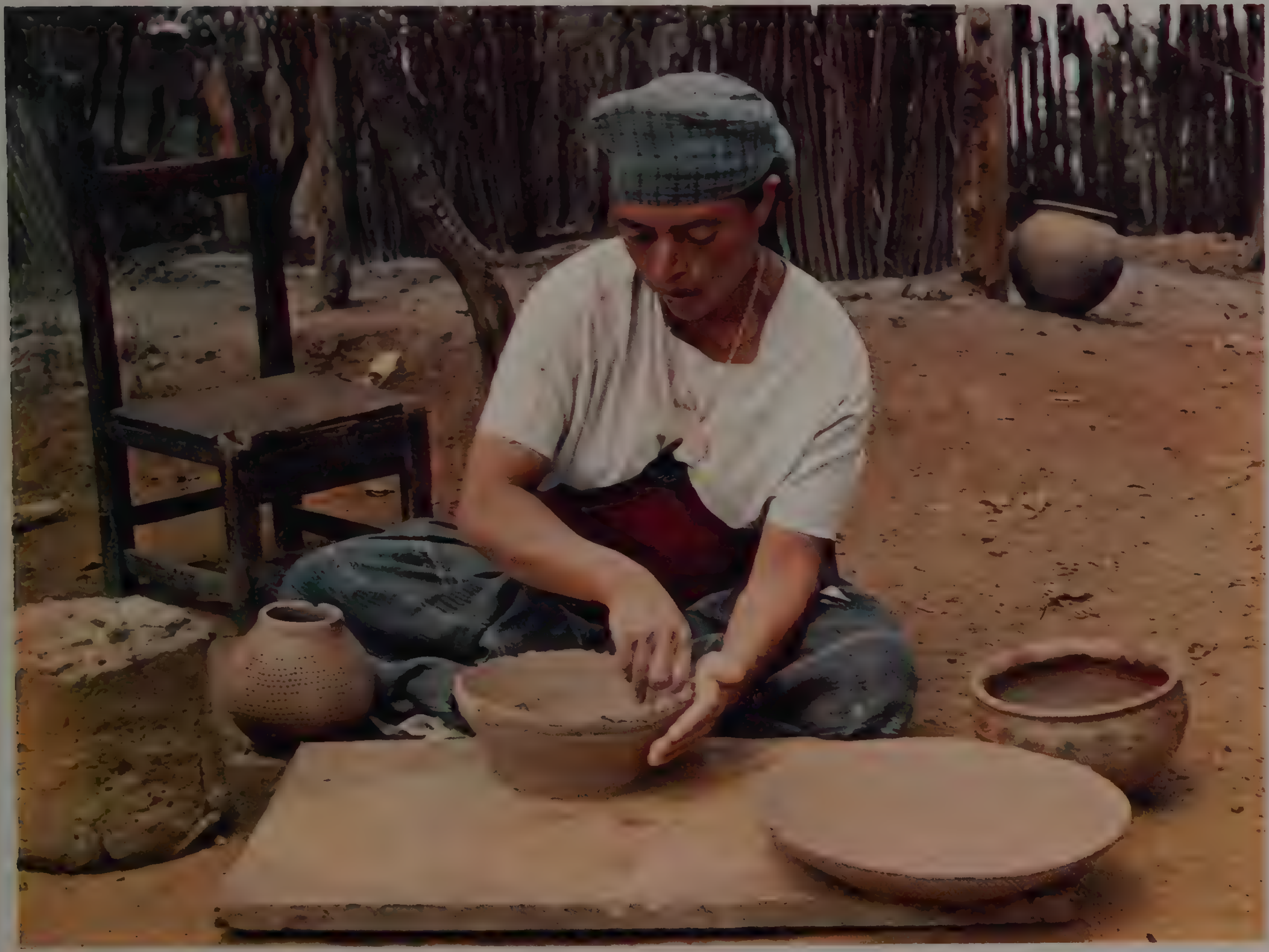
25. In a spring at Canuc, Chiapas.



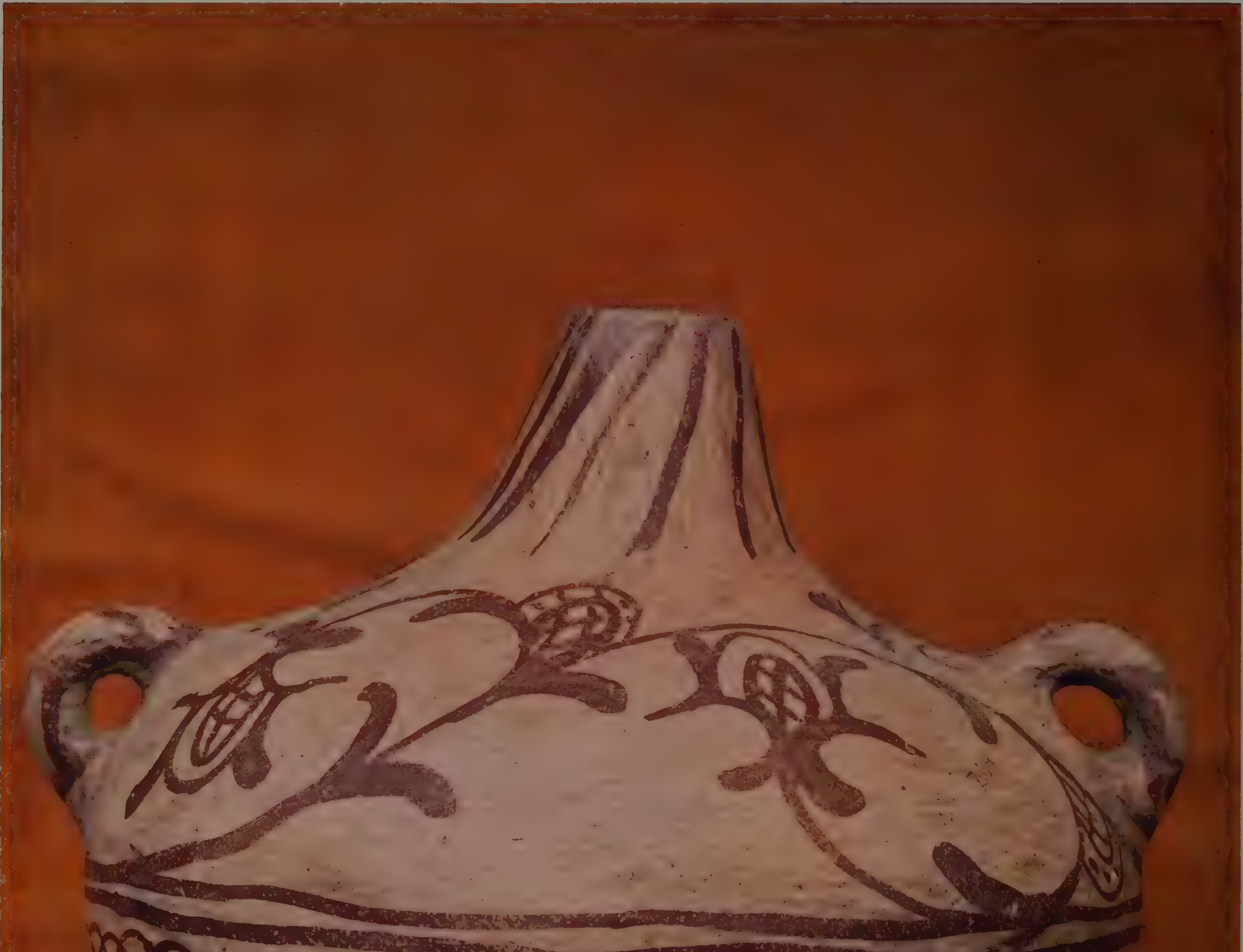
26. Lacandon potter. Naja, Chiapas.



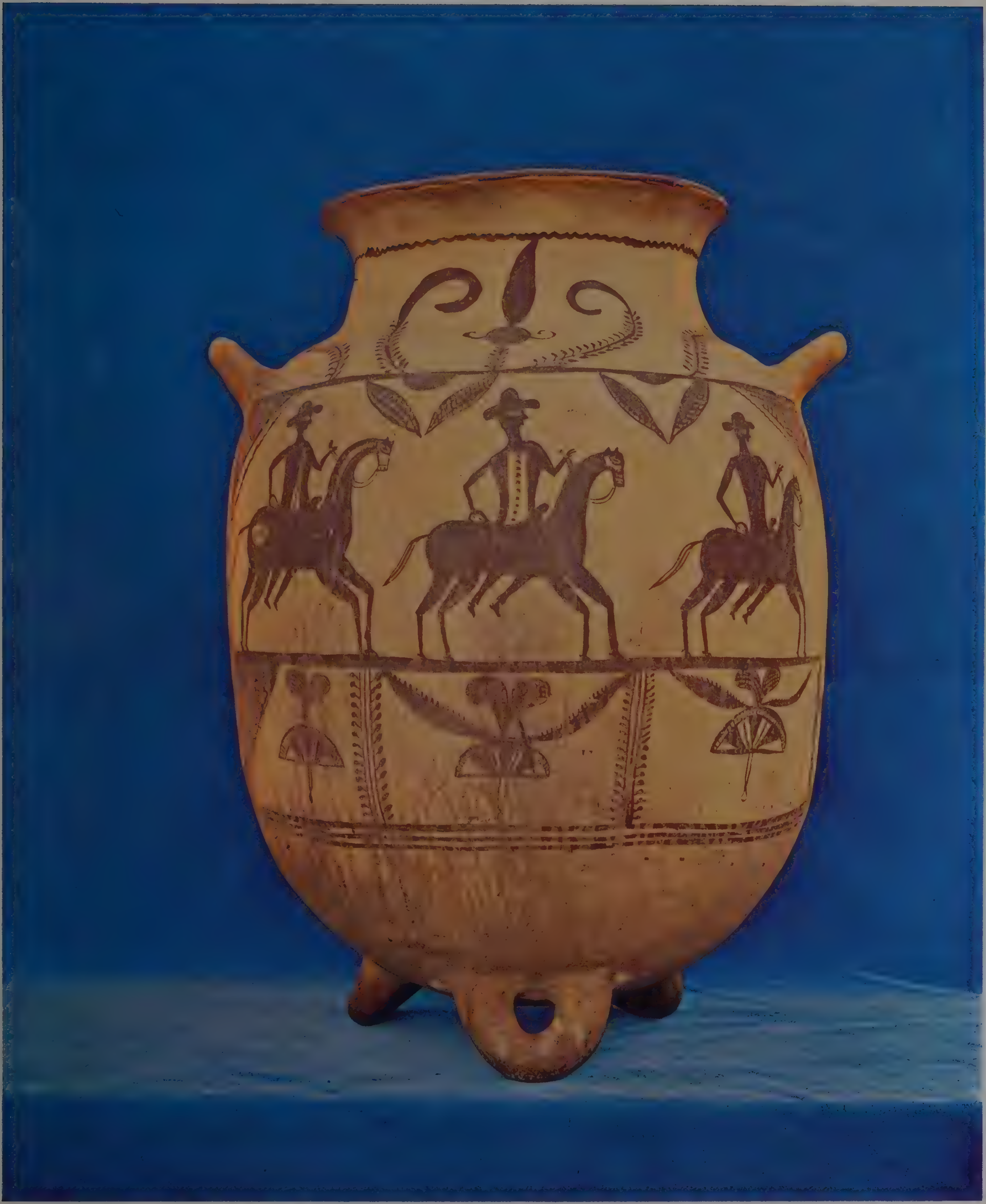
27. Potter. Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca.



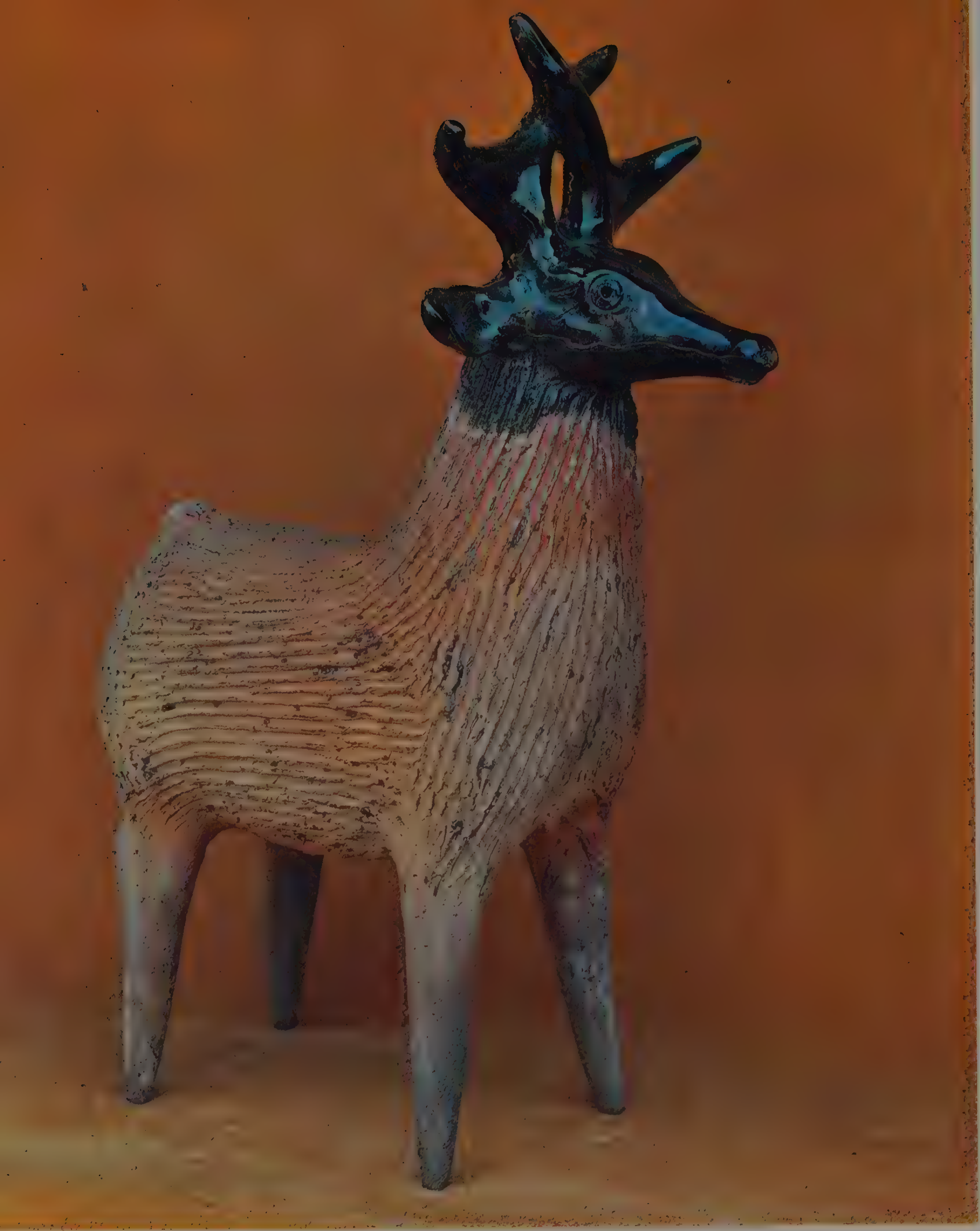
28. Pottery maker. Amatenango, Chiapas.



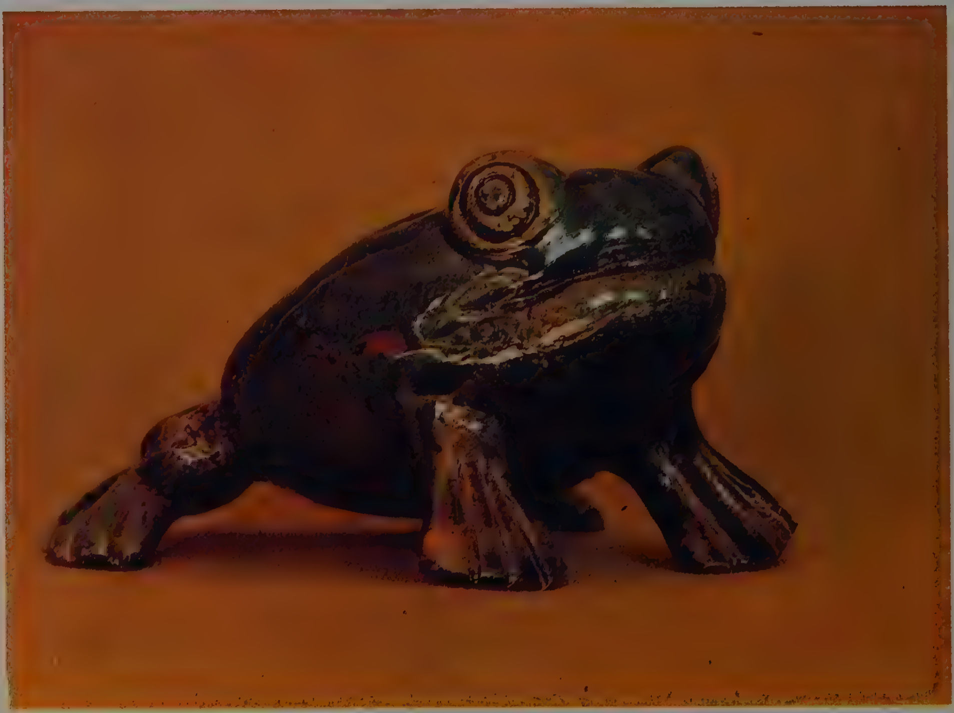
29. Jar. Tampuche, Veracruz.



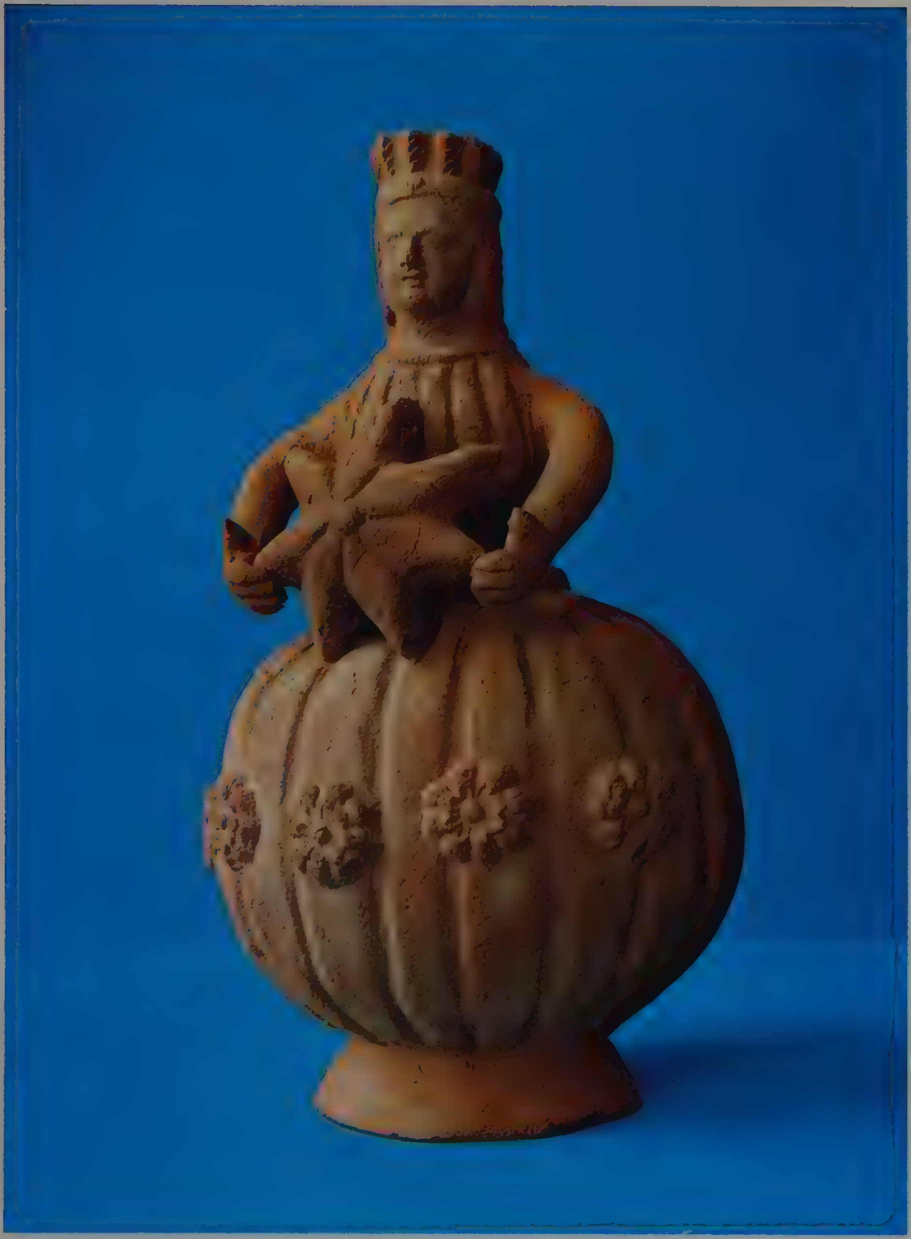
30. Vessel. San Agustin de las Flores, Guerrero.



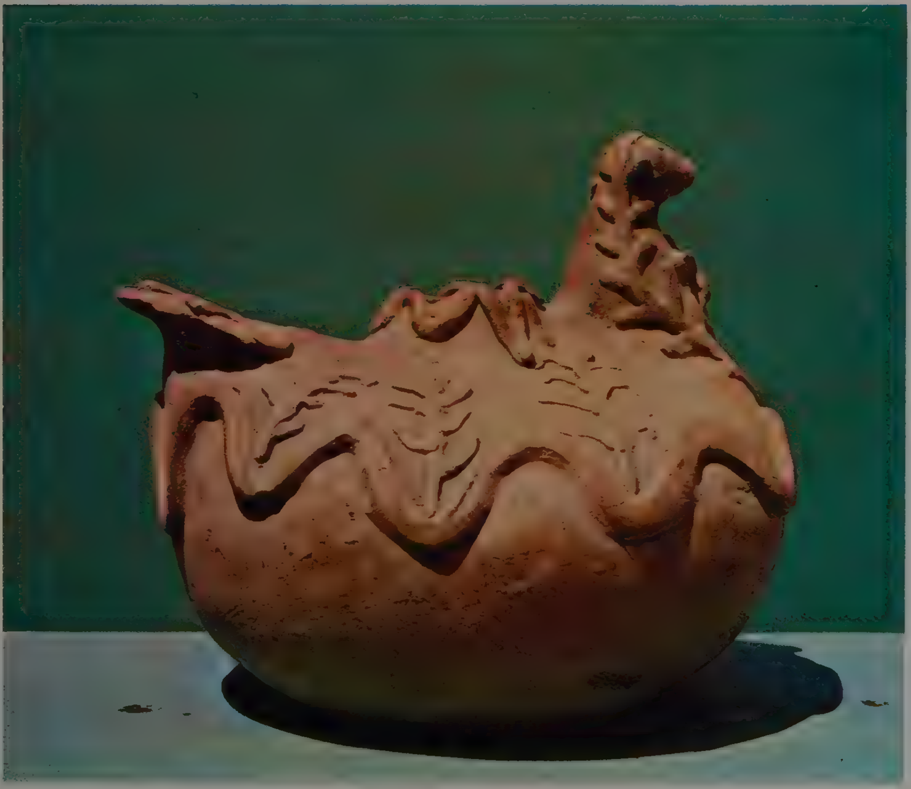
31. Clay deer, flaxseed container. Atzompa, Oaxaca.



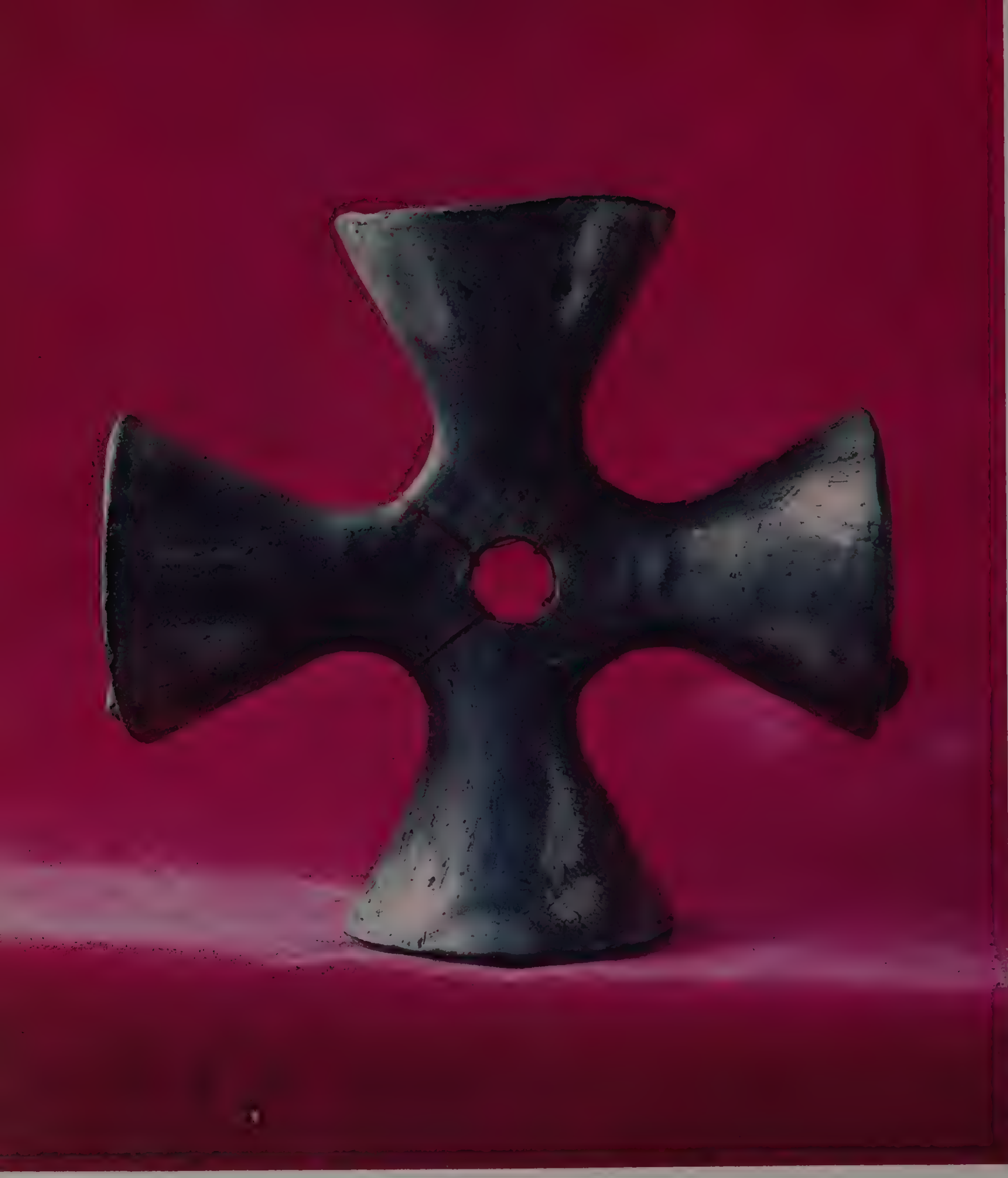
32. Toothpick holder. Atzompa, Oaxaca.



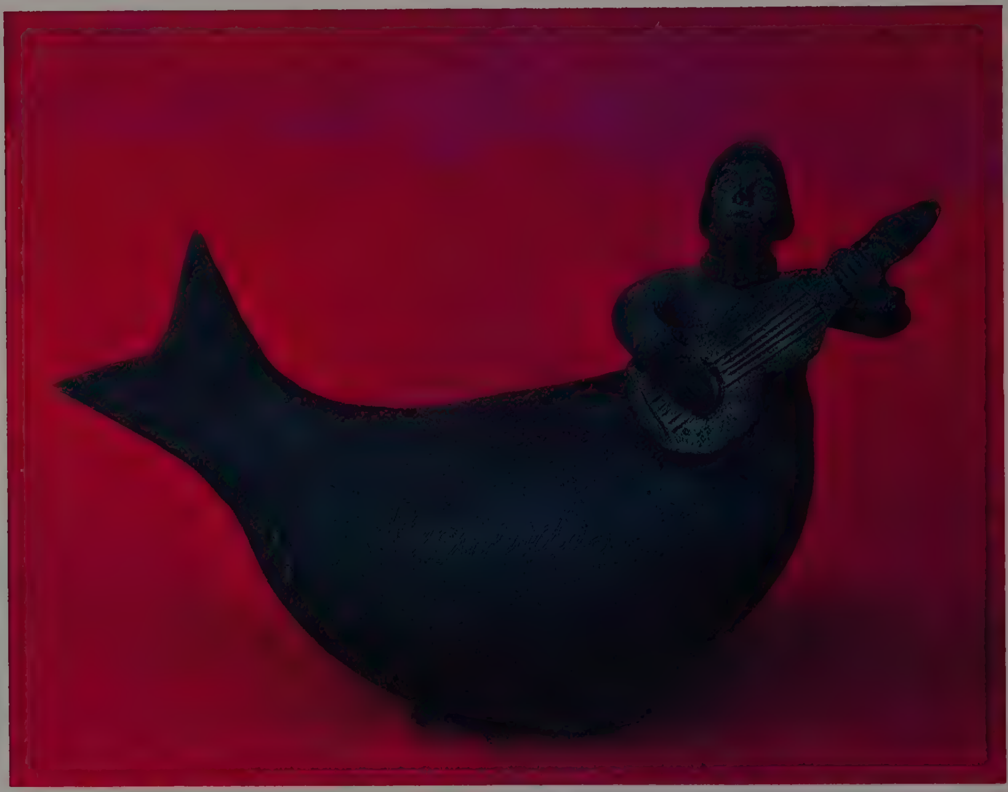
33. Pitcher. Metepec, State of Mexico.



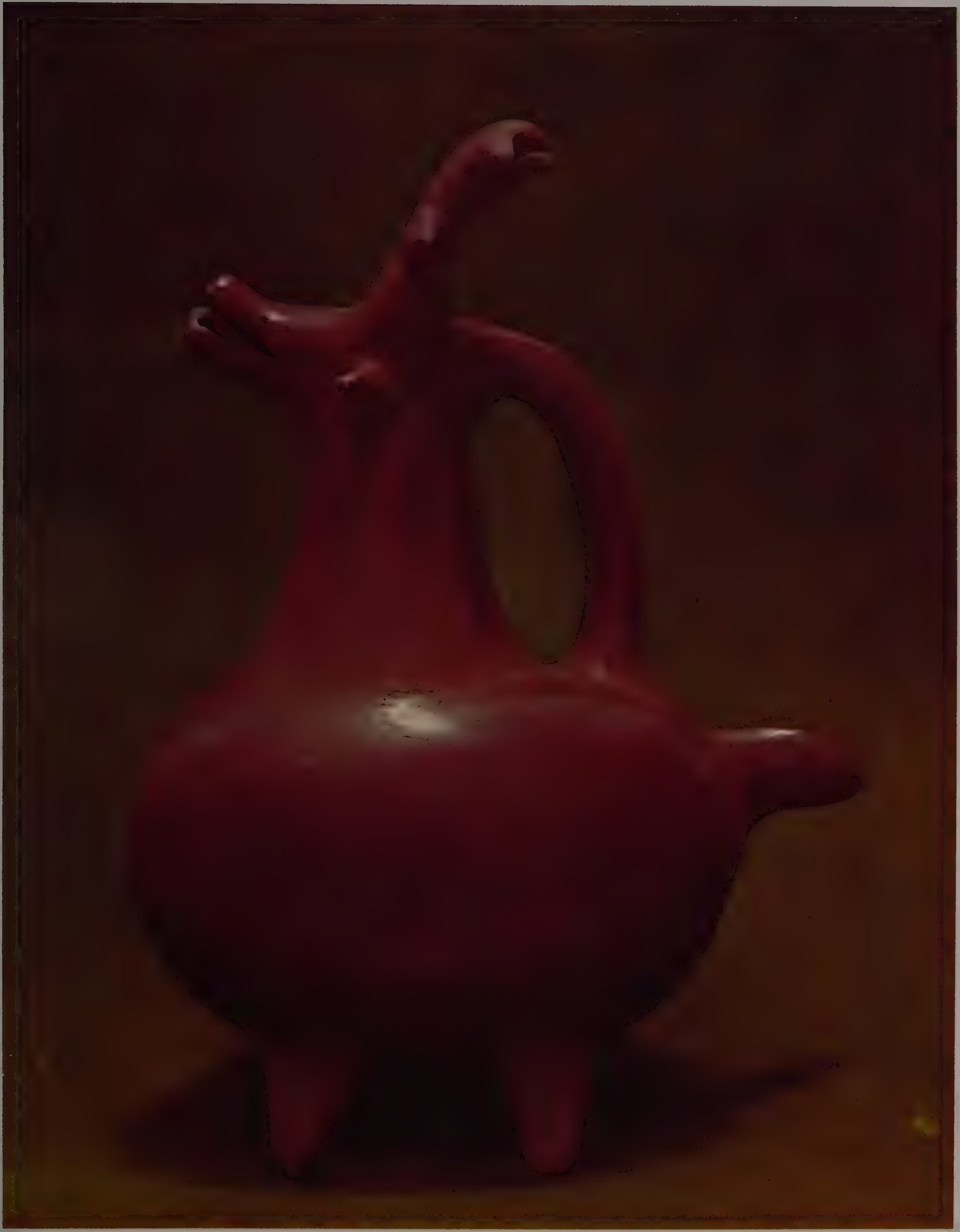
34. Jar. Zacatepec, Oaxaca.



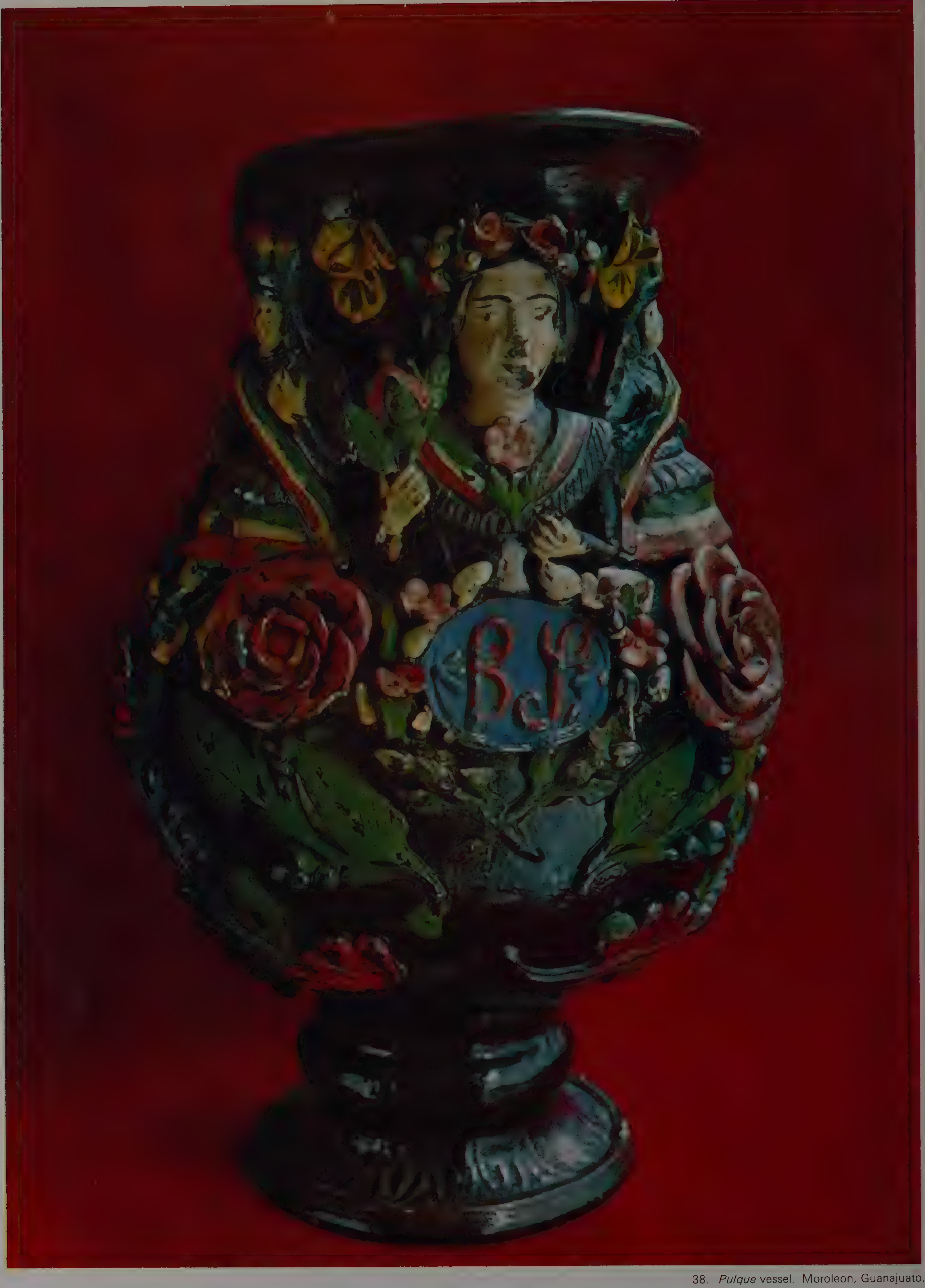
35. Bell. San Bartolo Coyotepec, Oaxaca.



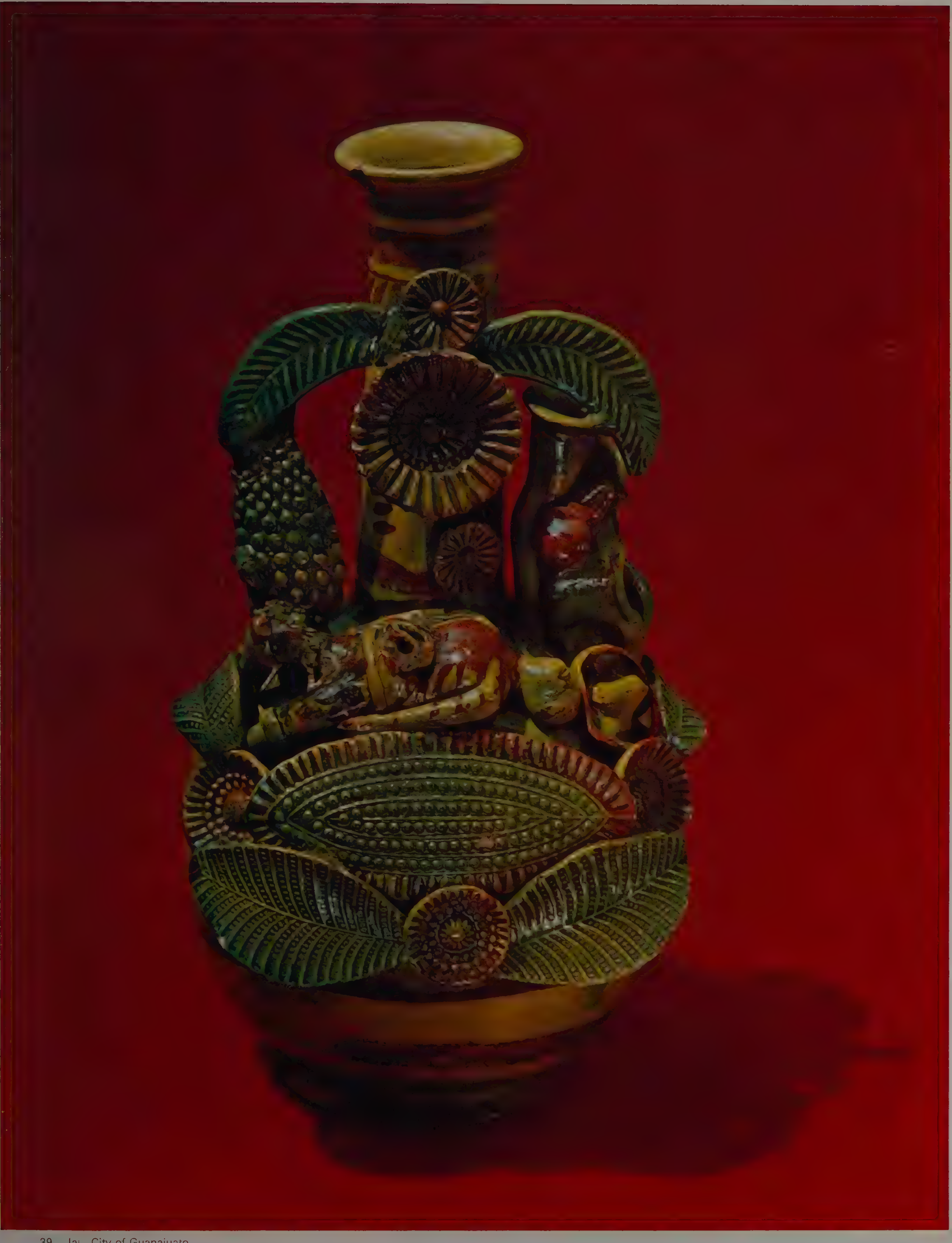
36. Vessel. San Bartolo Coyotepec, Oaxaca



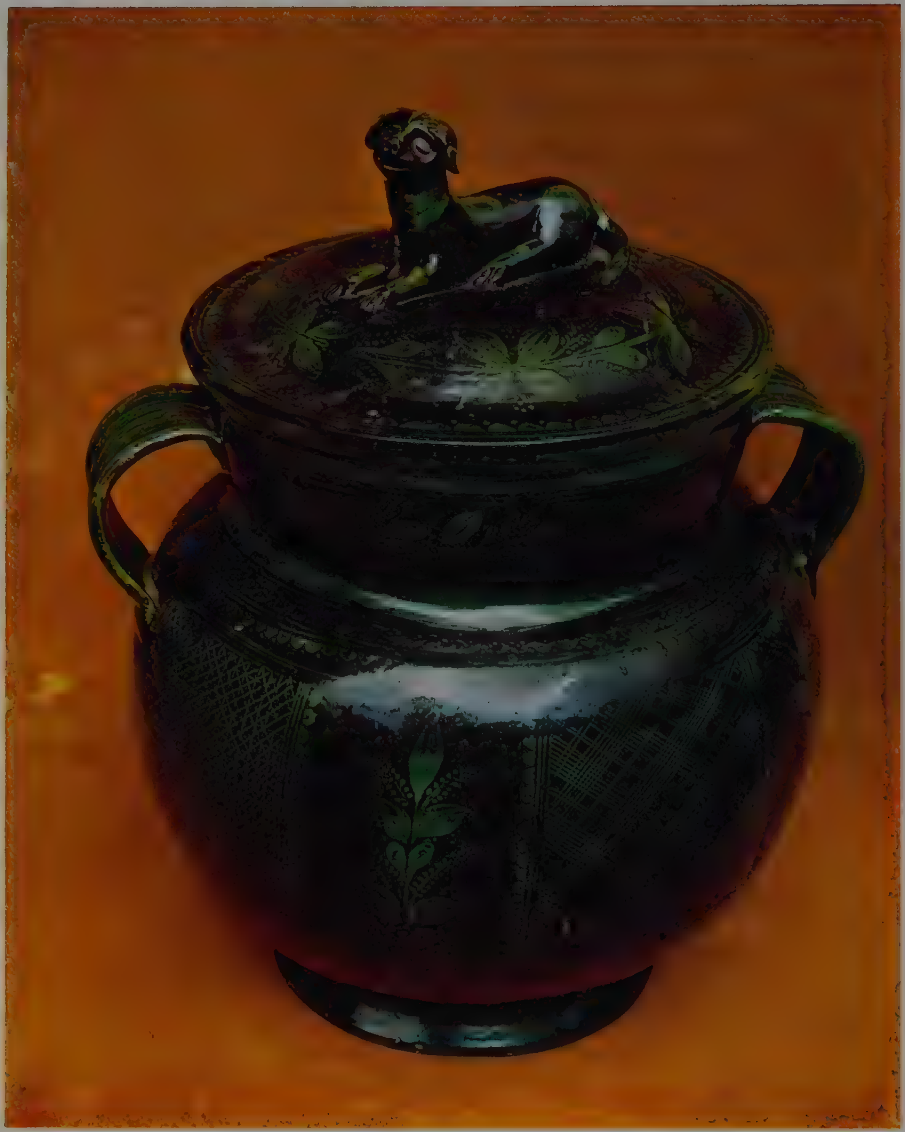
37. Pitcher. Ocotlan, Tlaxcala.



38. *Pulque* vessel. Moroleon, Guanajuato.

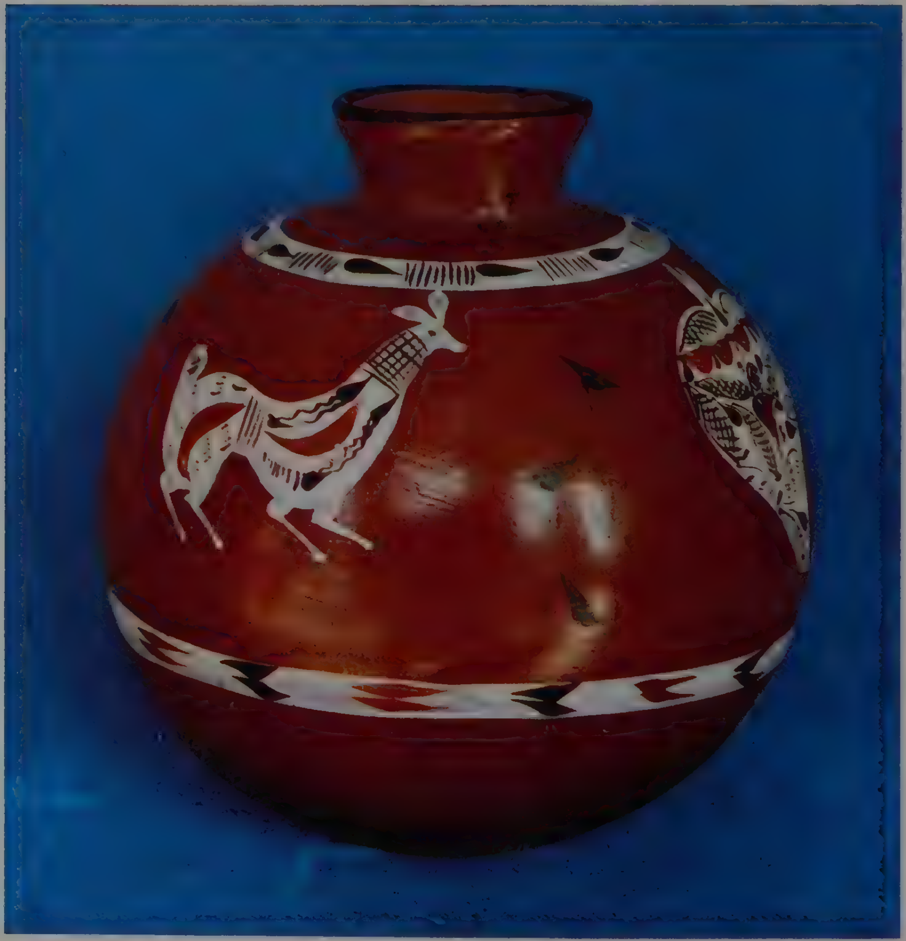


39. Jar. City of Guanajuato

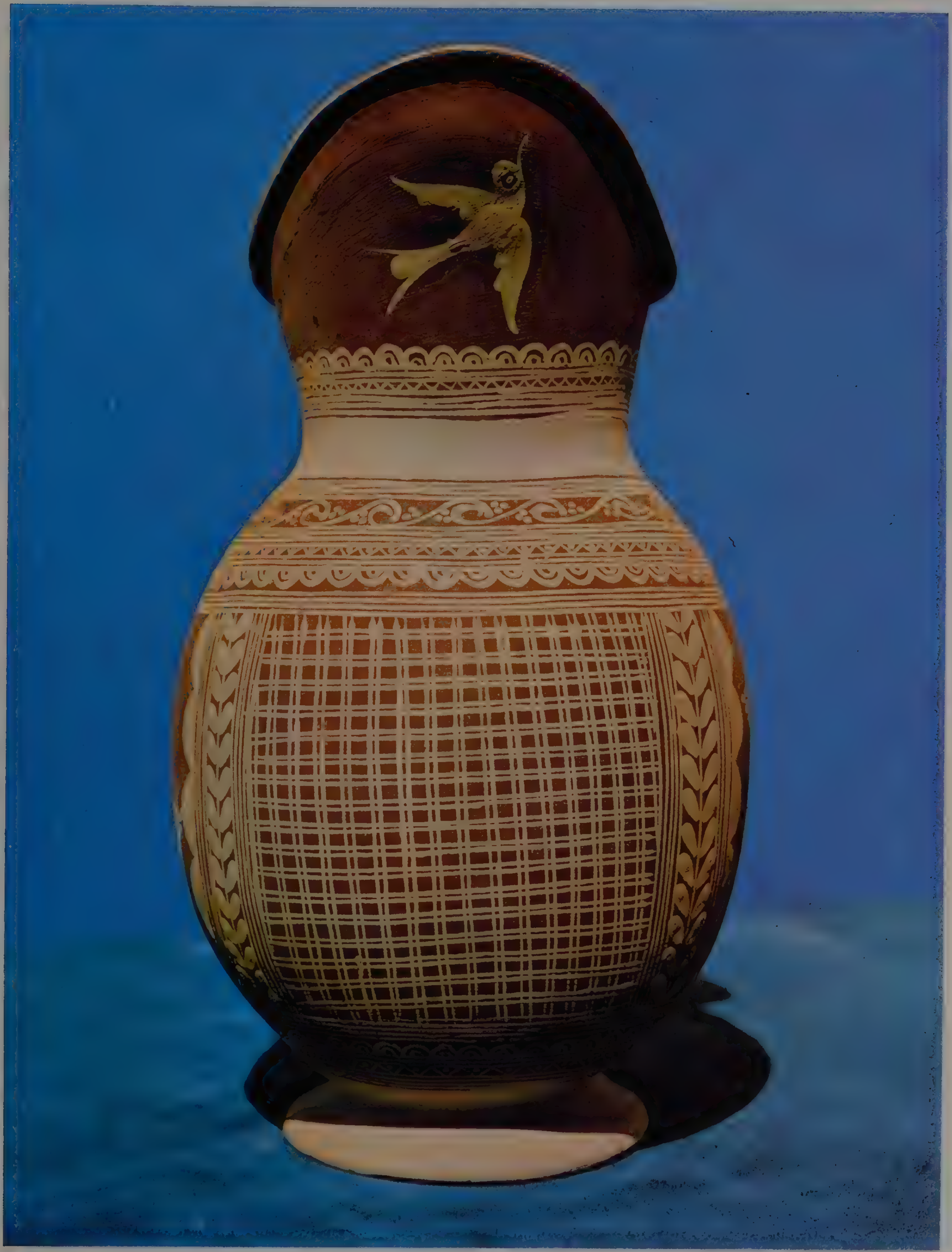


40. Pot for making *pozole*. Patamban, Michoacan.

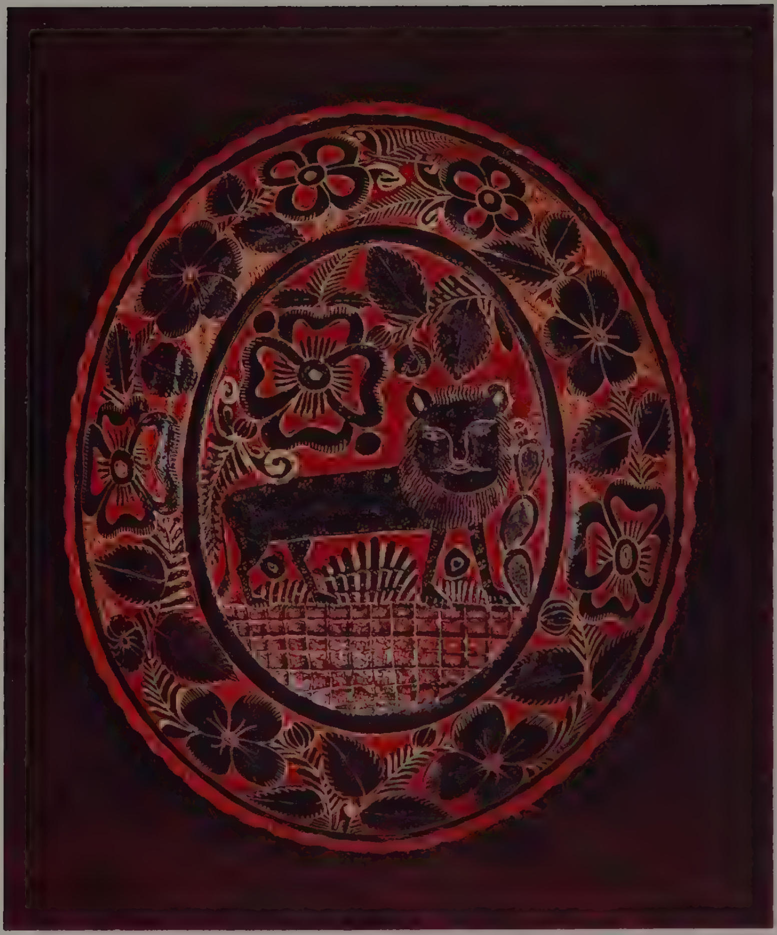
Paint is as daintily put on ollas, penny banks, and kites as it was on Mayan codices. JEAN CHARLOT[1]



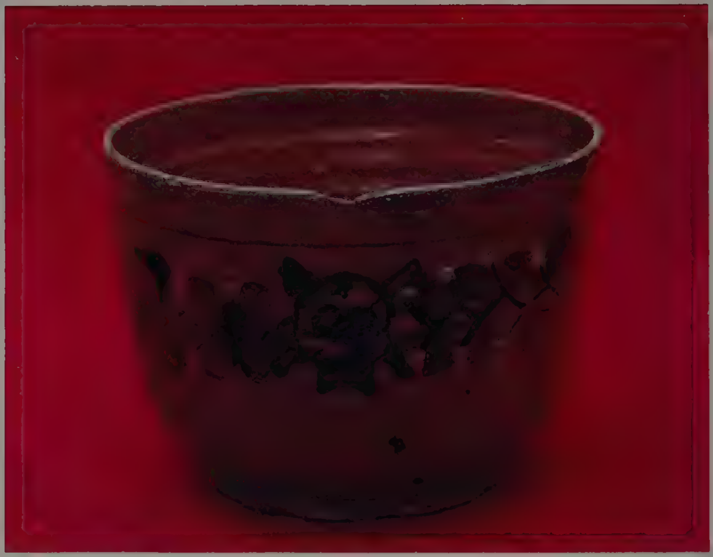
41. Pitcher. Patamban, Michoacan.



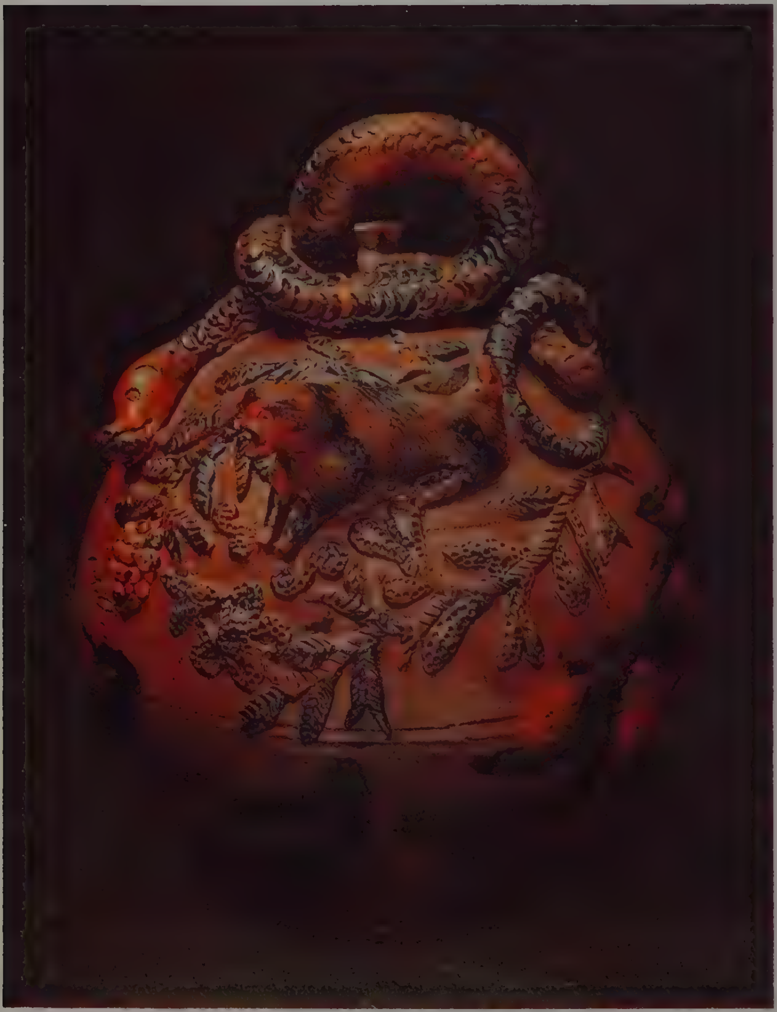
42. Pitcher. Patamban, Michoacan.



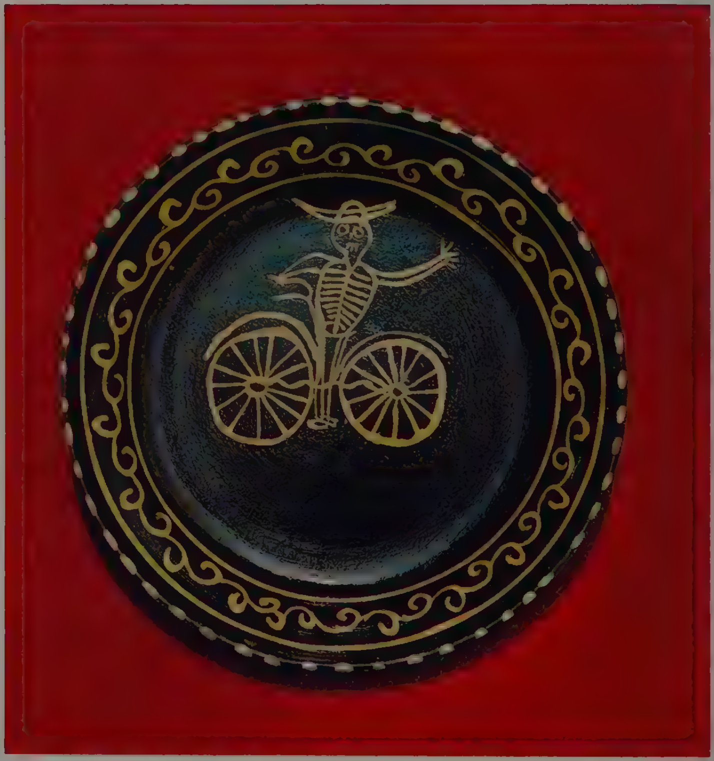
43 Platter. Tonala, Jalisco



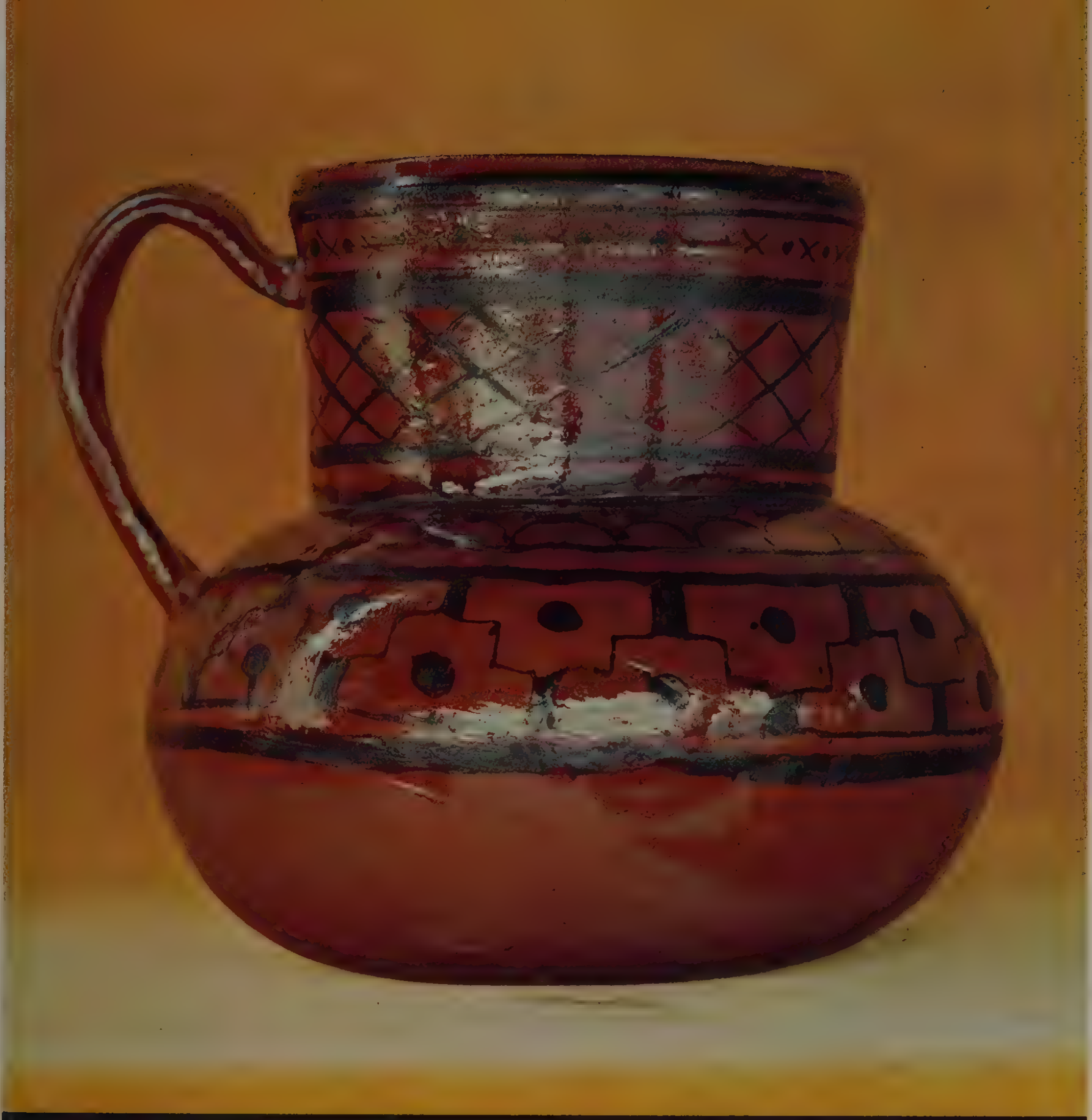
44. Bowl. City of Guanajuato.



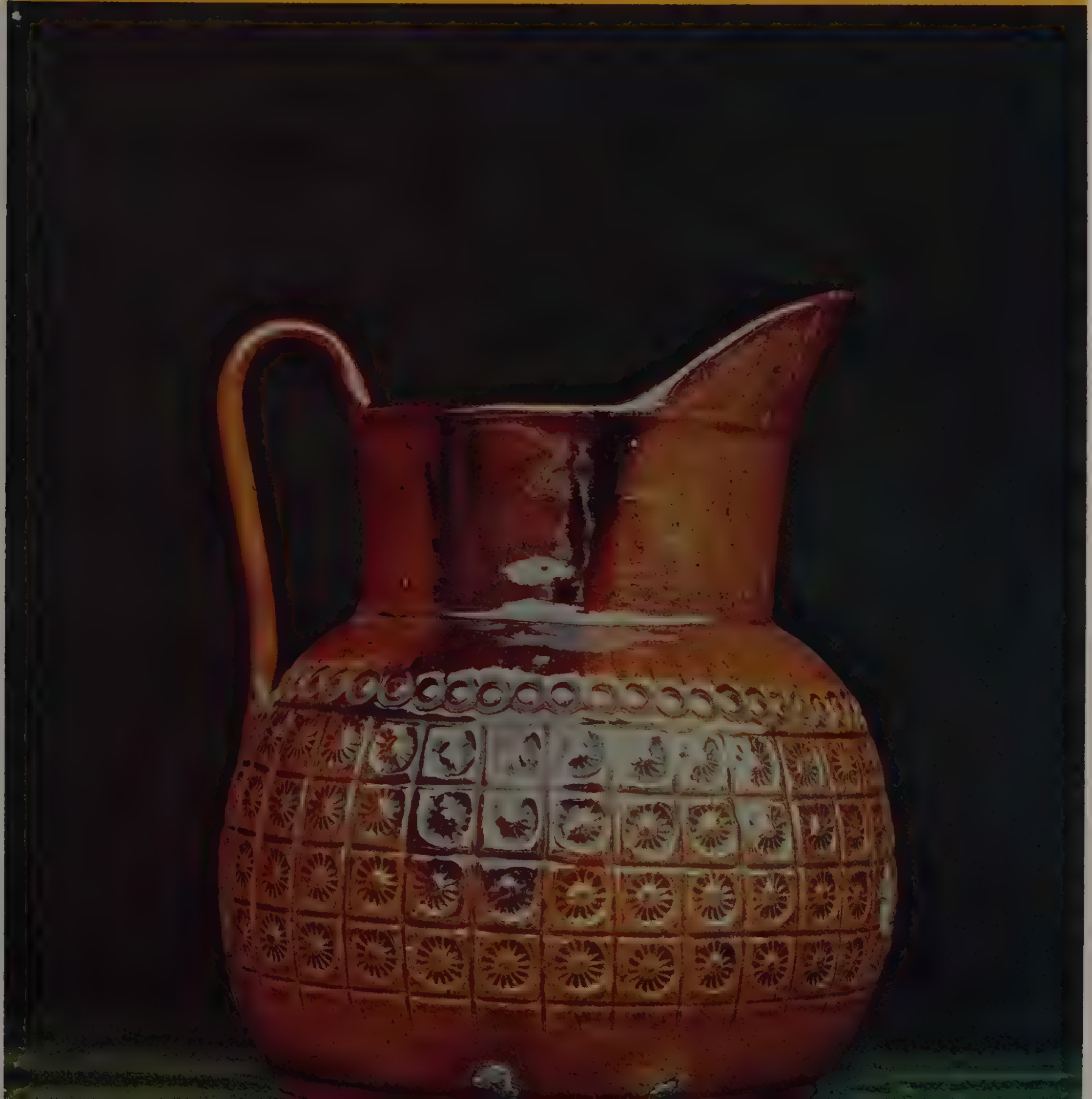
45. Cooking pot. City of Puebla.



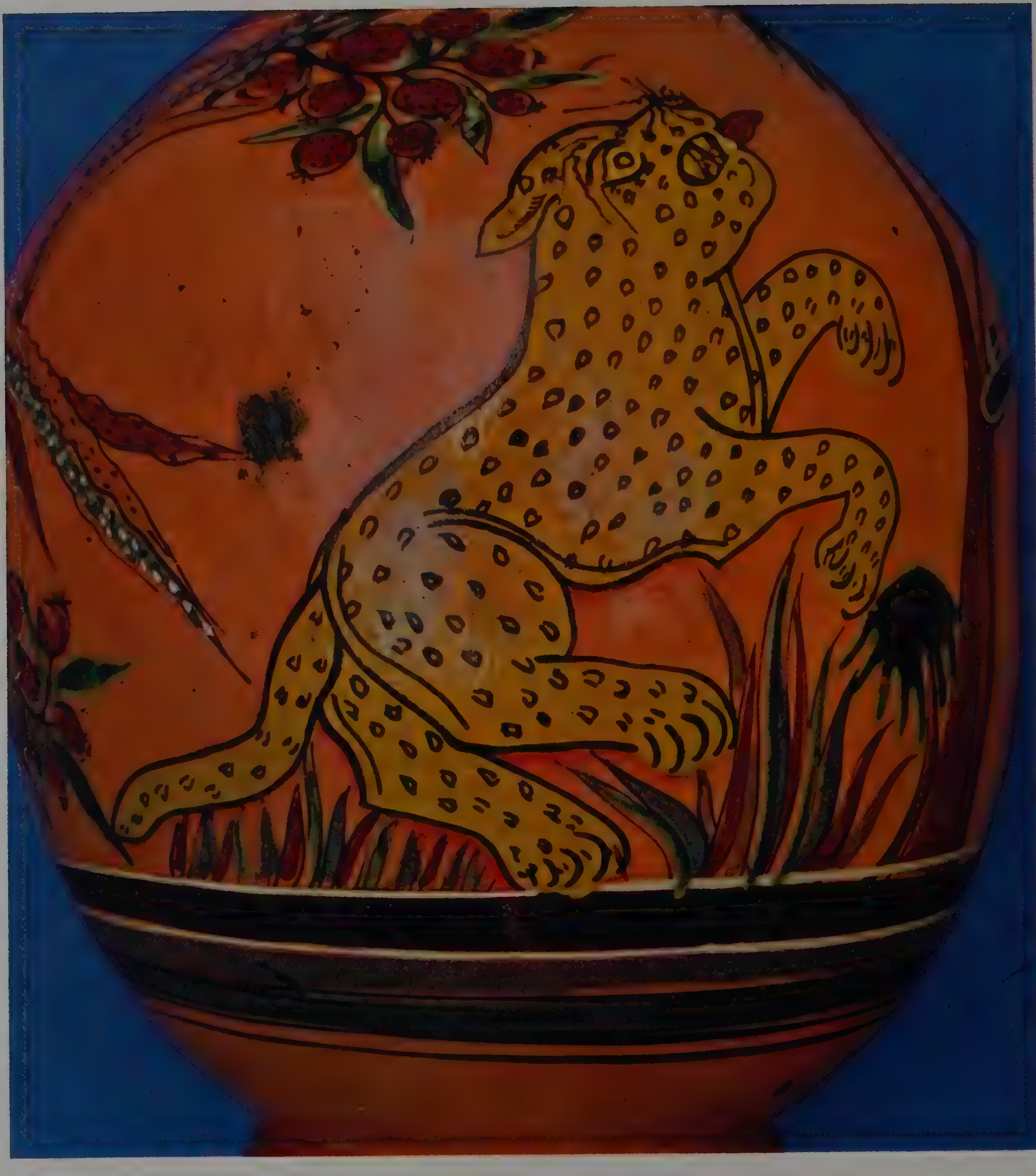
46. Plate. Tzintzuntzan, Michoacan.



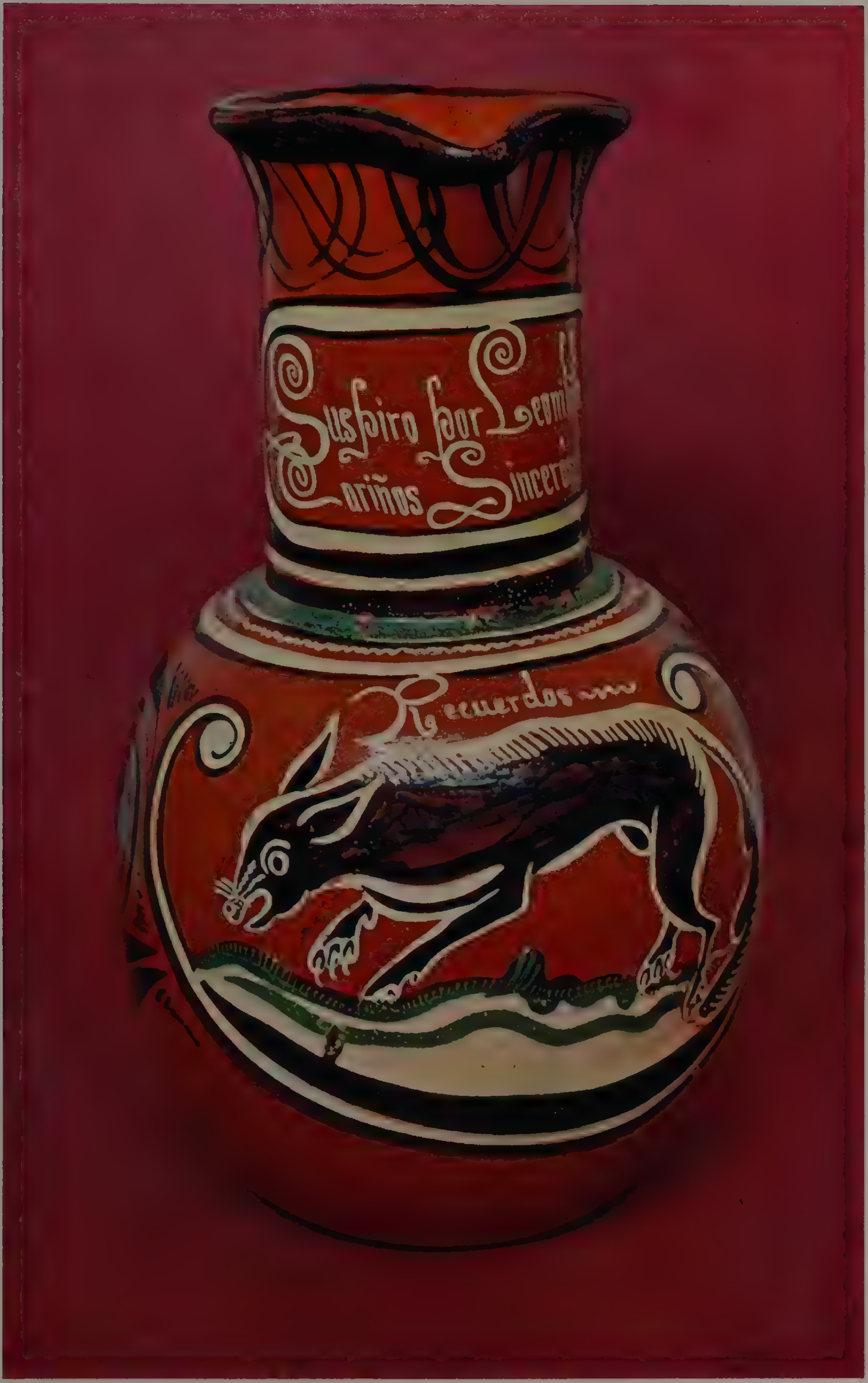
47. Jar. Tonala, Jalisco.



48. Jar. Rincon de Romos, Aguascalientes.

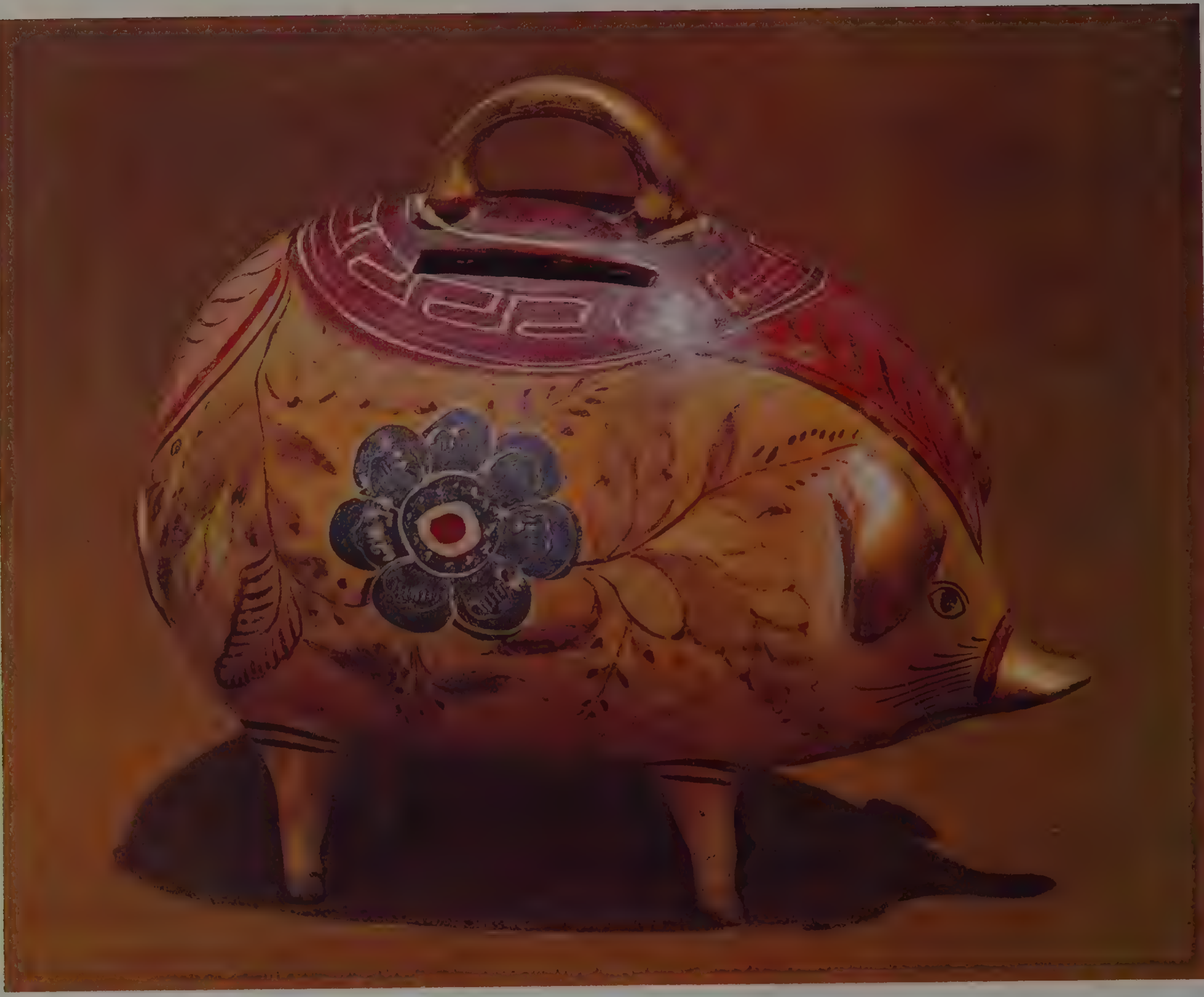


49. Water bottle. Tonala, Jalisco.

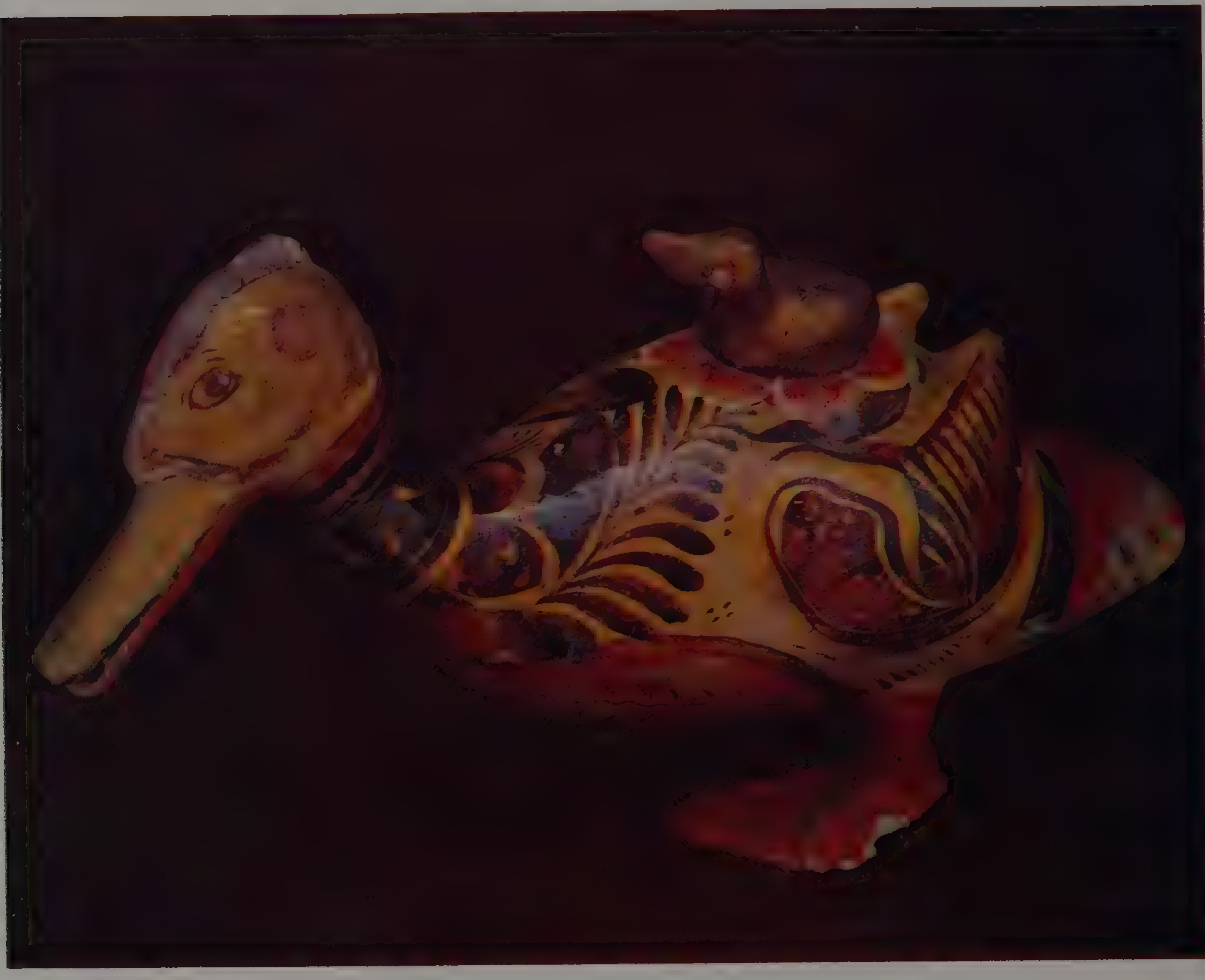

Suspiro por
Cariños
Recuerdos

50. Pitcher. Metepec, State of Mexico.

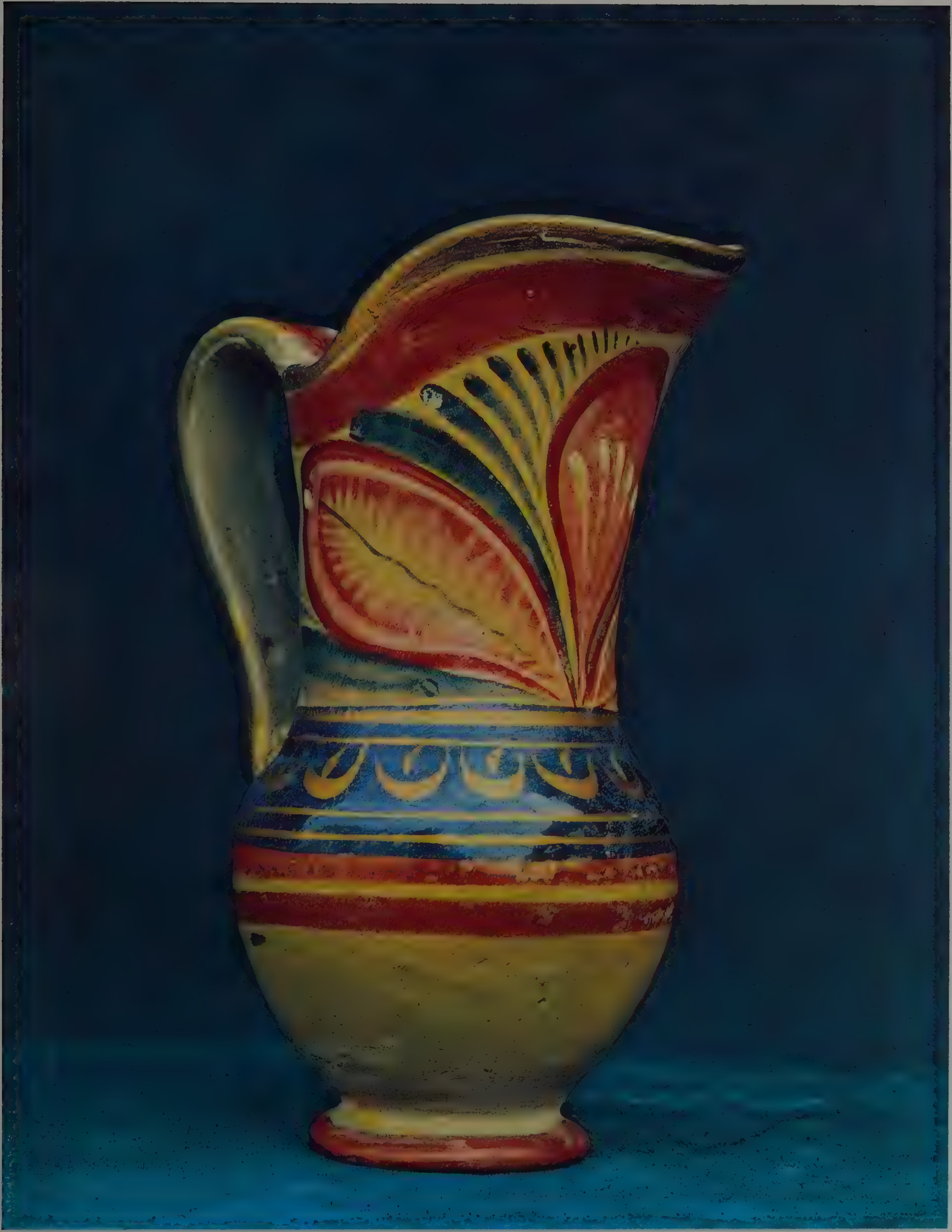
. . . decorative touches, flowers, or animals, in yellow and black; a verse or a name; a tender thought of the modest creator of the object for his humble customer. FRANCES TOOR[1]



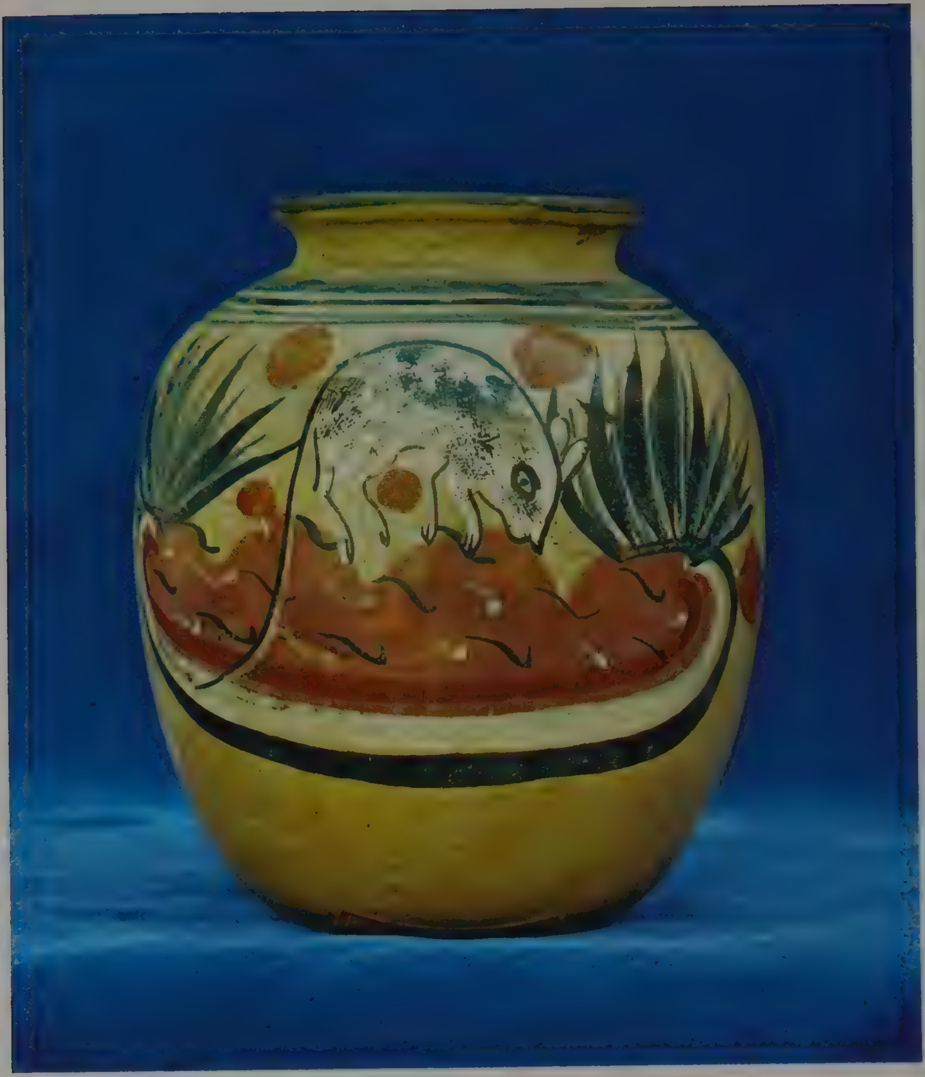
51. Bank. Tonala, Jalisco.



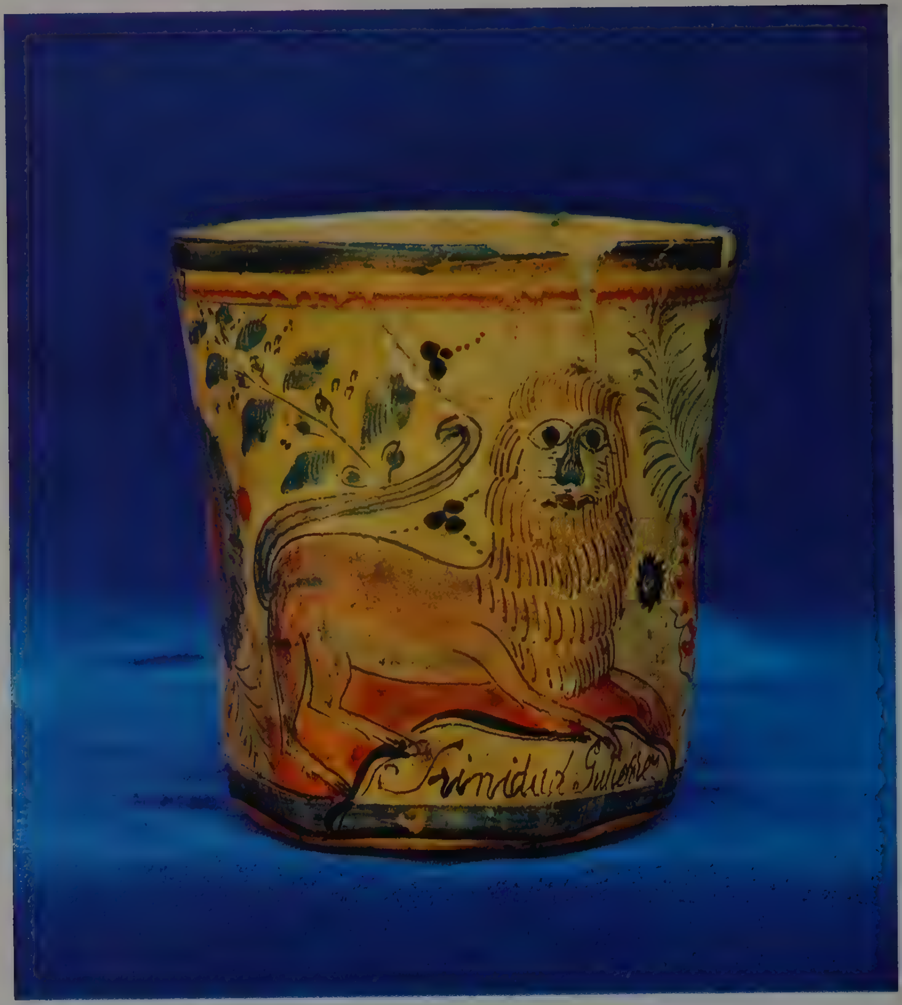
52. Water bottle. Tonala, Jalisco.



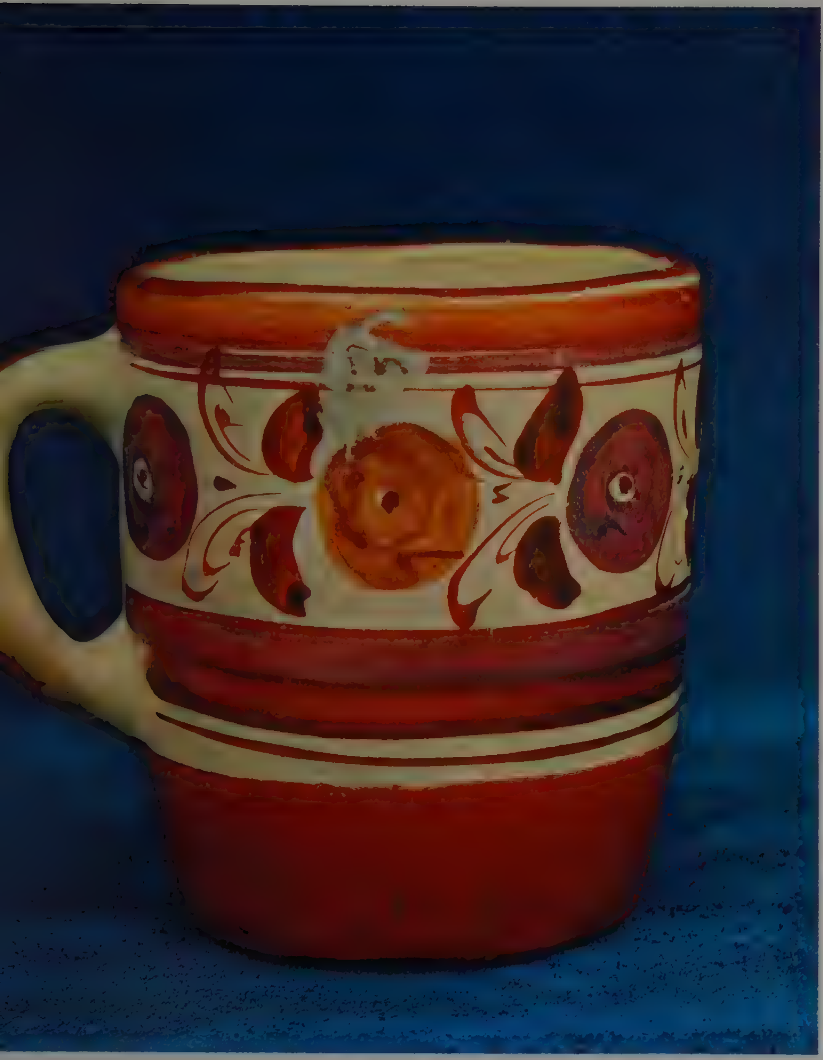
53. Pitcher. Tonala, Jalisco.



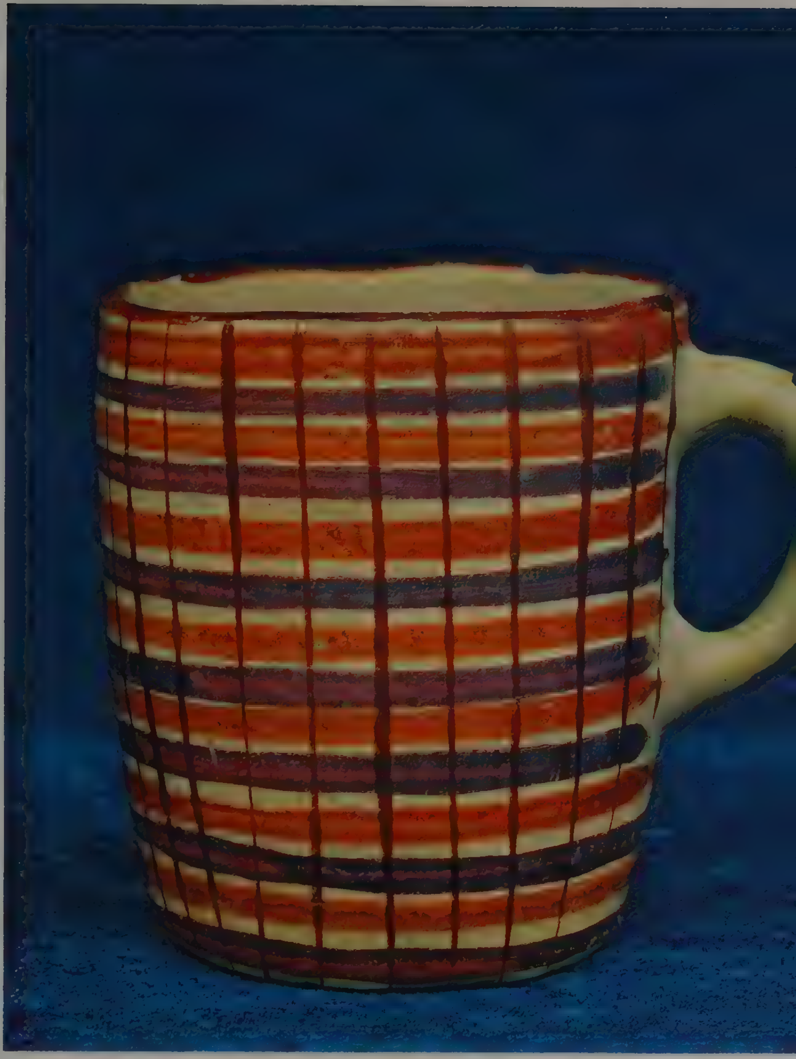
54. Vase. Tonala, Jalisco.


Trinidad Gutierrez

55. Drinking vessel. Tonala, Jalisco.

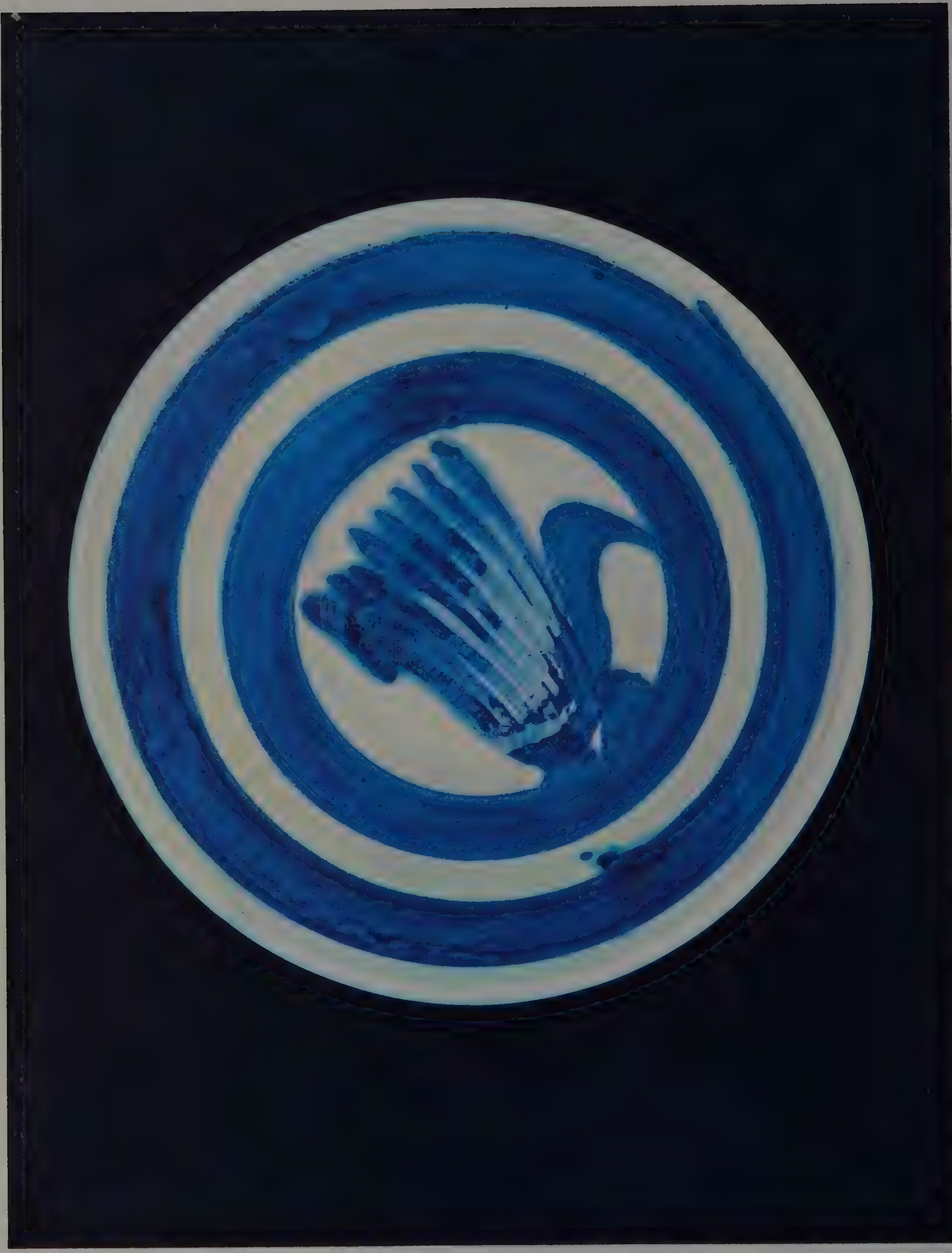


56. Cup. Tonala, Jalisco



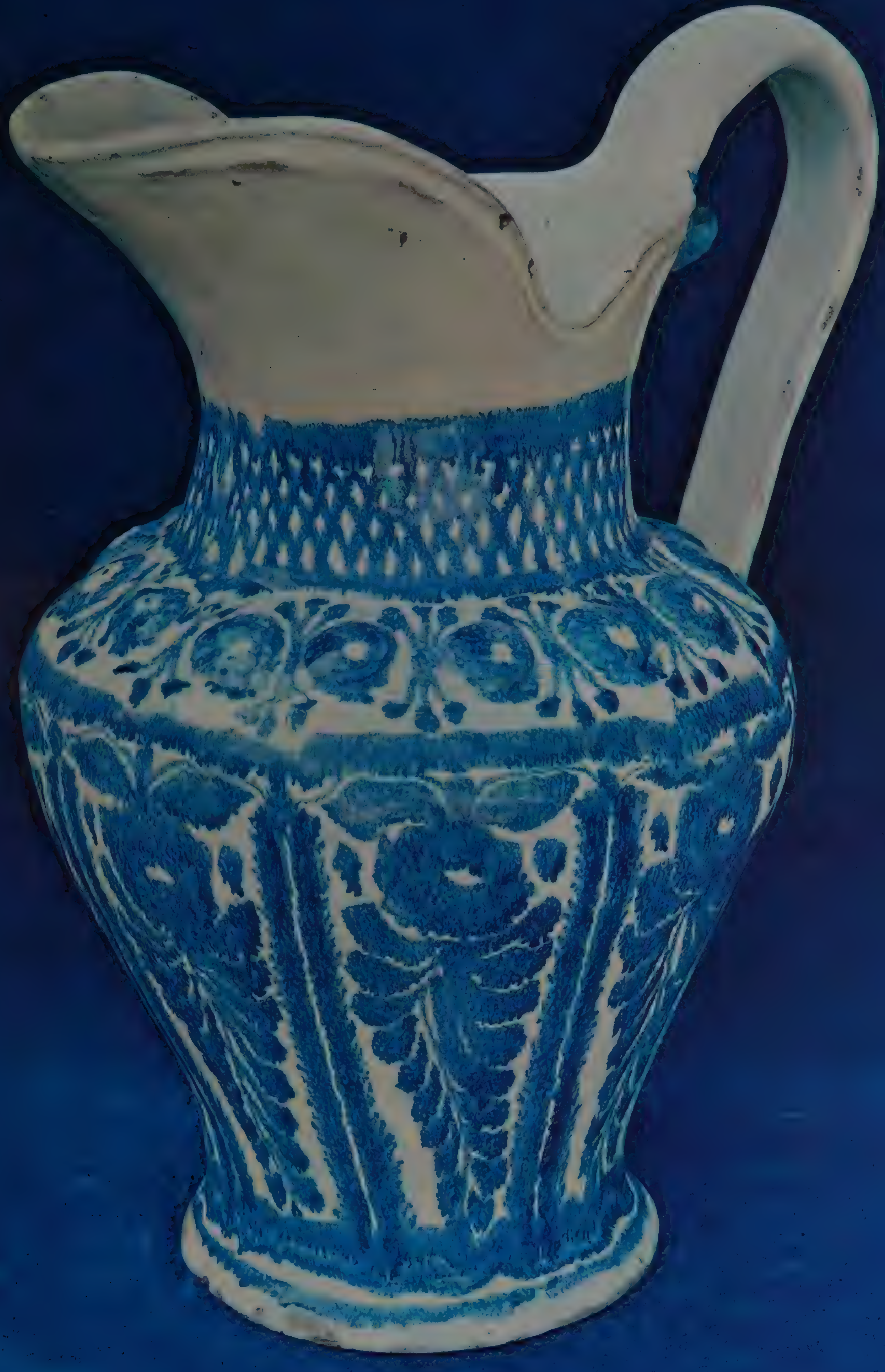
57. Cup. Tonala, Jalisco.

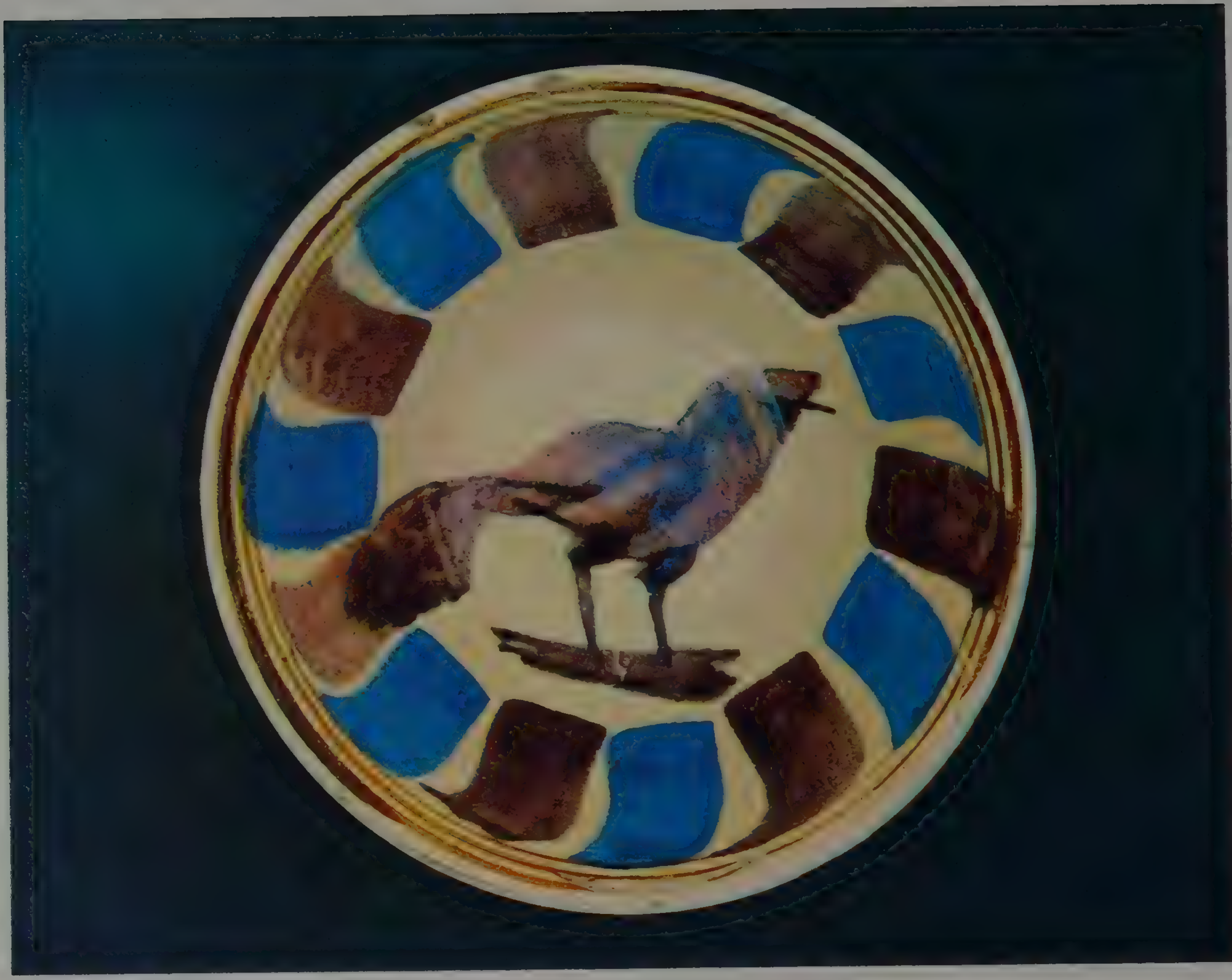
Ascetic, with large bones, strong hands, and jutting jaw, with a wide mouth and features that express continuous concentration. He tells me: "I paint because there is something inside me that makes me produce in travail. . . My one wish is that I could give away the pots I decorate instead of selling them. One's hands are tied when a piece is commissioned. This thing that is a painting should remain a thing meant for one only, so that whoever likes what has been done may carry it away free." Dr. Atl



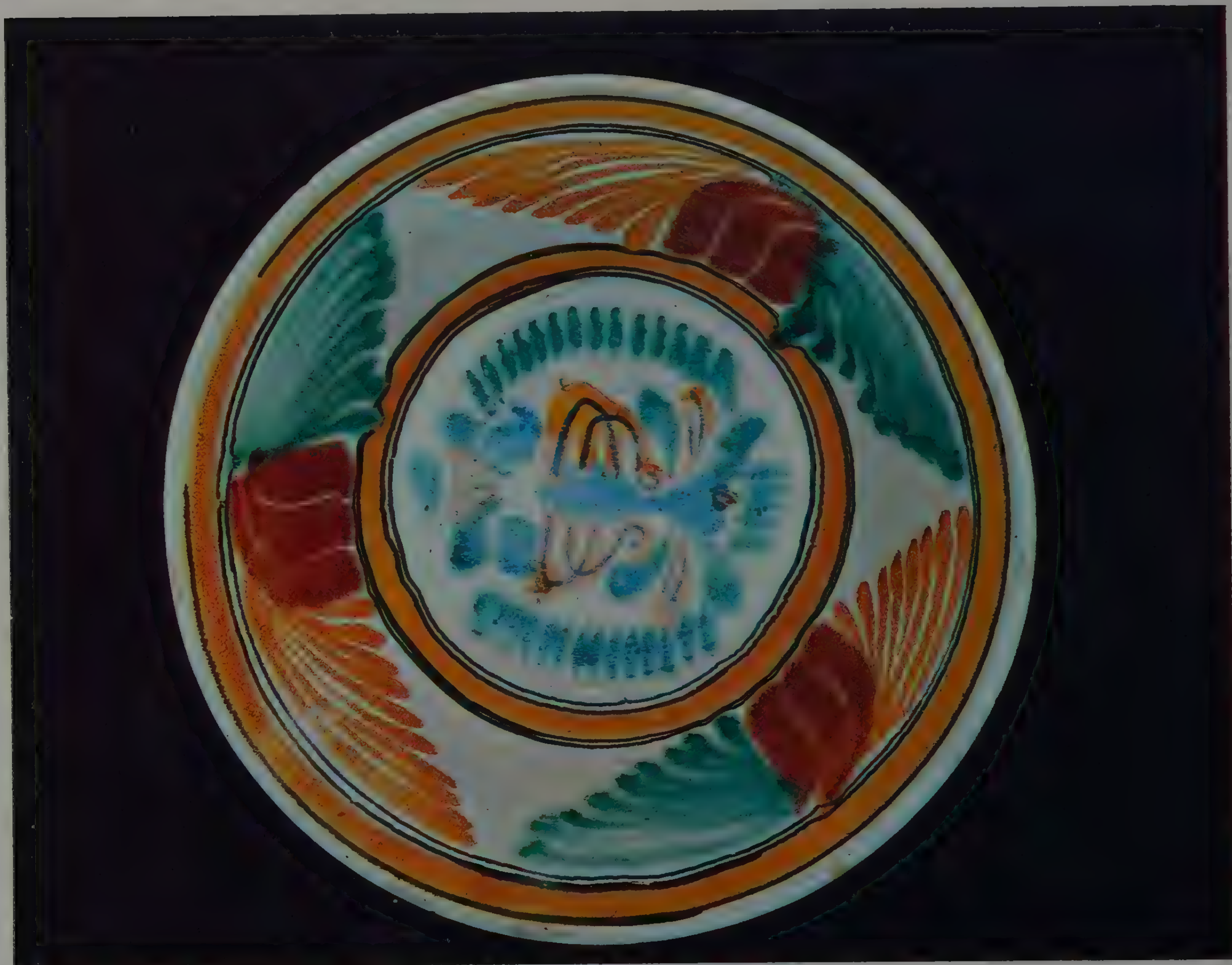
58. Deep dish. City of Guanajuato.

On page 125:
59. Pitcher. State of Puebla.

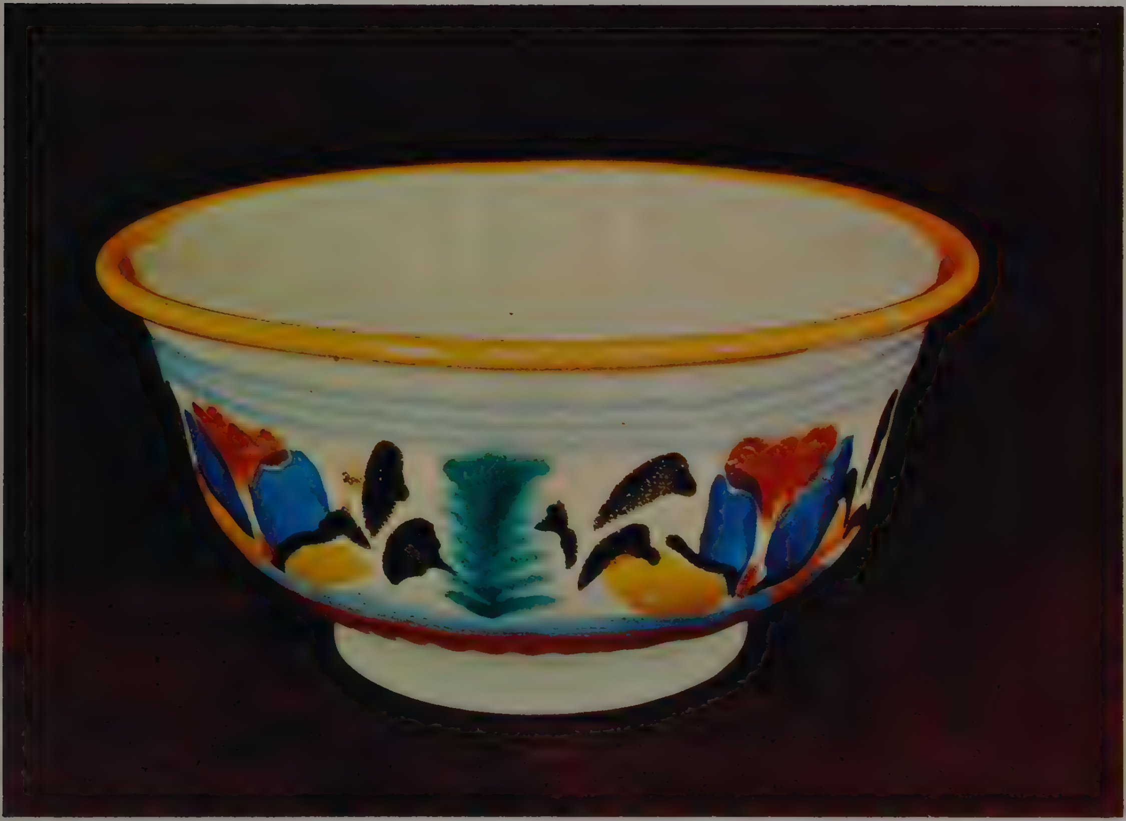




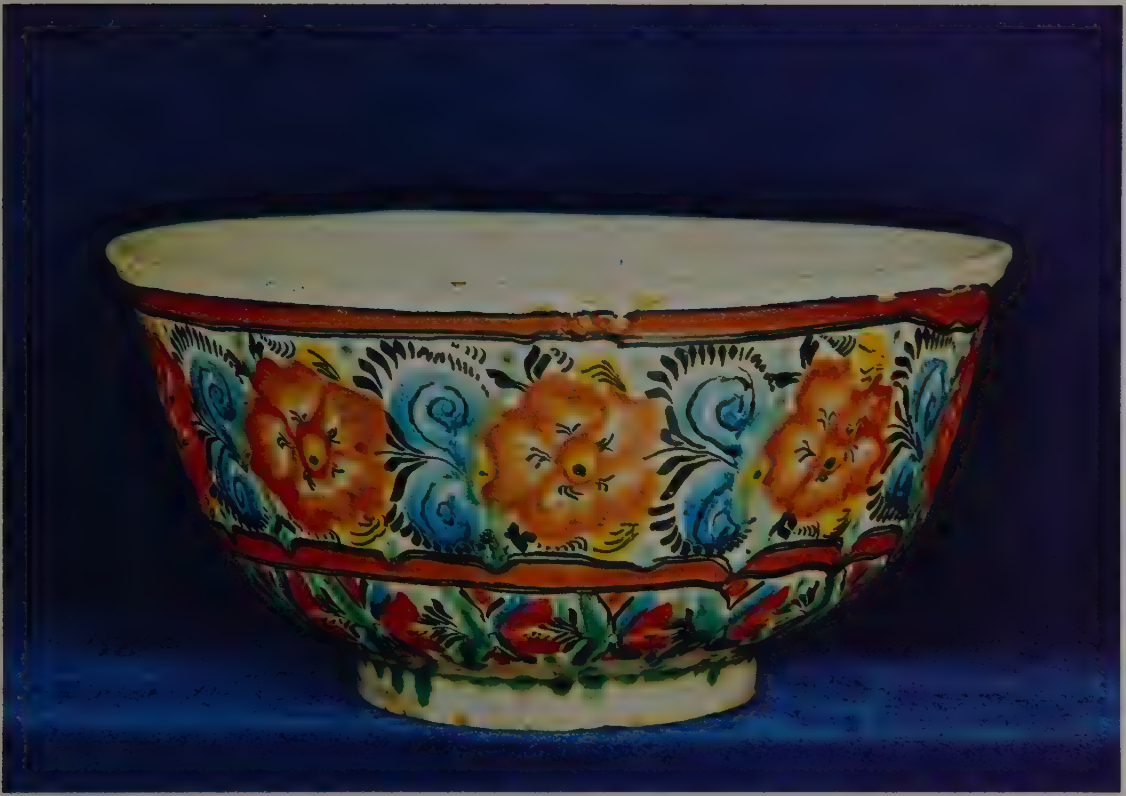
60. Deep dish. State of Guanajuato.



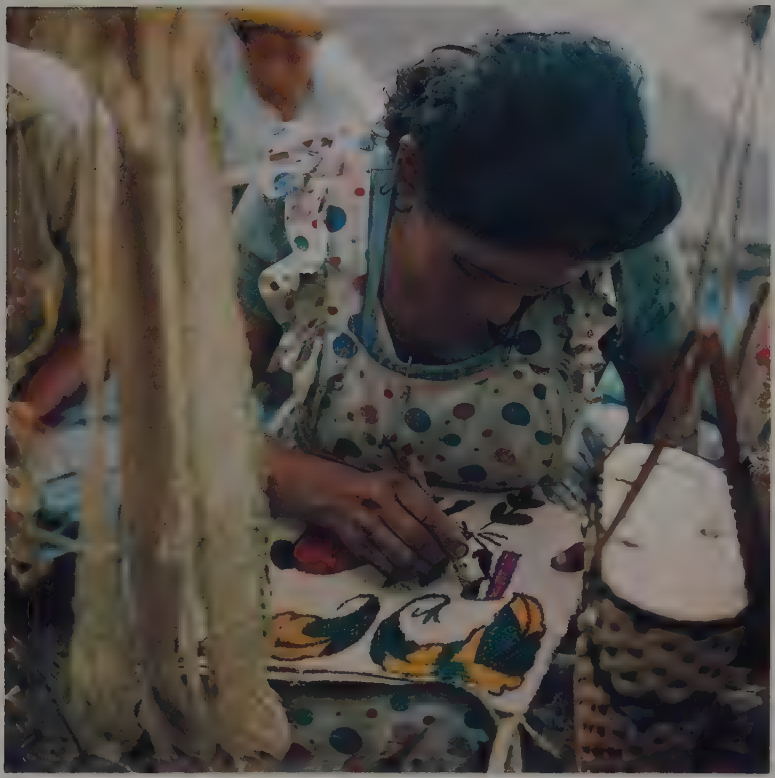
61. Bowl for *mole*. City of Puebla.



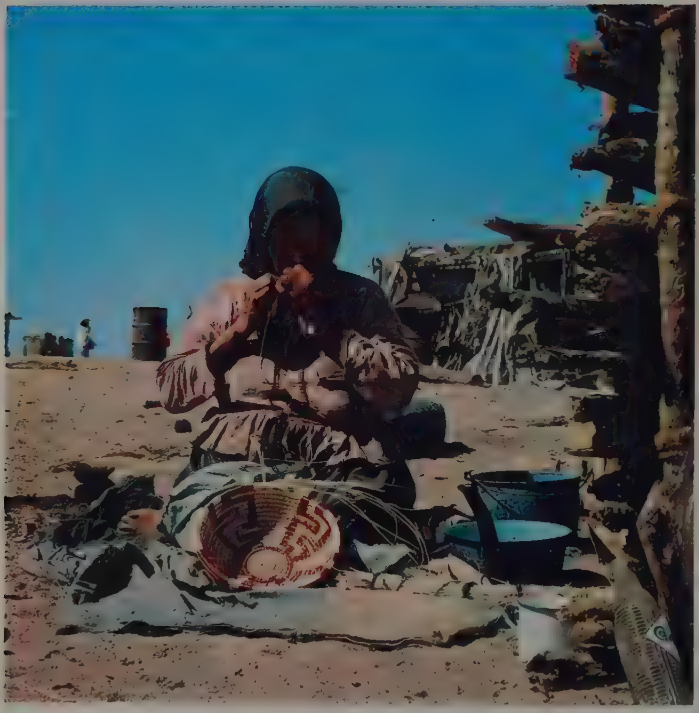
62. Soup bowl. City of Puebla.



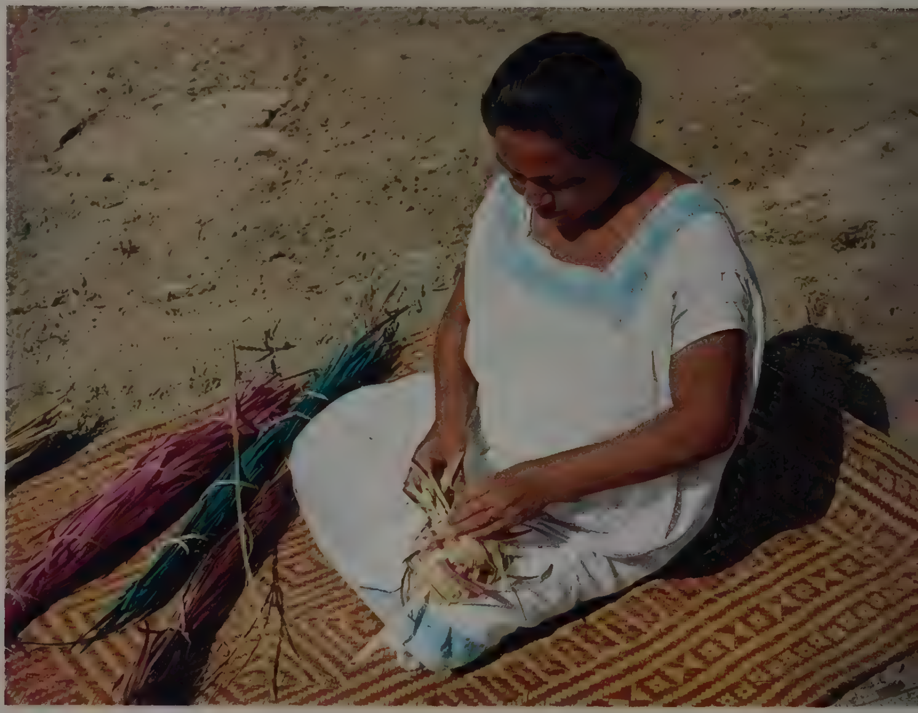
63. Soup bowl. State of Guanajuato.



64. Decorating a *morral*. Tepalcingo, Morelos.

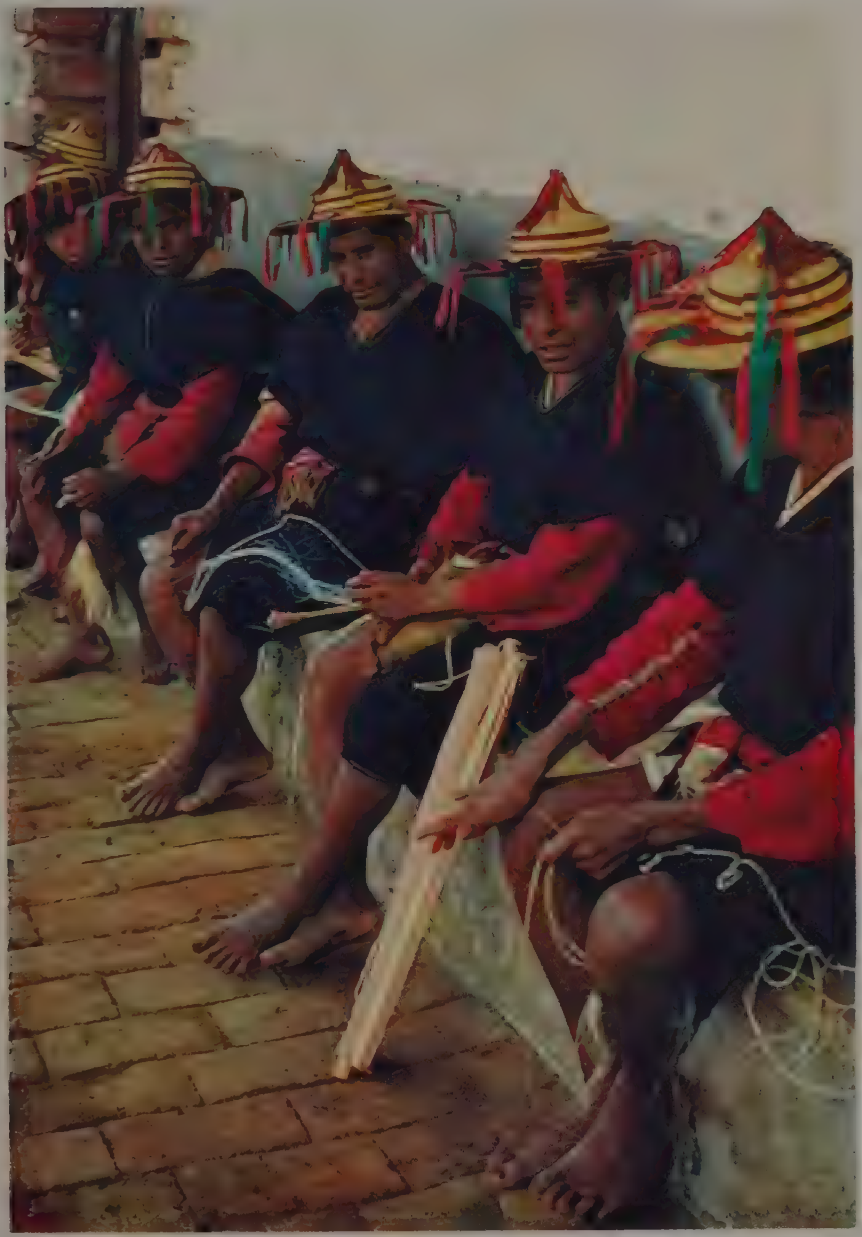


65. Weaver. Desemboque, Sonora.

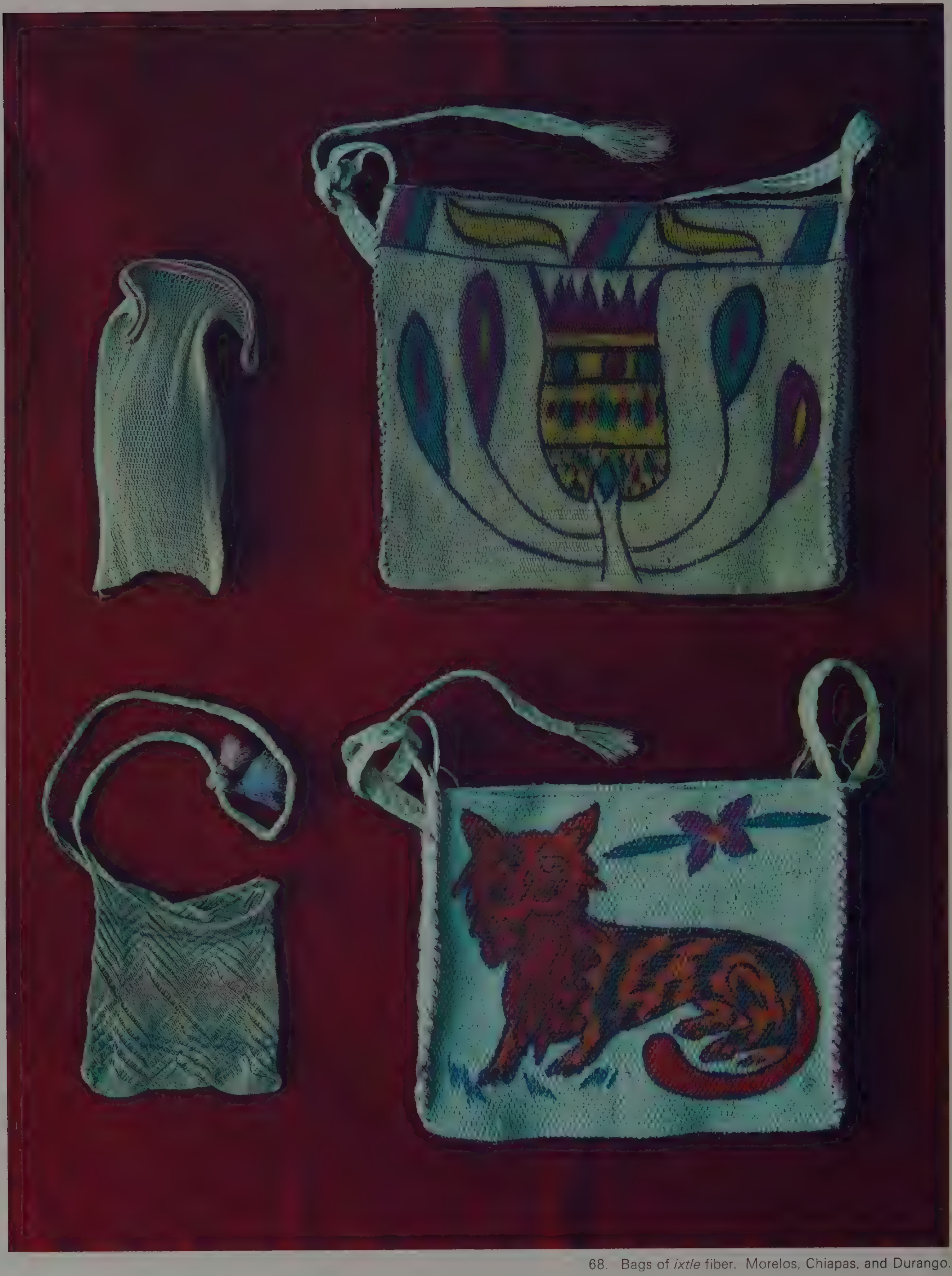


66. Weaver. Kalkini, Campec

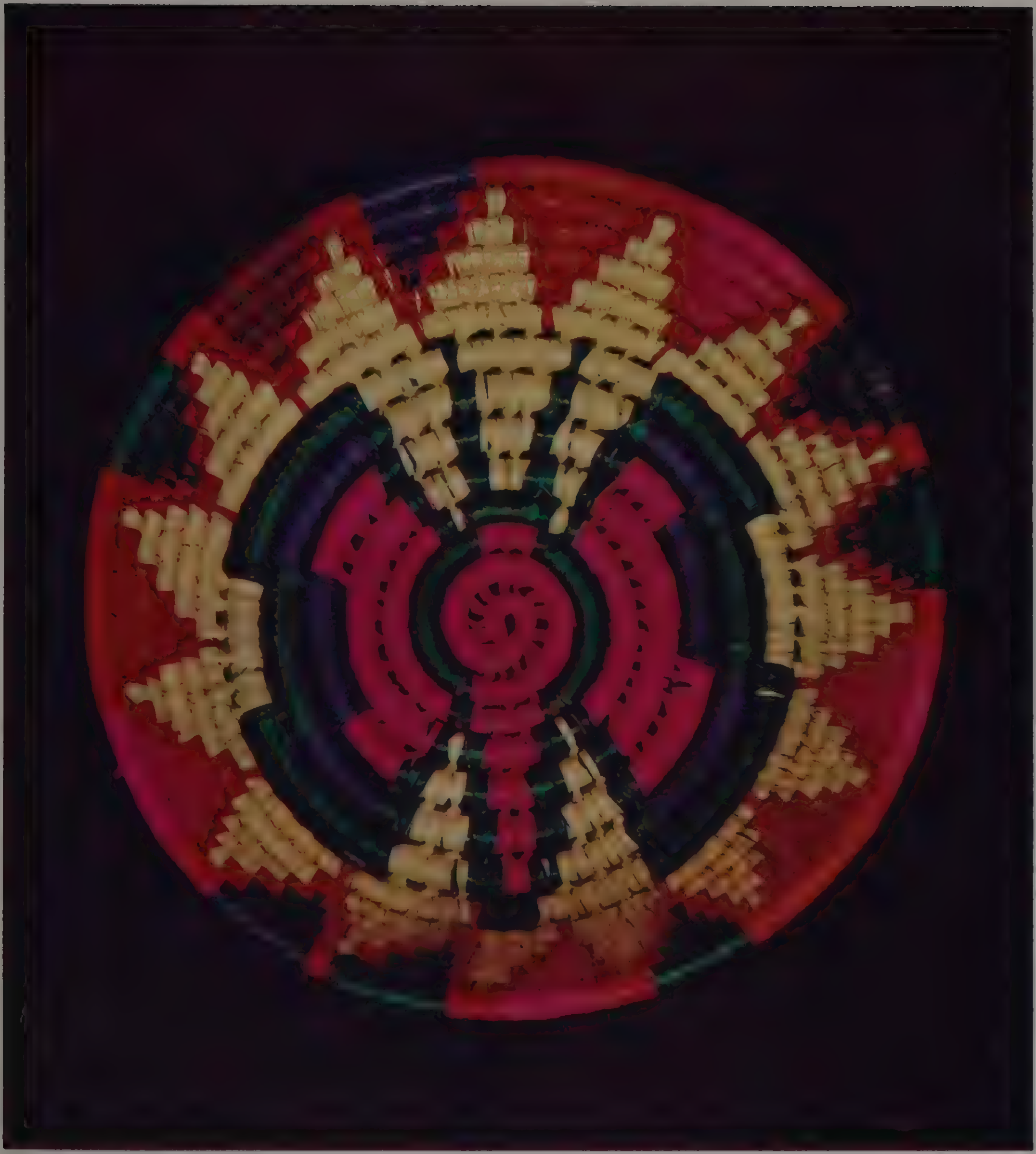
They spun thread of agave fiber, extremely fine, weaving very delicate pieces, like some Indians still do in our own days. JACQUES SOUSTELLE[1]



67. Weavers. Larrainzar, Chiapas.



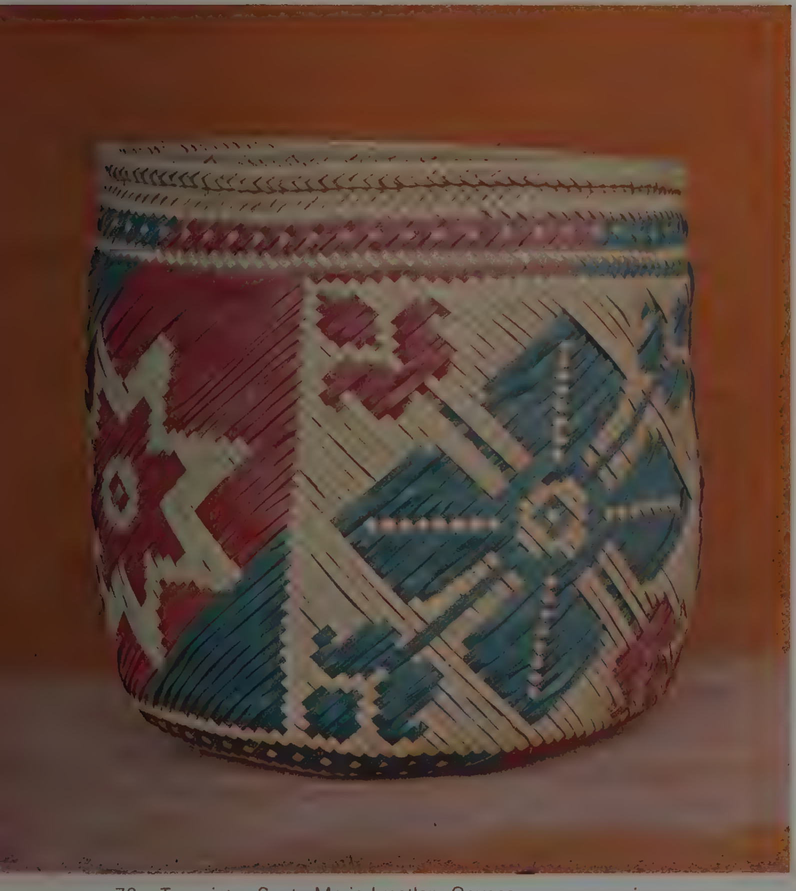
68. Bags of *ixtle* fiber. Morelos, Chiapas, and Durango.



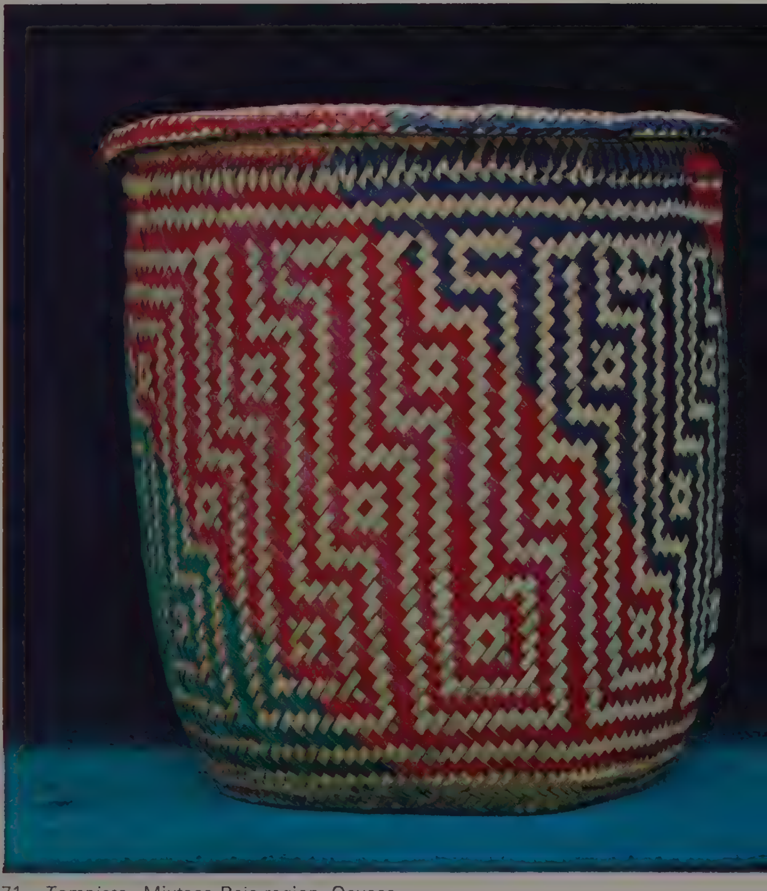
69. Basket. Toluca, State of Mexico.

On page 132:
72. Bird cage. Mezquital Valley, Hidalgo.

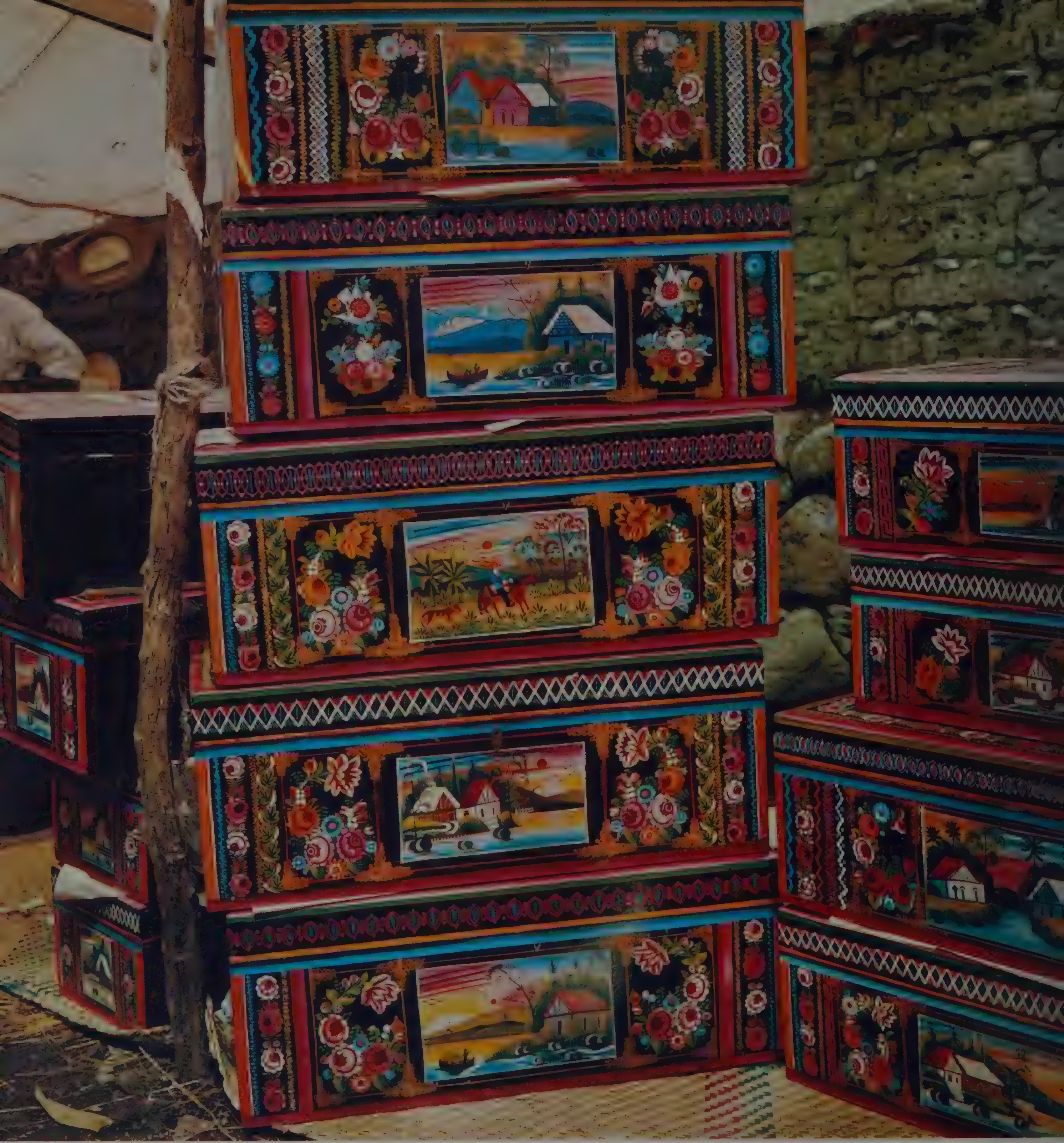
On page 133:
73. Crib. mattress. Valles, San Luis Potosi.



70. *Tompiate.* Santa Maria Ixcatlan, Oaxaca.



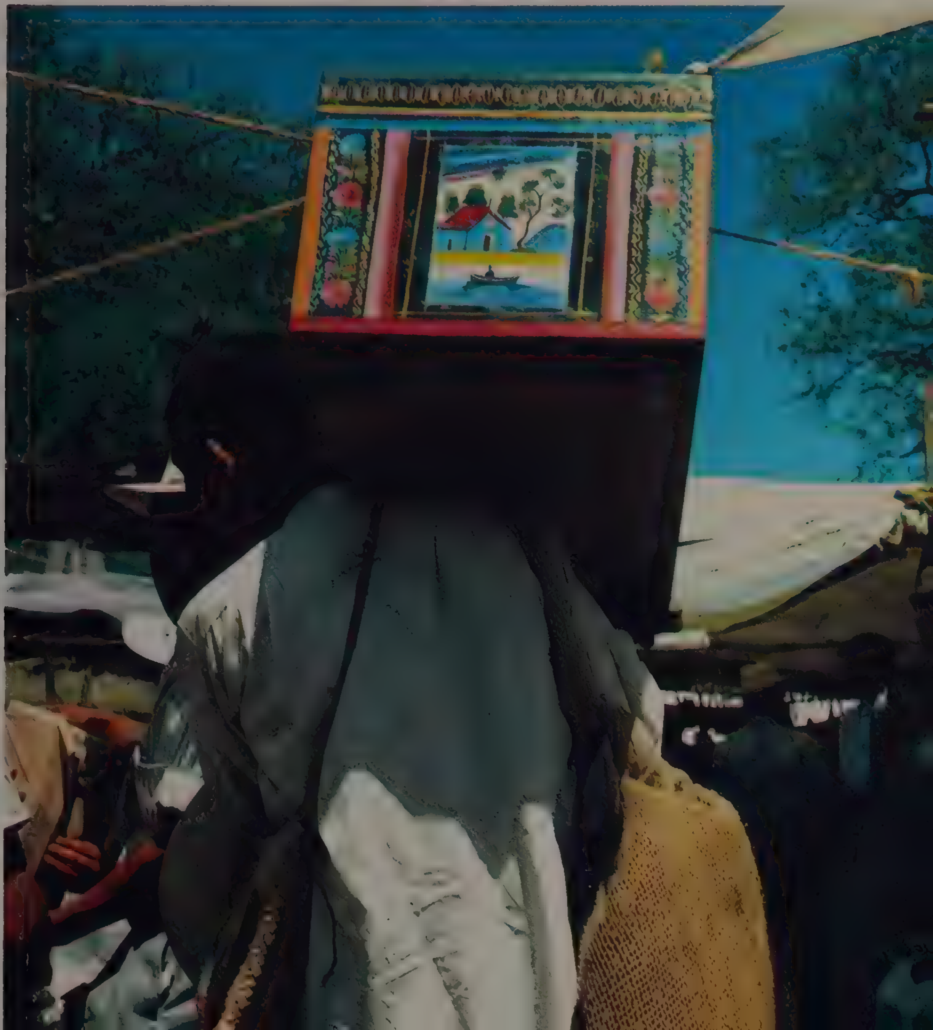
71. *Tompiate.* Mixteca Baja region, Oaxaca.



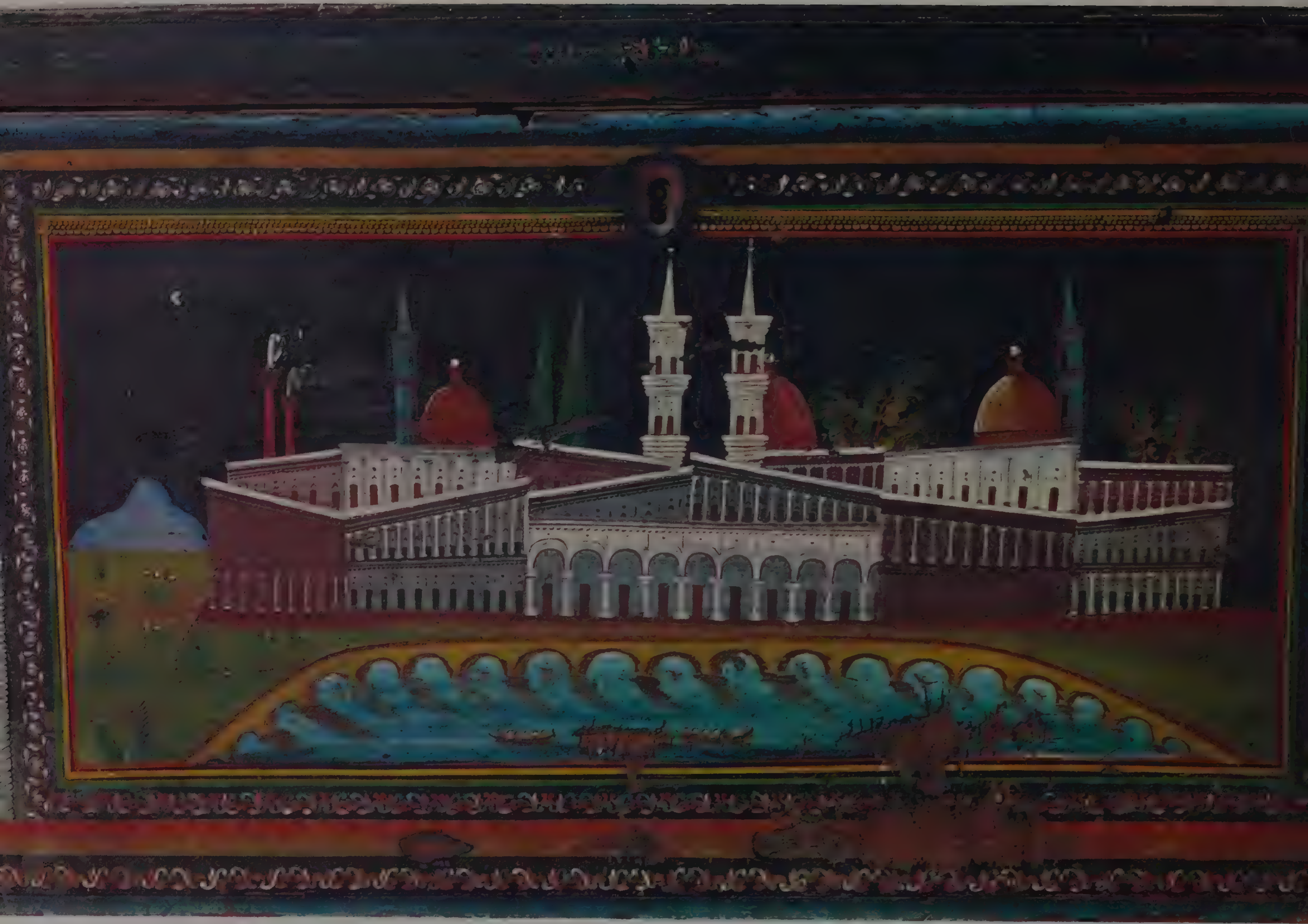
74. Chests from Olinala in the fair at Tepalcingo, Morelos.

Many country people in Mexico still use the Olinala chest as the only piece of fine furniture in their modest home, and sweethearts buy it at the fair in Tepalcingo, or at Chalma, or at Amecameca. The wife will keep her blouses, her best skirts, and her *rebozo* in this box of colored lacquer and delicate perfume. GUTIERRE TIBÓN

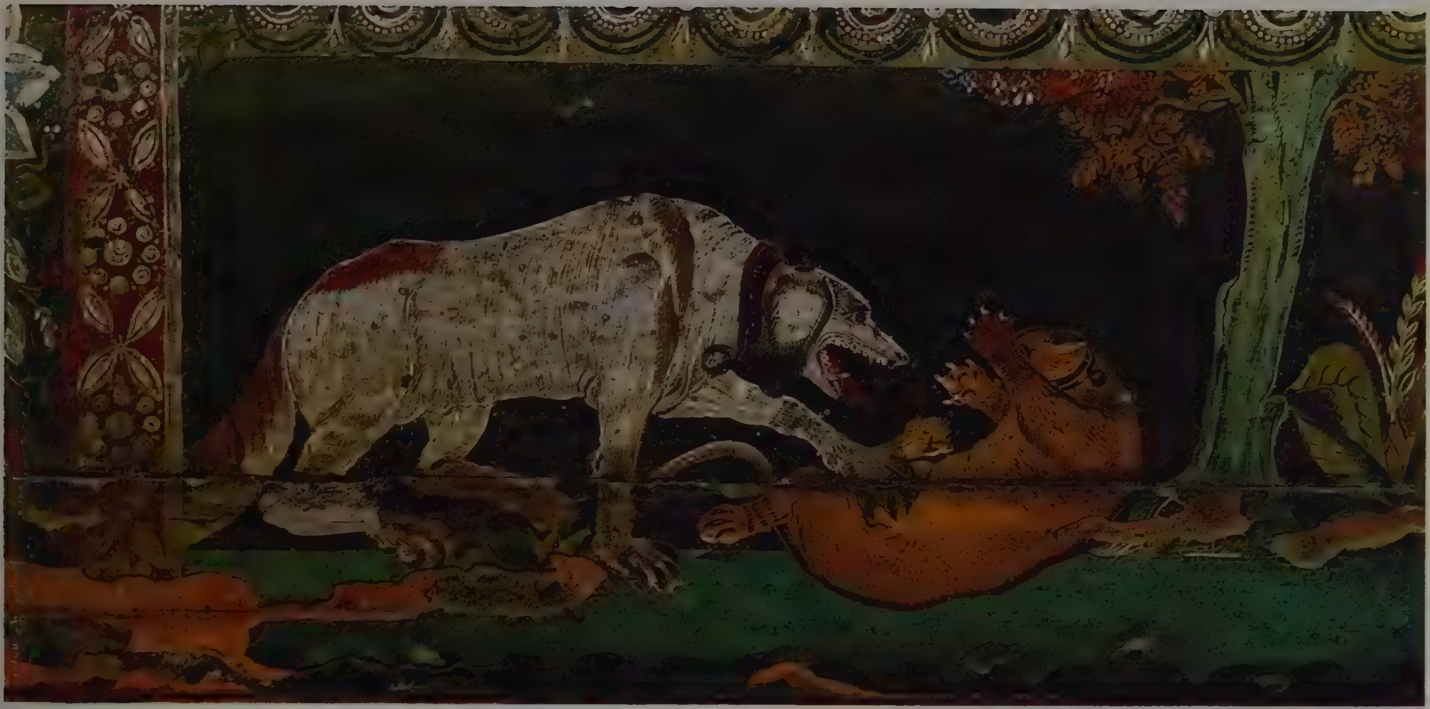
But what does it matter,
Oh little box from Olinala,
If your perfume fades;
If your scent vanishes!
I will perfume you
With a scent of passion.
I will take out my heart
And make you keep it for me!
Popular verse



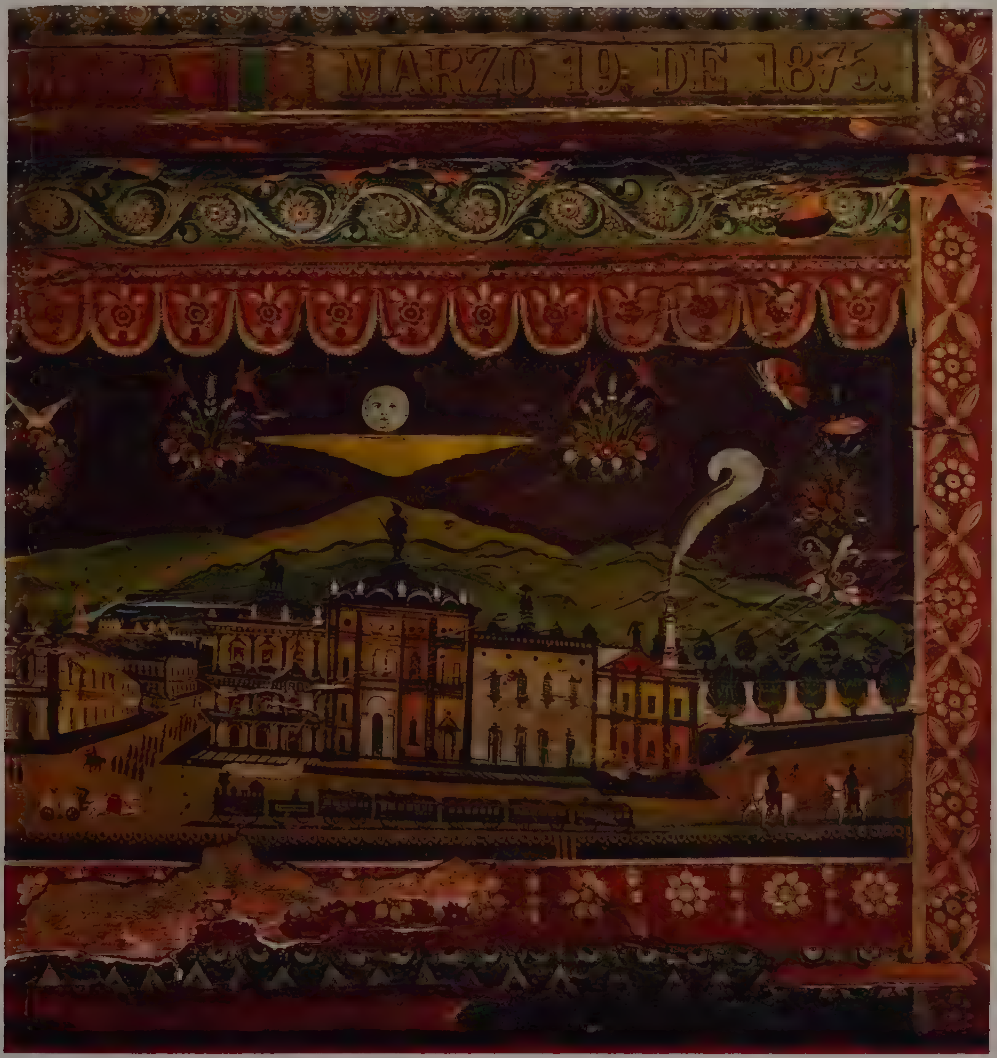
A buyer at the fair in Tepalcingo, Morelos.



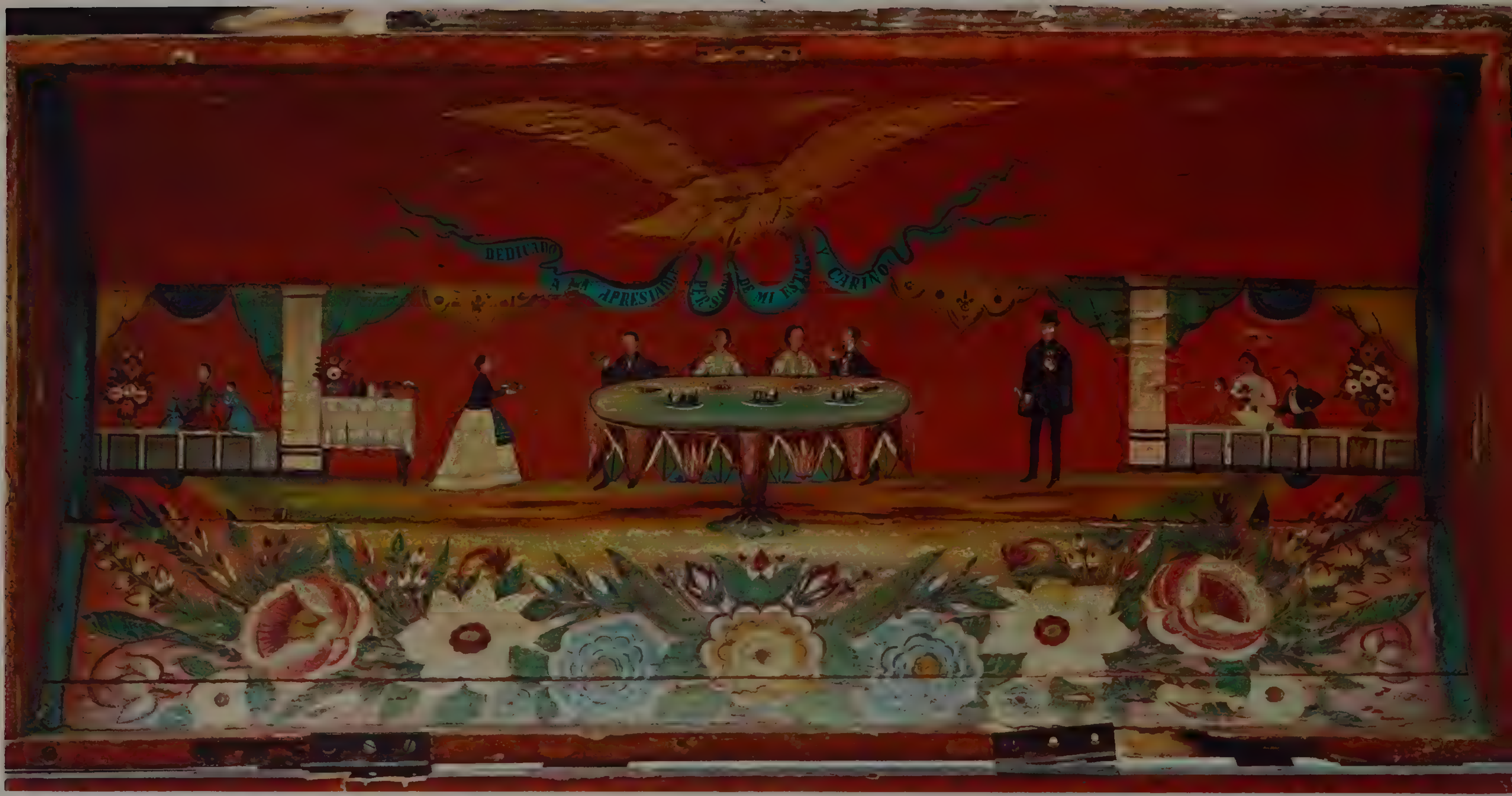
76. Detail of a chest. Olinala, Guerrero.



77. Wooden chest (detail). Olinala, Guerrero.

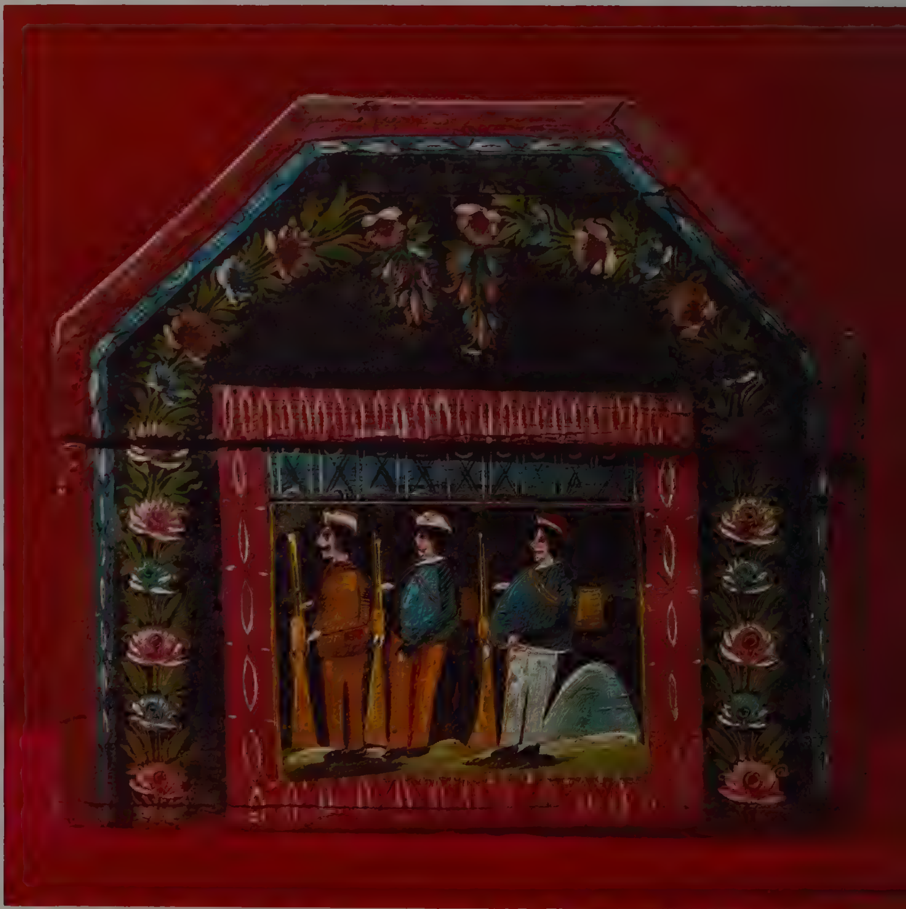

MARZO 19. DE 1875.

78. Wooden chest (detail). Olinala, Guerrero.

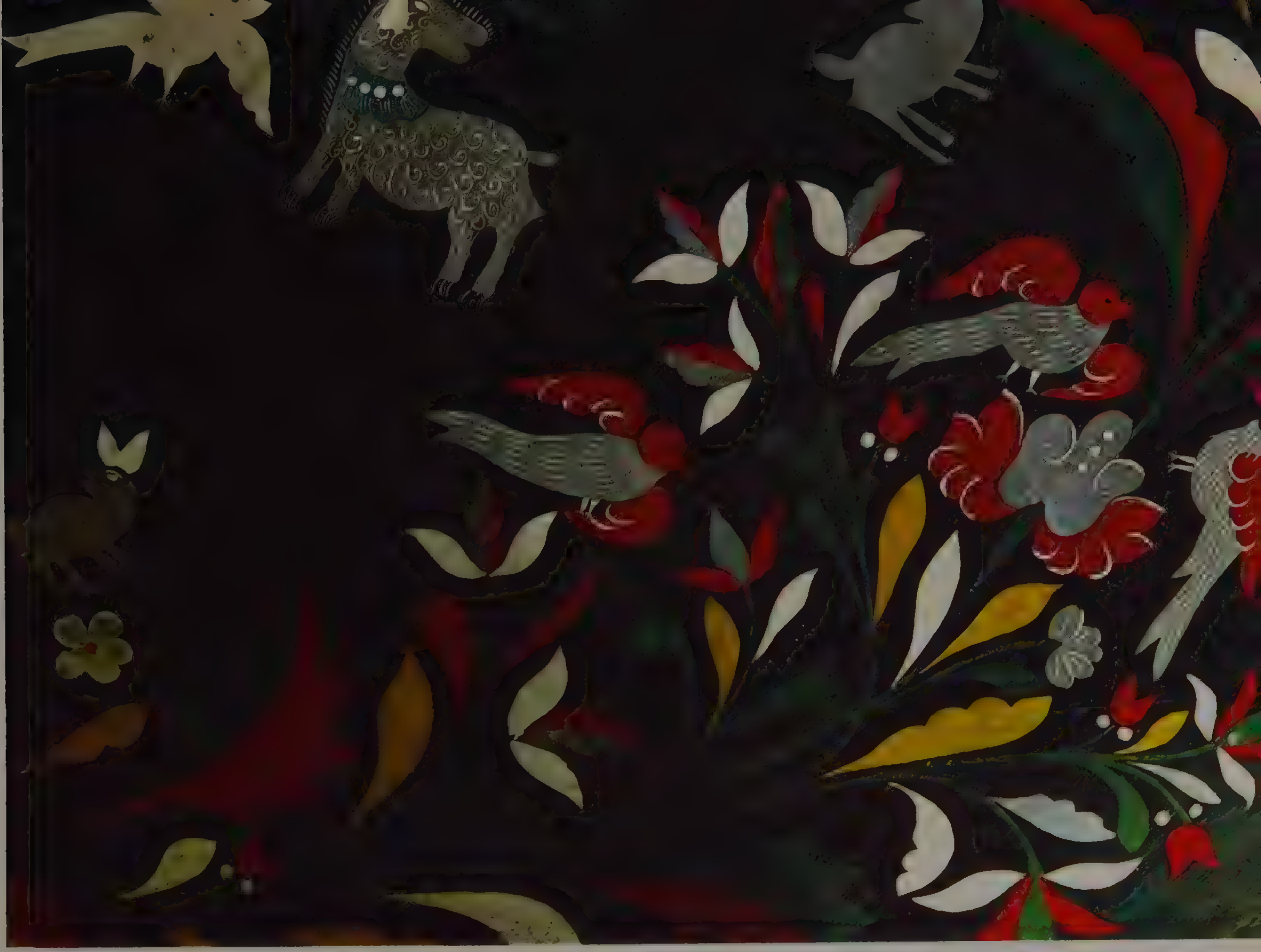

DEDICADO
A LA APRESIABLE
PERSO
DE MI EST
Y CARIÑO

79. Lid of a chest. Olinala, Guerrero.

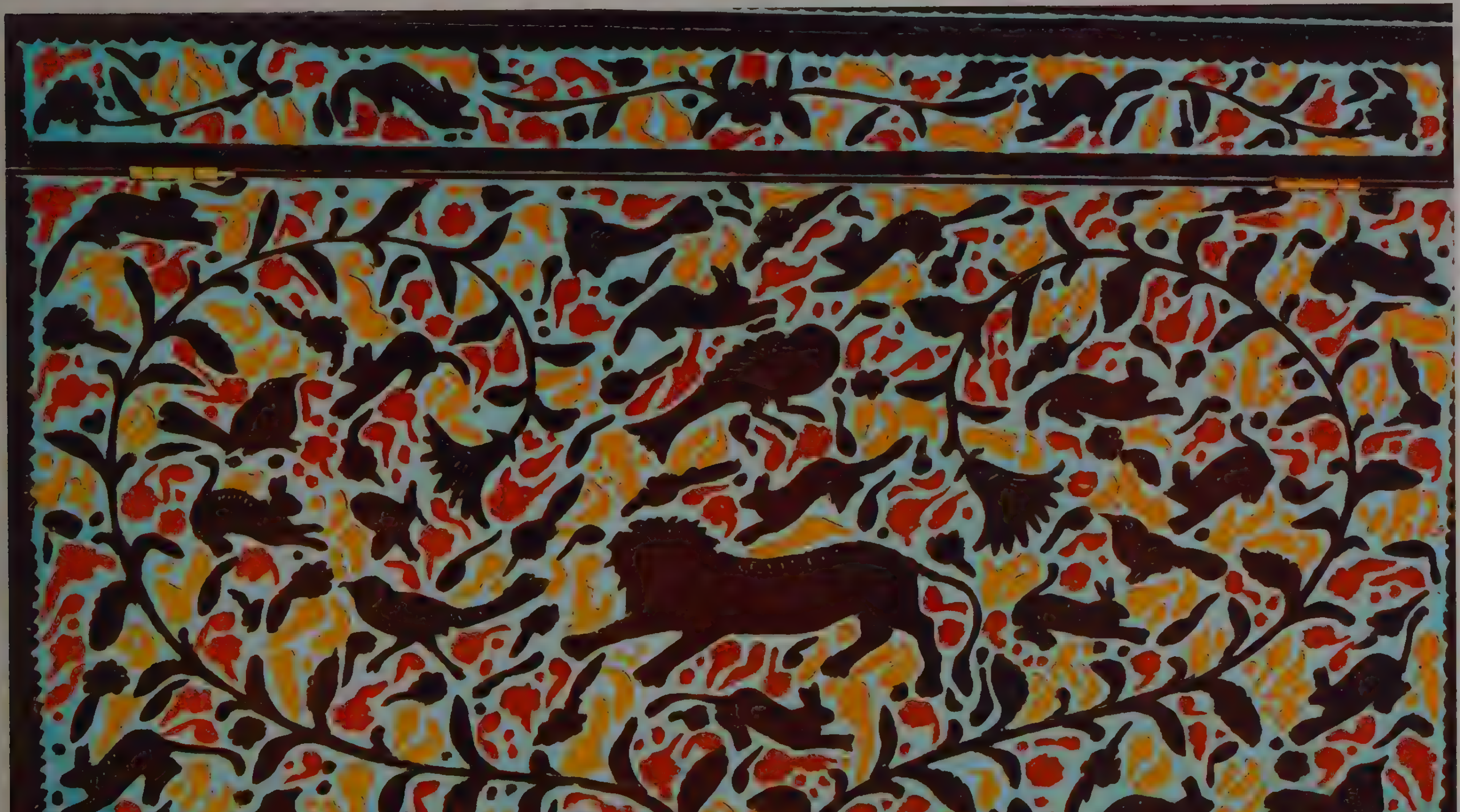
Each object from Olinala is impregnated with that unmistakable human essence which is manifested in the care of polishing, or the fineness of a line, or the ingenuity of a brush stroke, or in a detail of the stylization of the ever-present rabbit. Gutierre Tibón



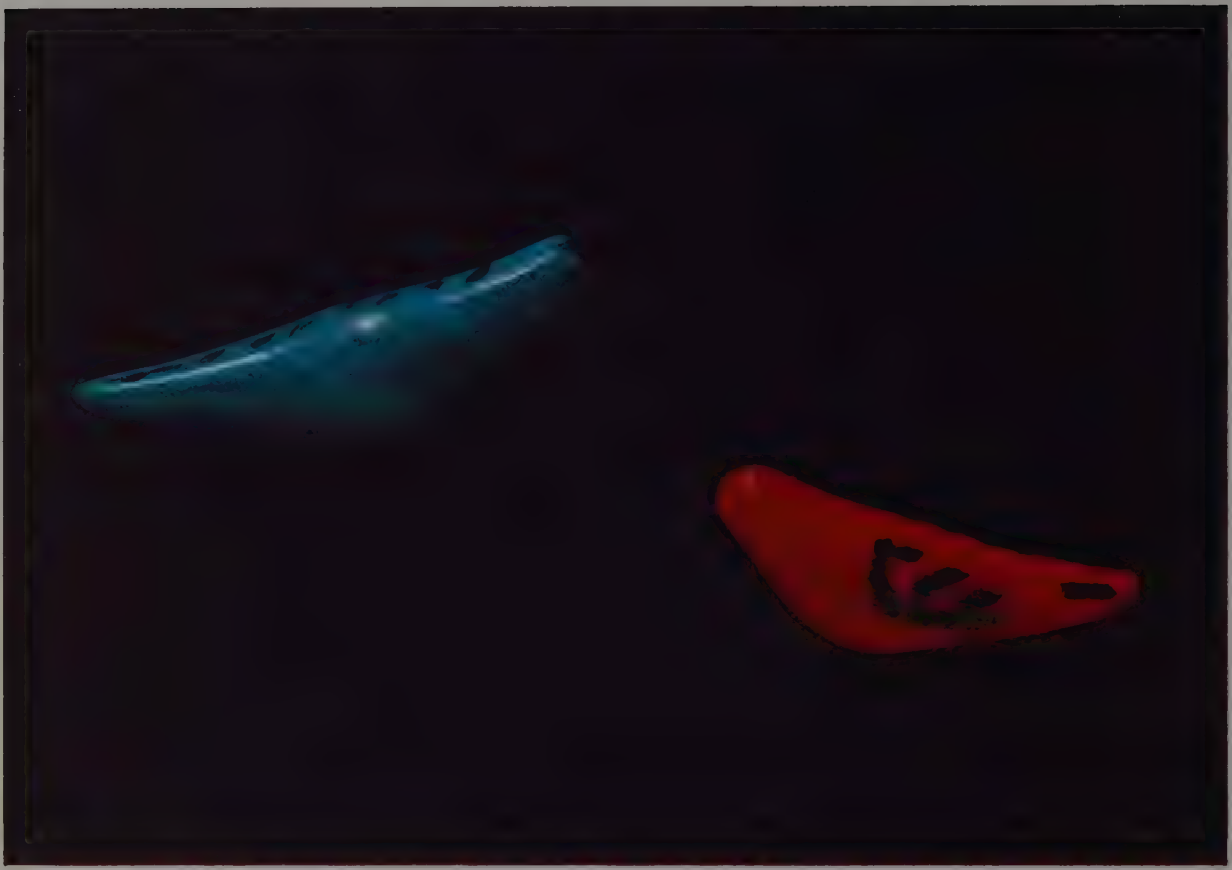
80. Chest (detail). Olinala, Guerrero.



81 Lacquered tray (detail). Uruapan, Michoacan

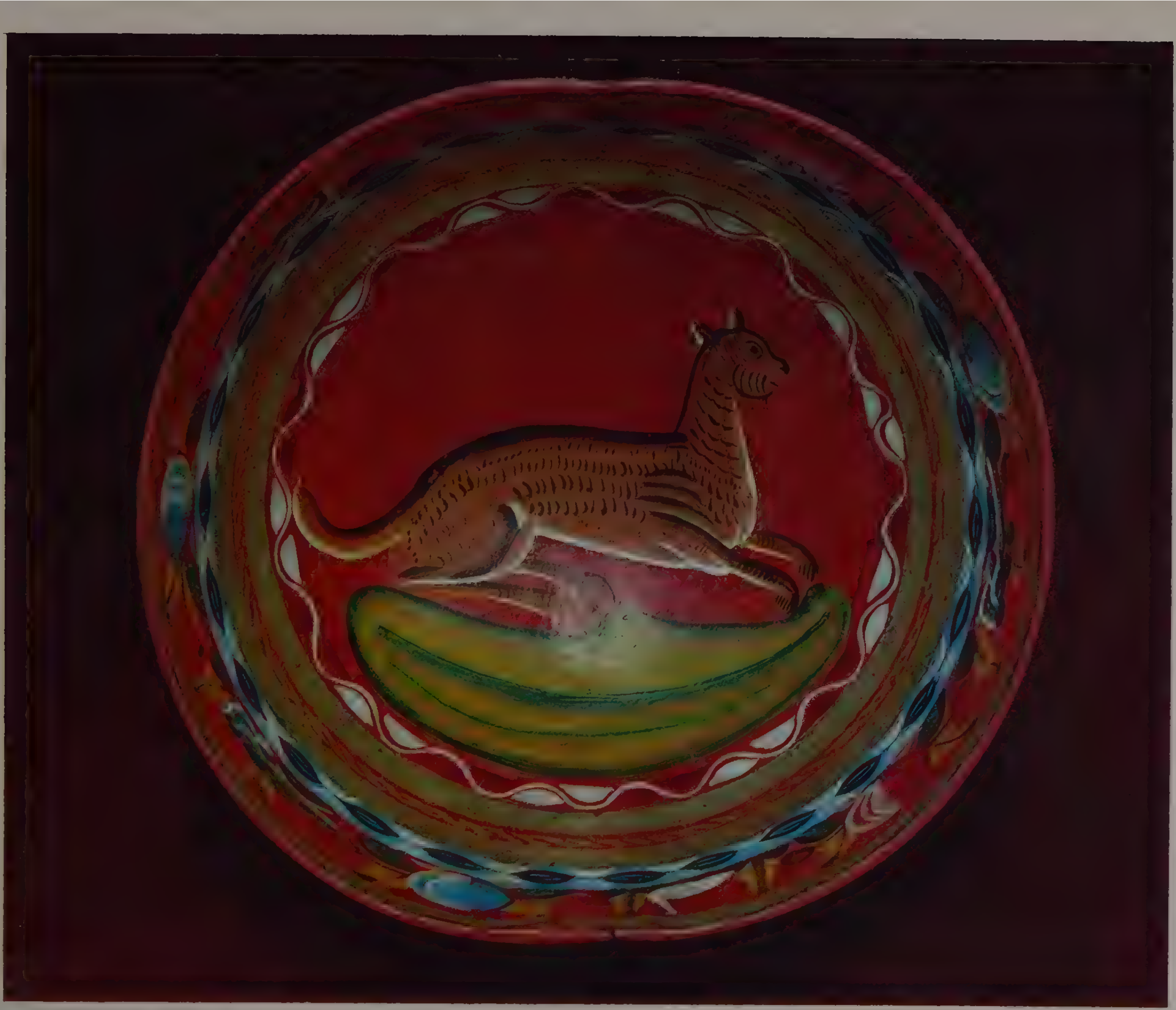


82. Trunk (detail). Olinala, Guerrero.

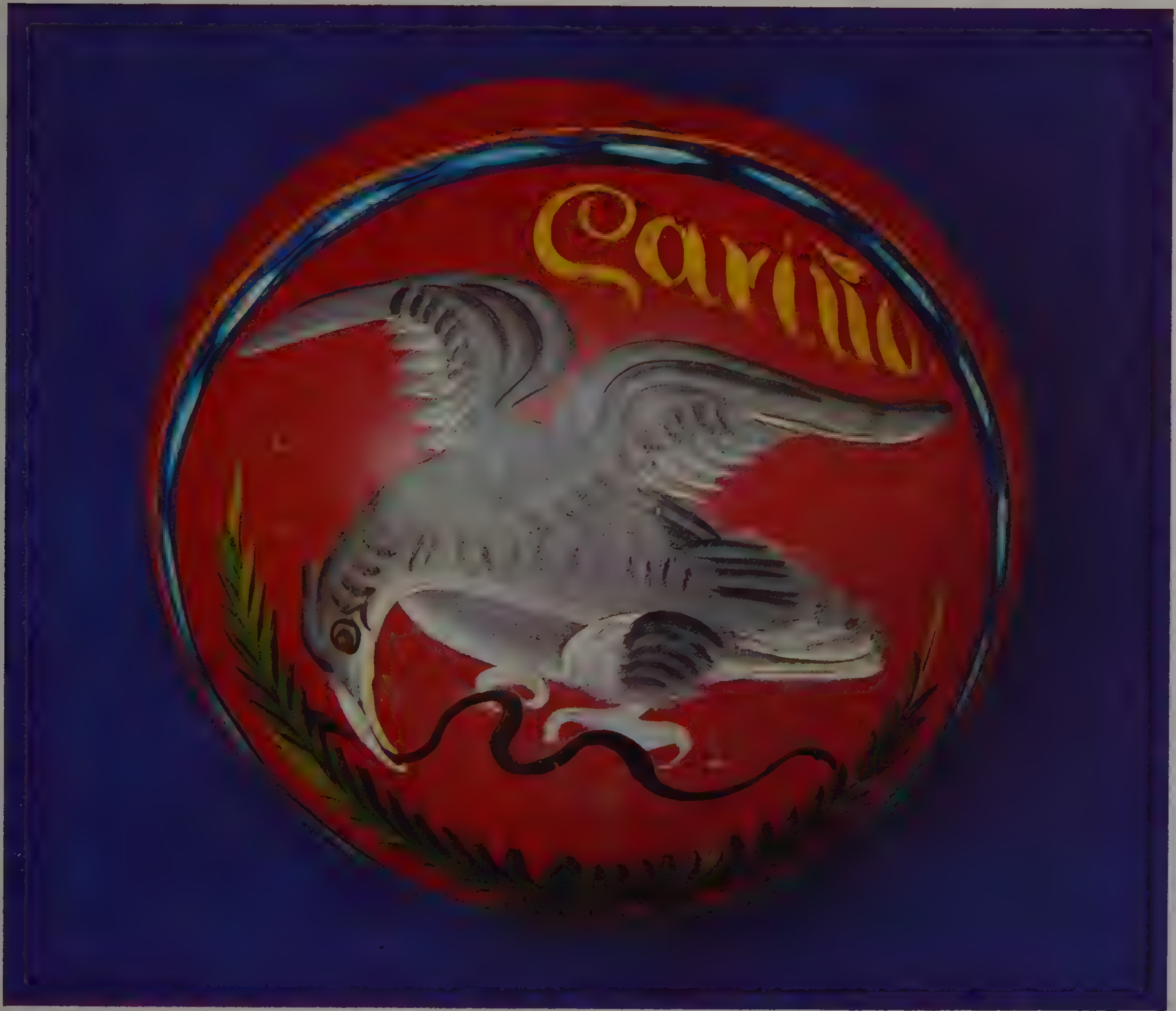


83. Little birds. Olinala, Guerrero.

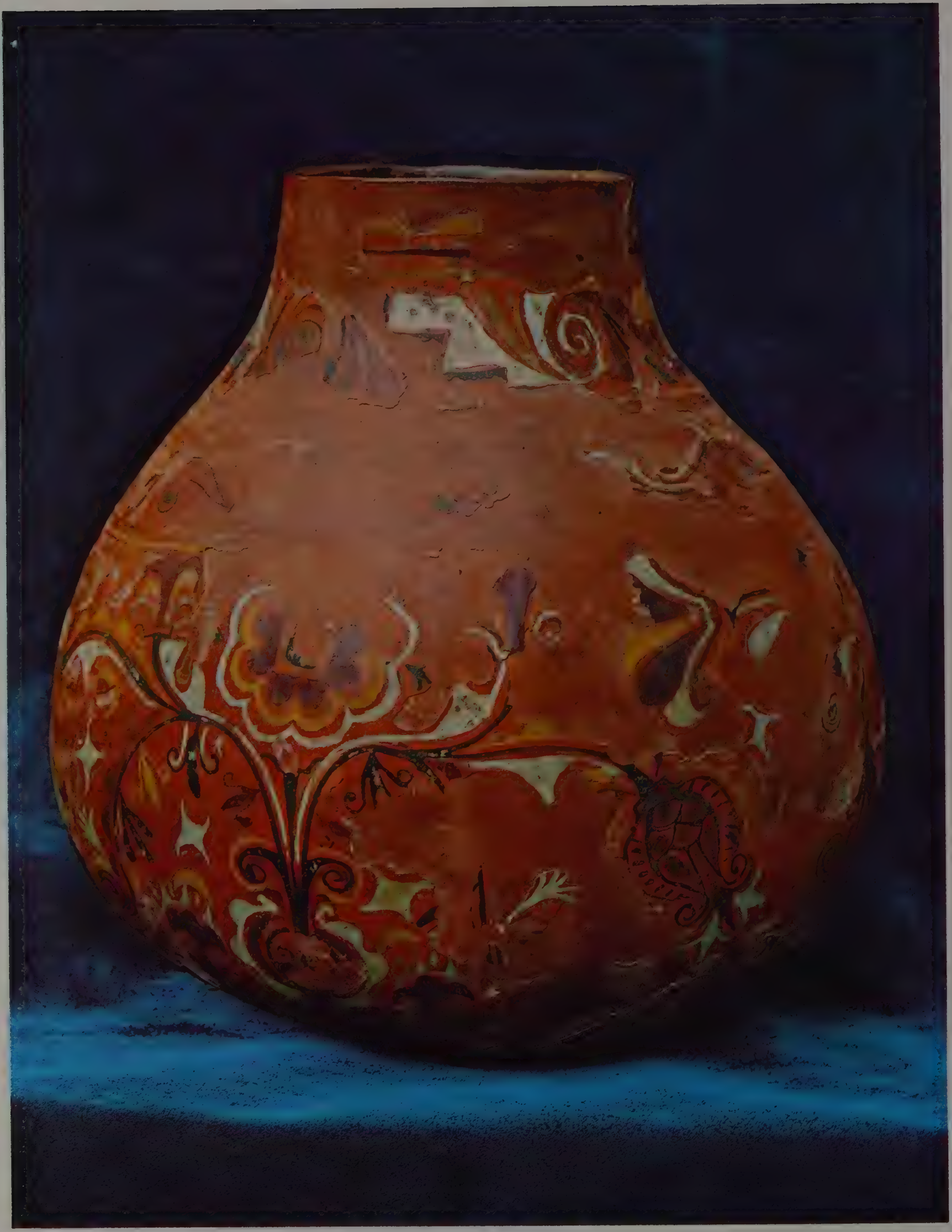
The beak is a *maguey* thorn and the polished quality of the *axe* incites the desire to touch these birds. GABRIEL FERNÁNDEZ LEDESMA[1]



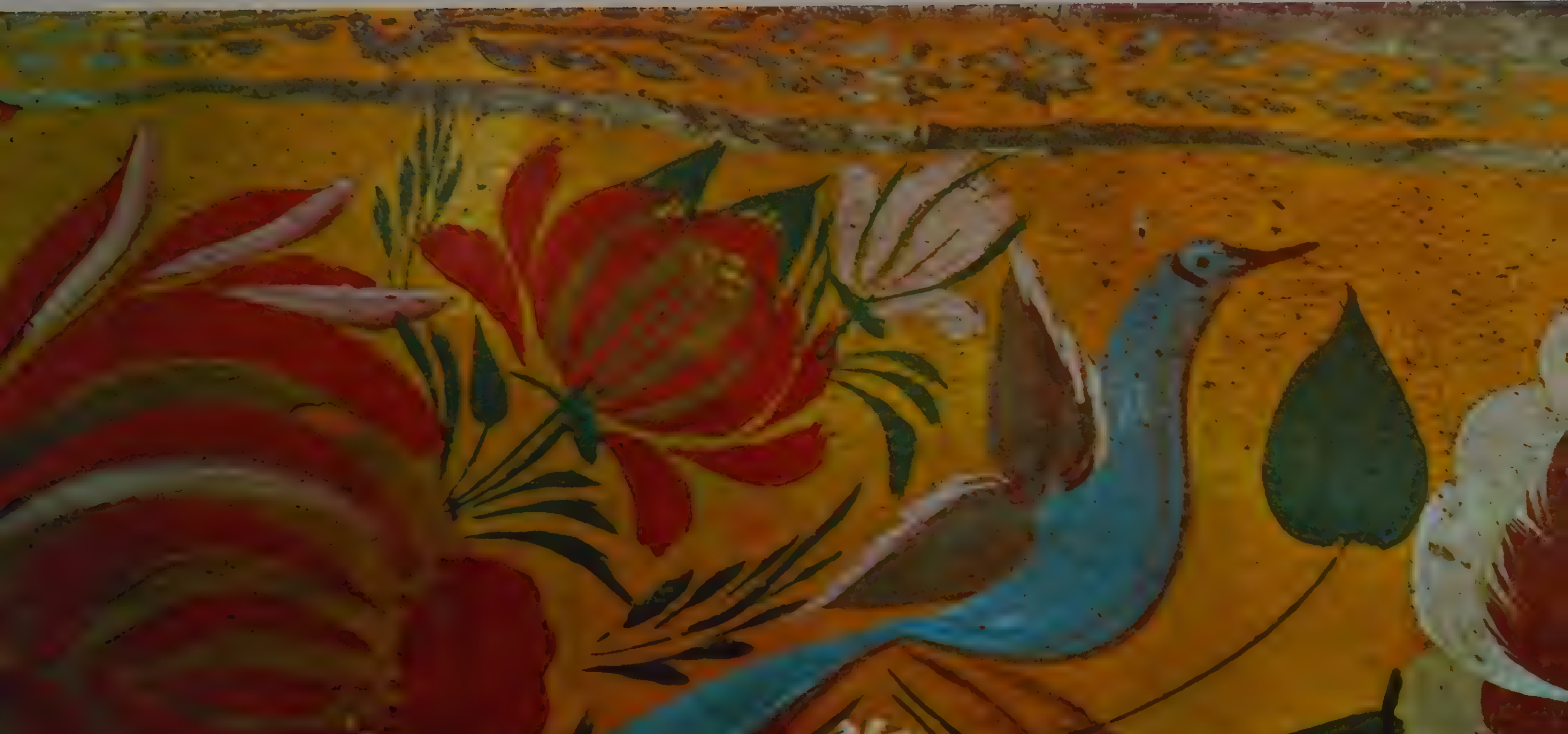
84. Gourd. Olinala, Guerrero.



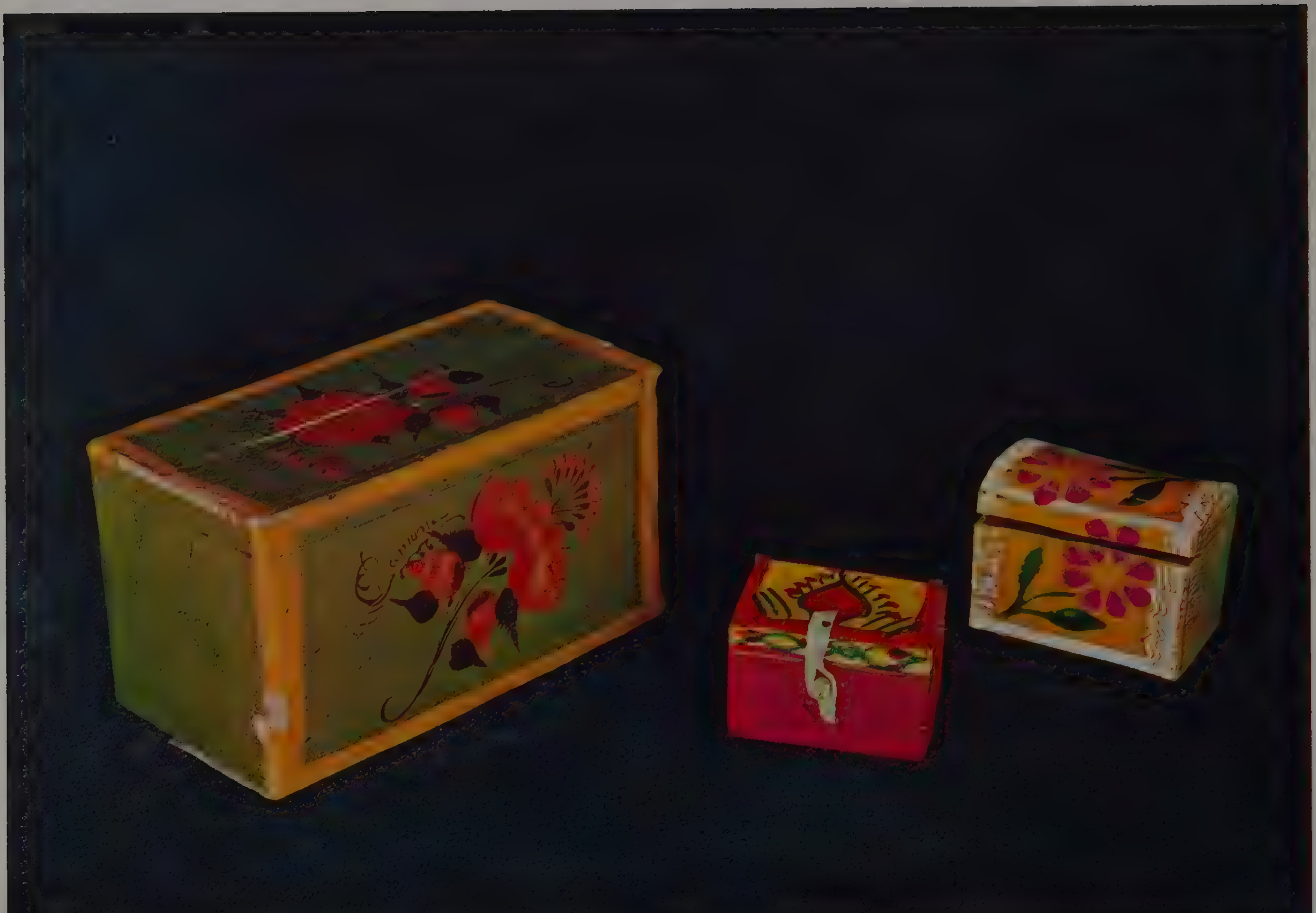
85. Gourd (detail). Olinala, Guerrero.



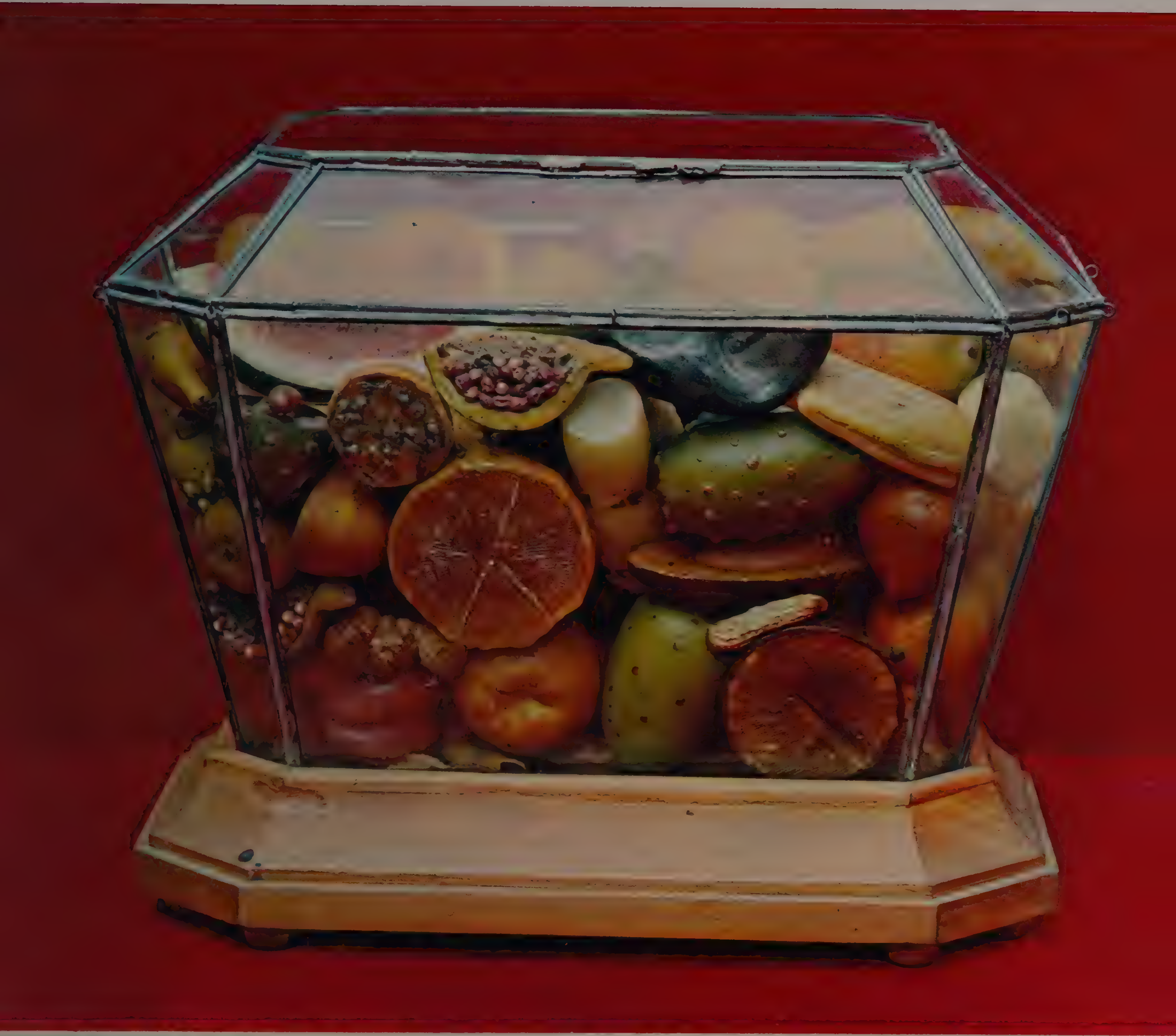
86. *Bule* gourd. Olinala, Guerrero.



87. *Xicalpestle.* Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas.

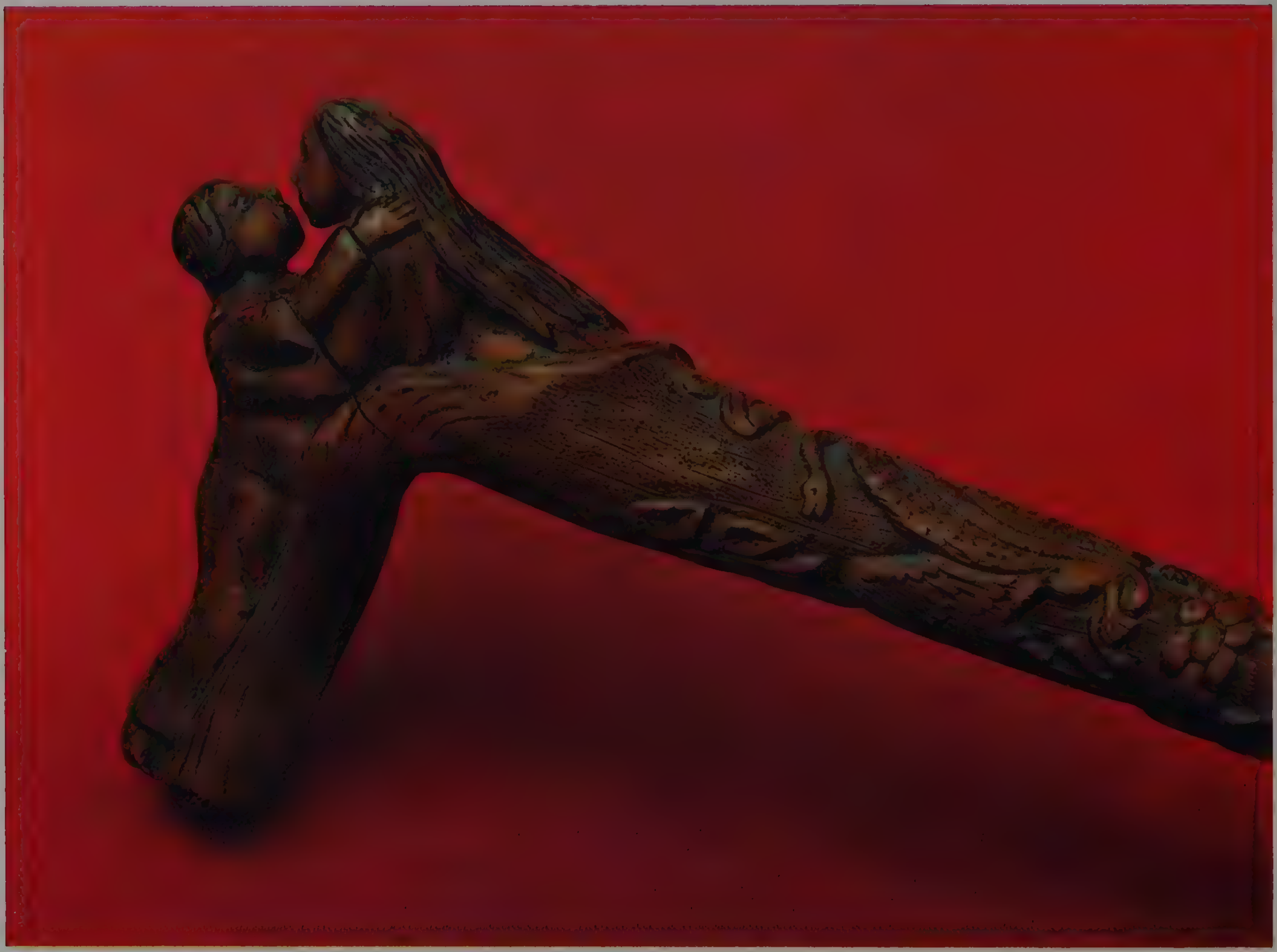


88. Boxes from Colima, Chiapas, and Michoacan.

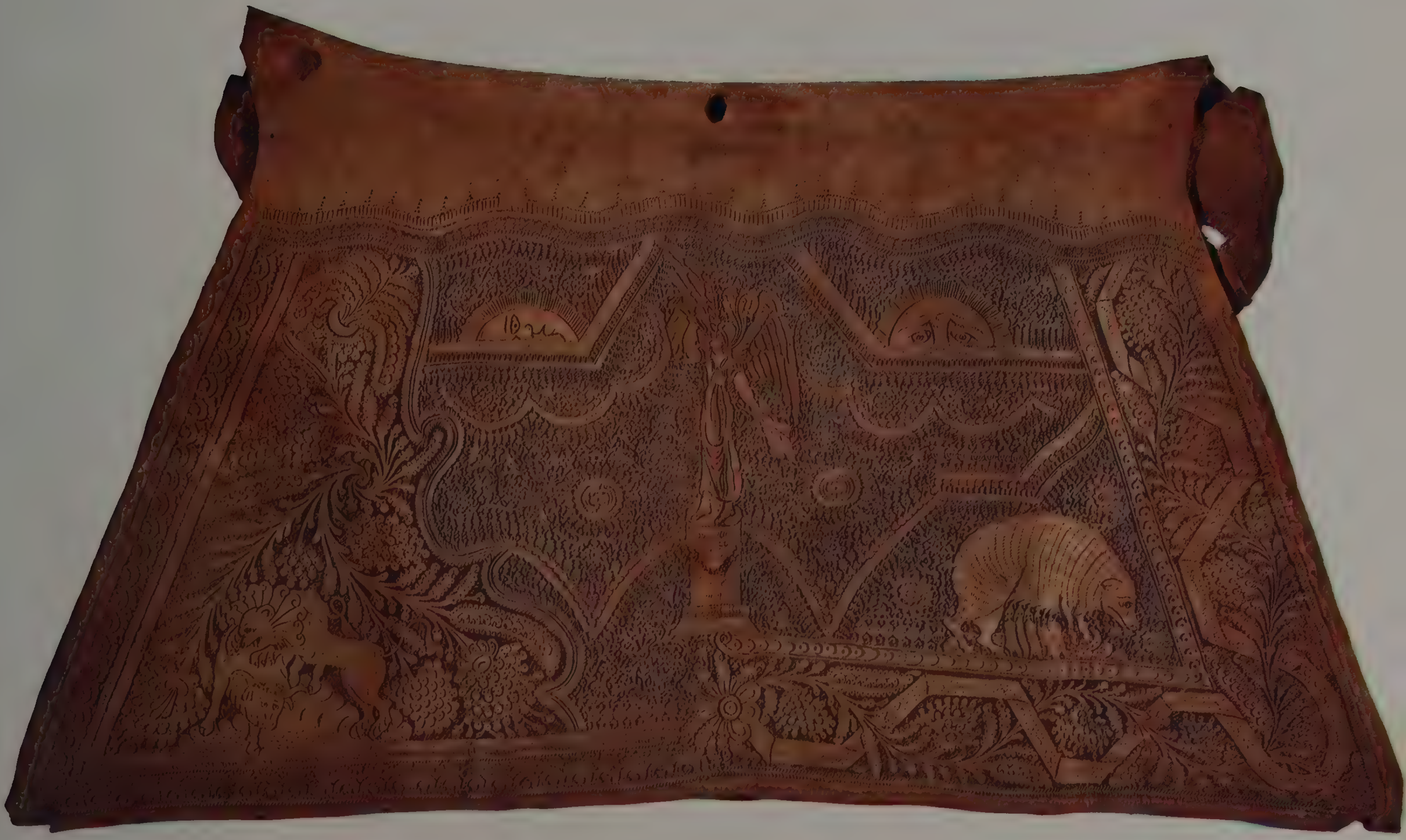


89. Wax fruits. City of Puebla.

They are the heirs to the incredible patience the ancient Mexicans applied to the carving of their statues of wood and stone. FRANCES CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA

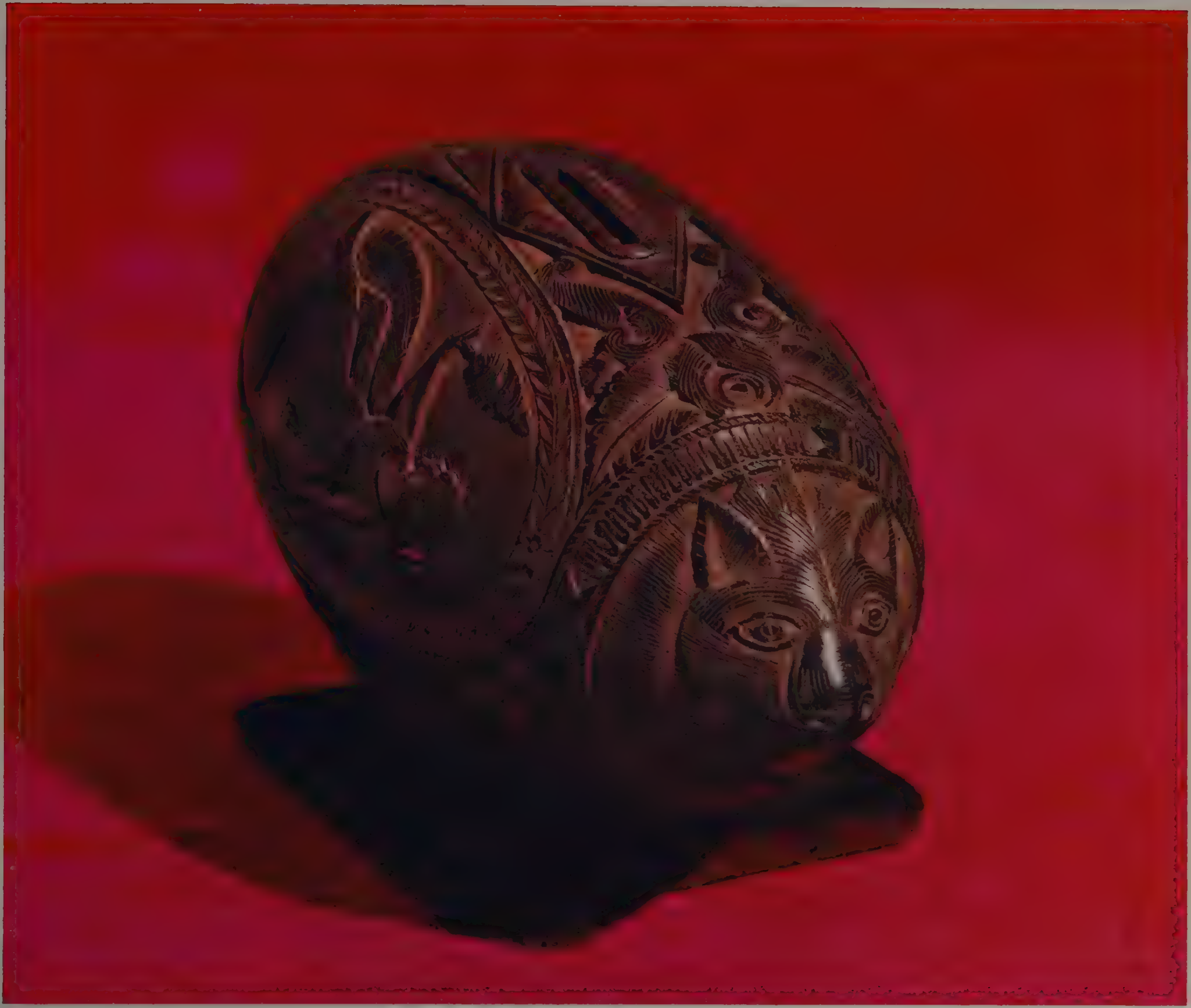


90. Cane. Michoacán (?).

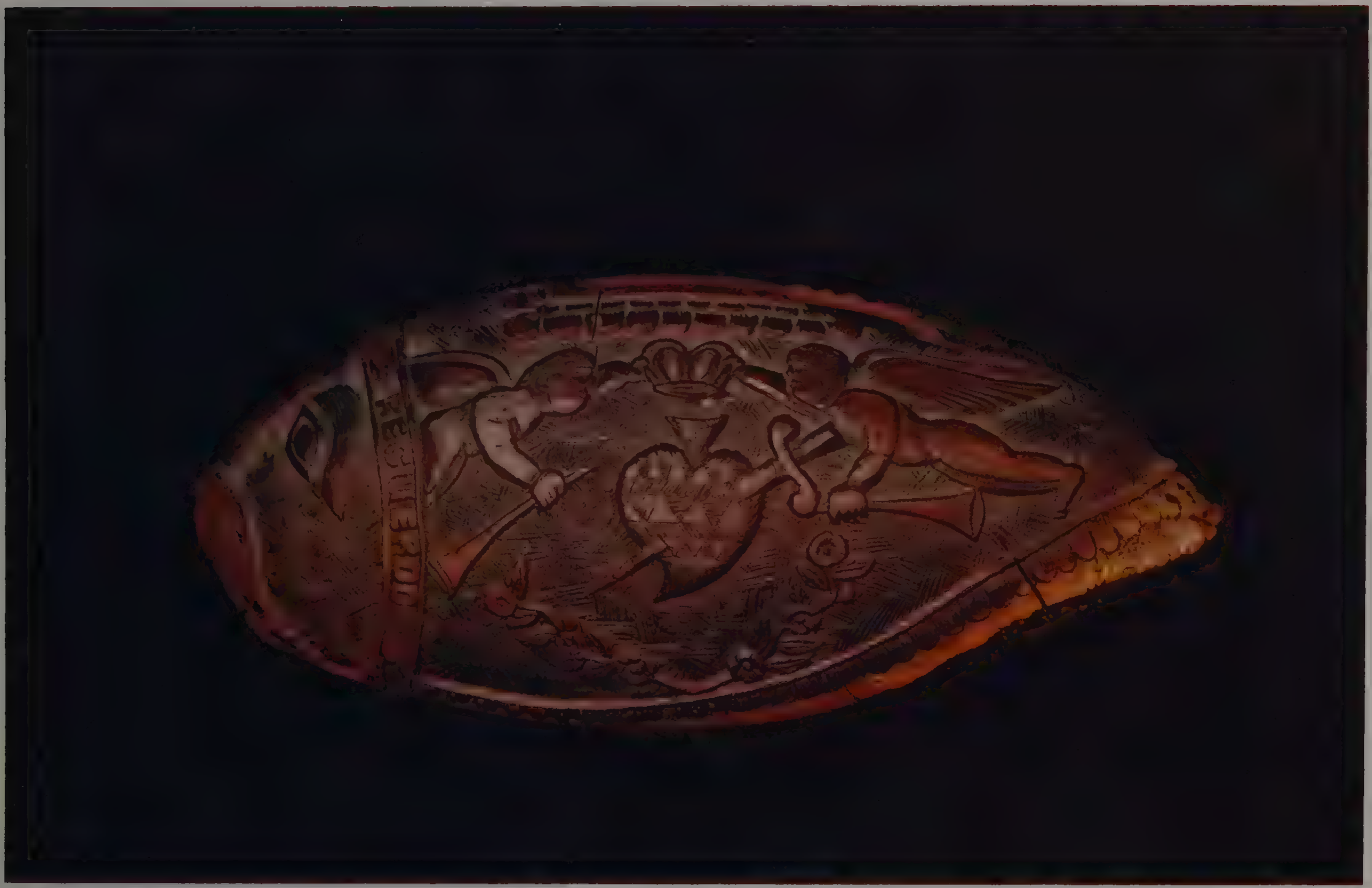


91. *Chaparreras* or chaps. Puebla (?).

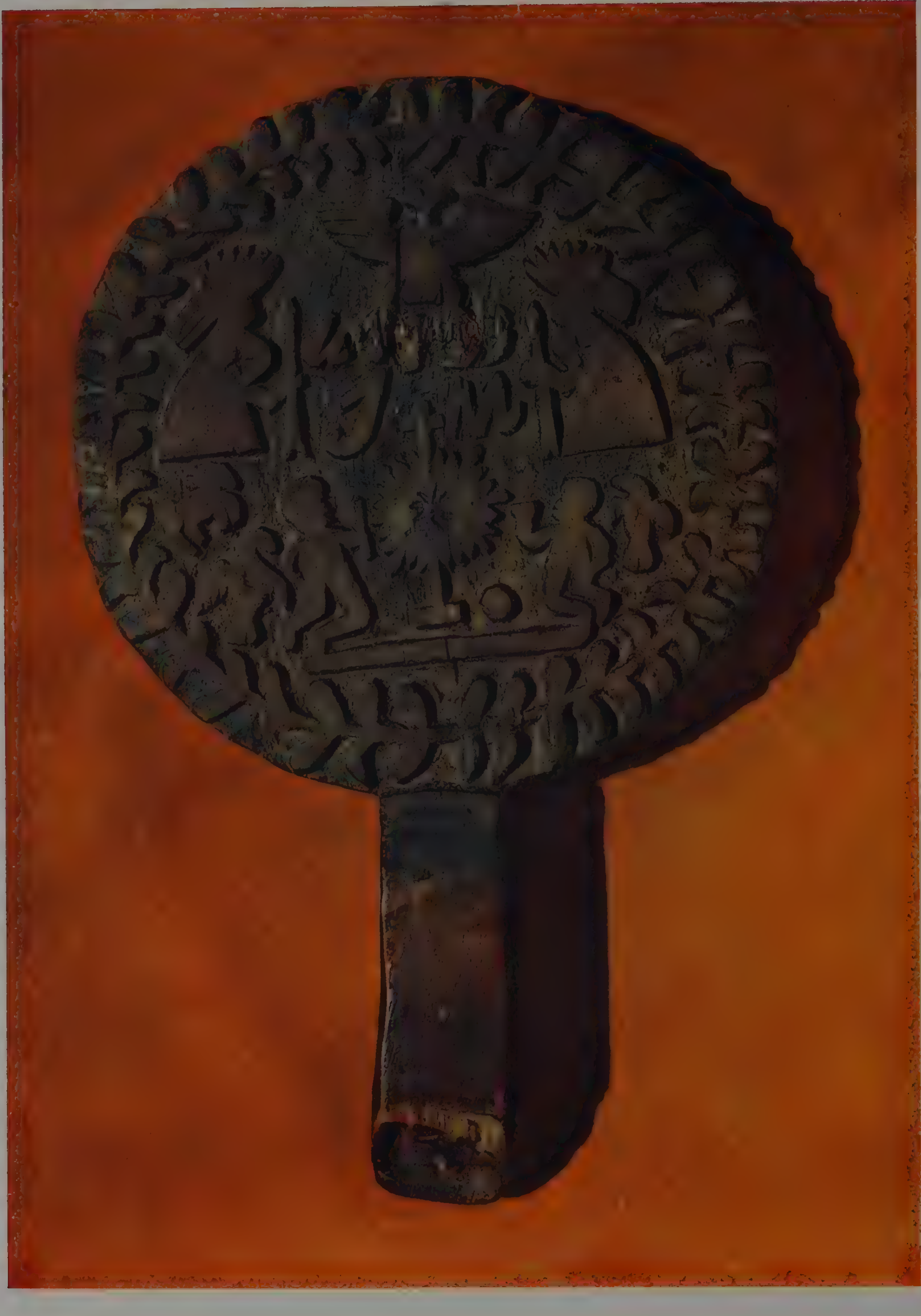
On page 148:
92. Coconut shell receptacle. Provenience unknown.



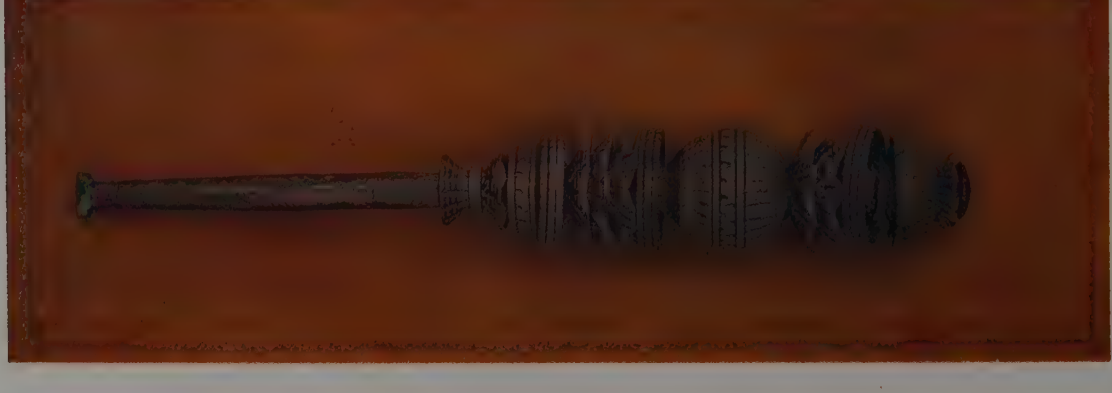
93. Bank. Provenience unknown.



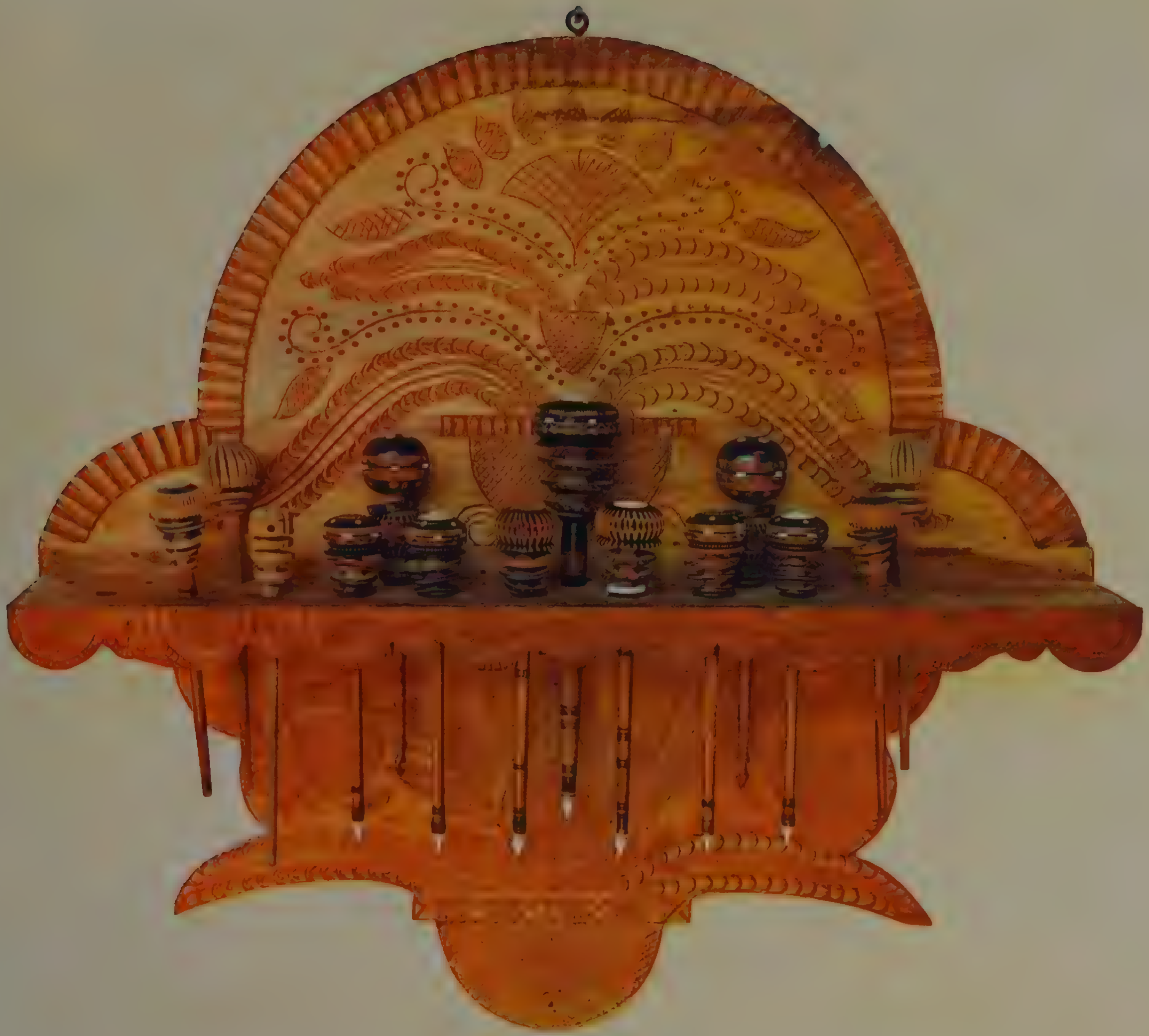
94. Carved mamey pit. Provenience unknown.



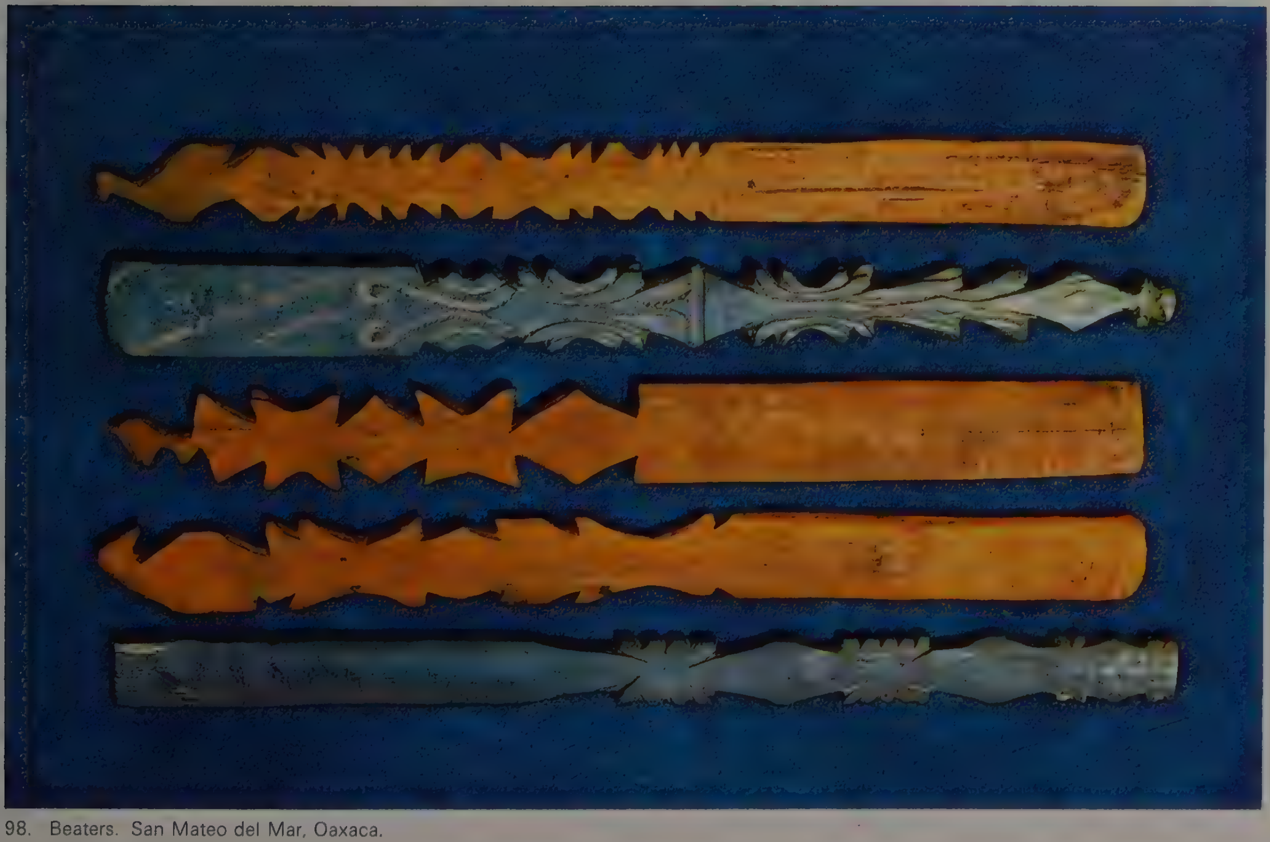
95. *Tortilla* mold. Vizarron, Queretaro.



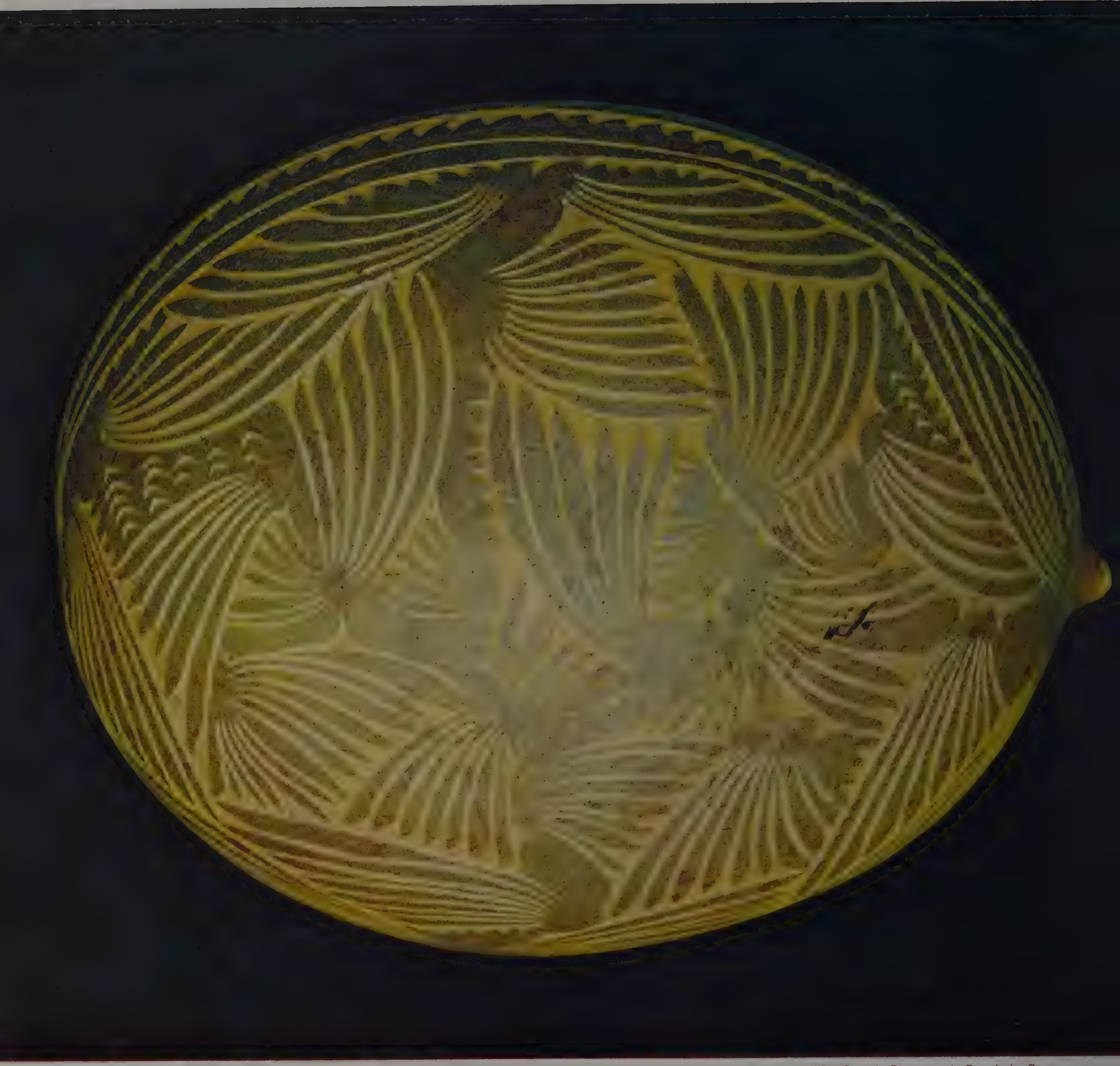
96. Chocolate beater. Puebla.



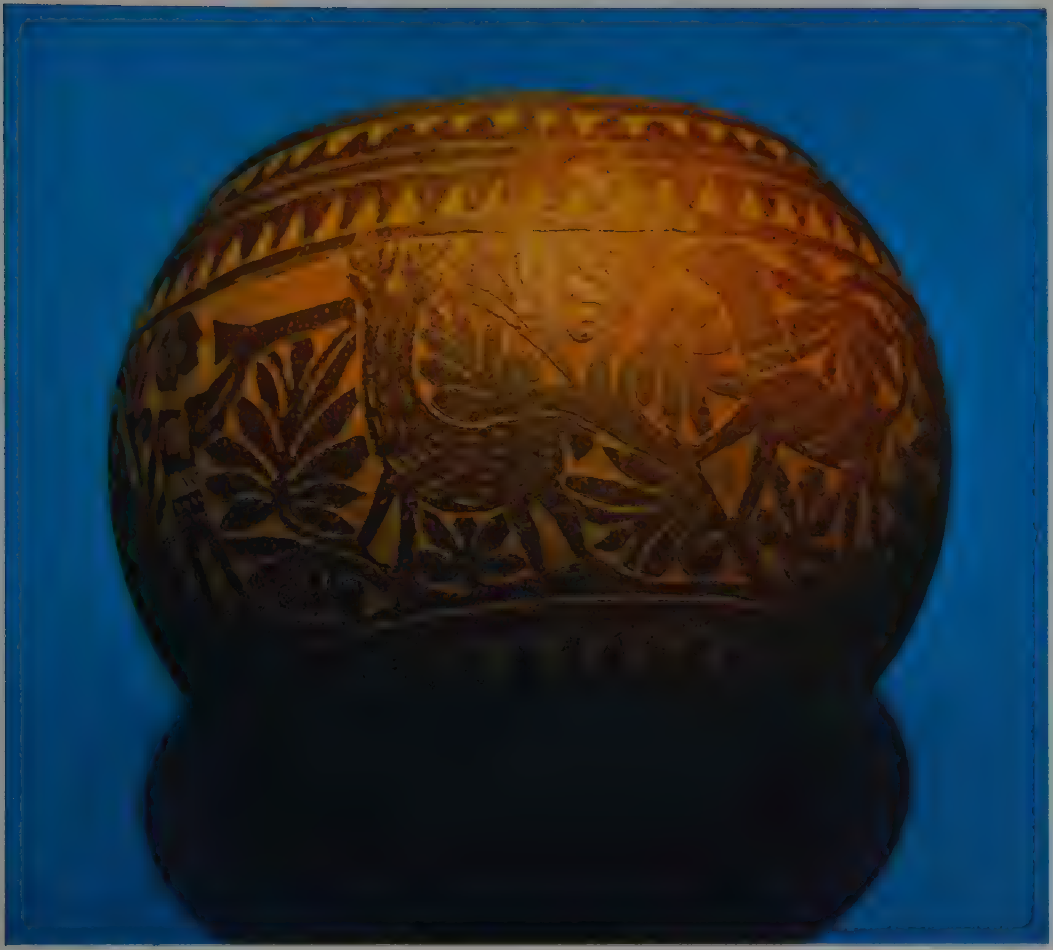
97. Spoon rack. Paracho, Michoacan.

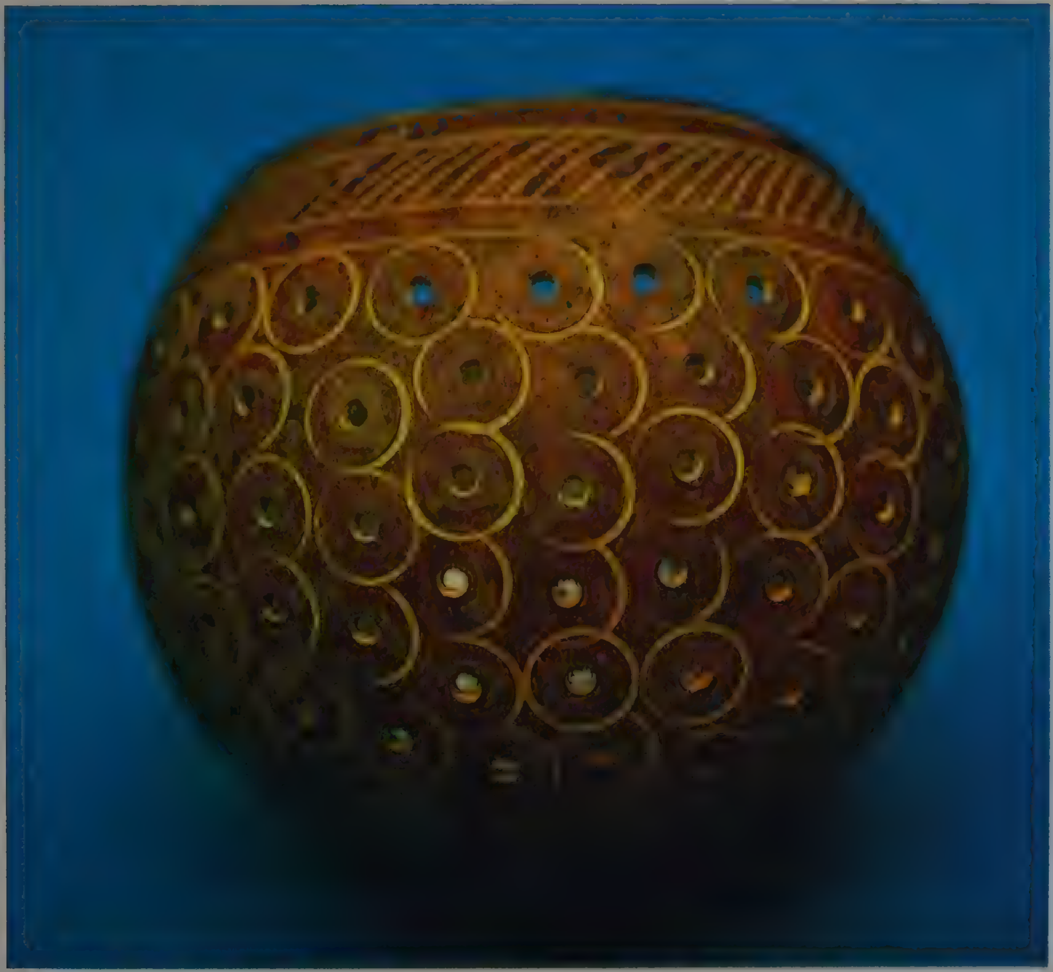


98. Beaters. San Mateo del Mar, Oaxaca.



99. Gourd. Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca.

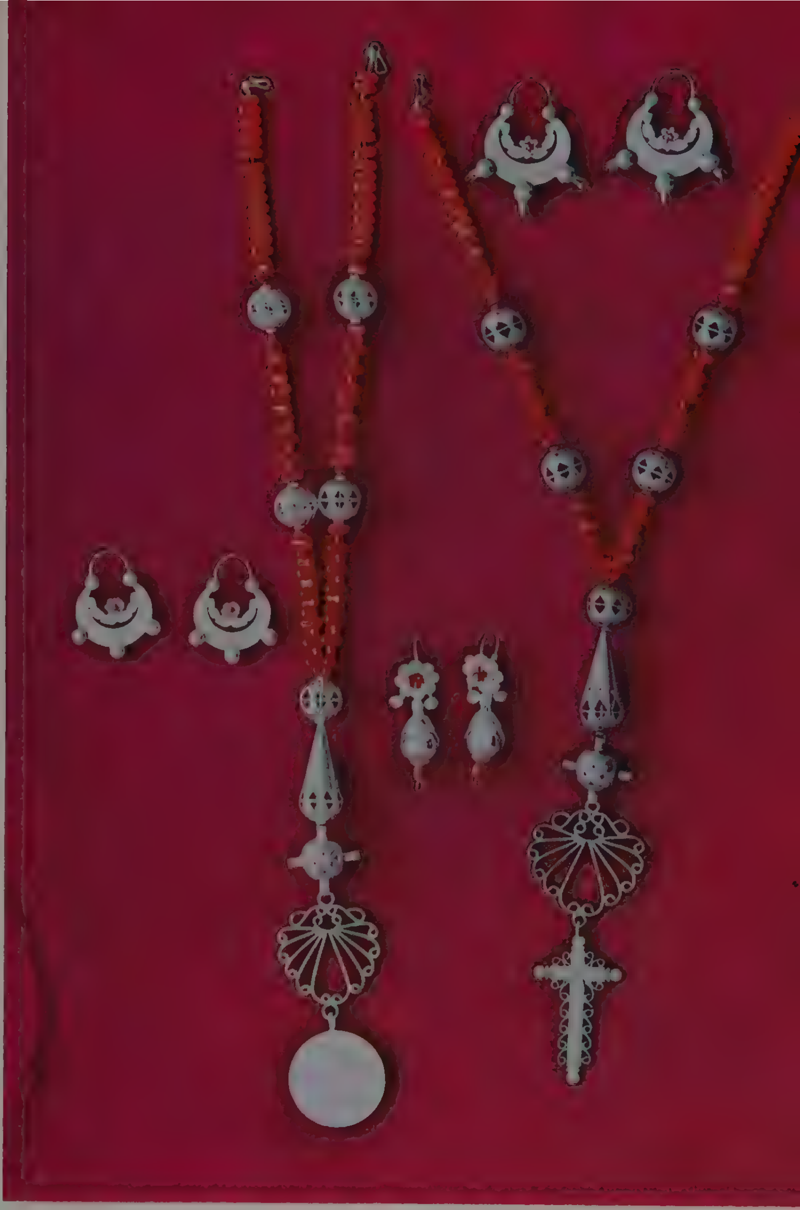

100. Gourd. Tabasco


101. Colander. Jalpa, Tabasco

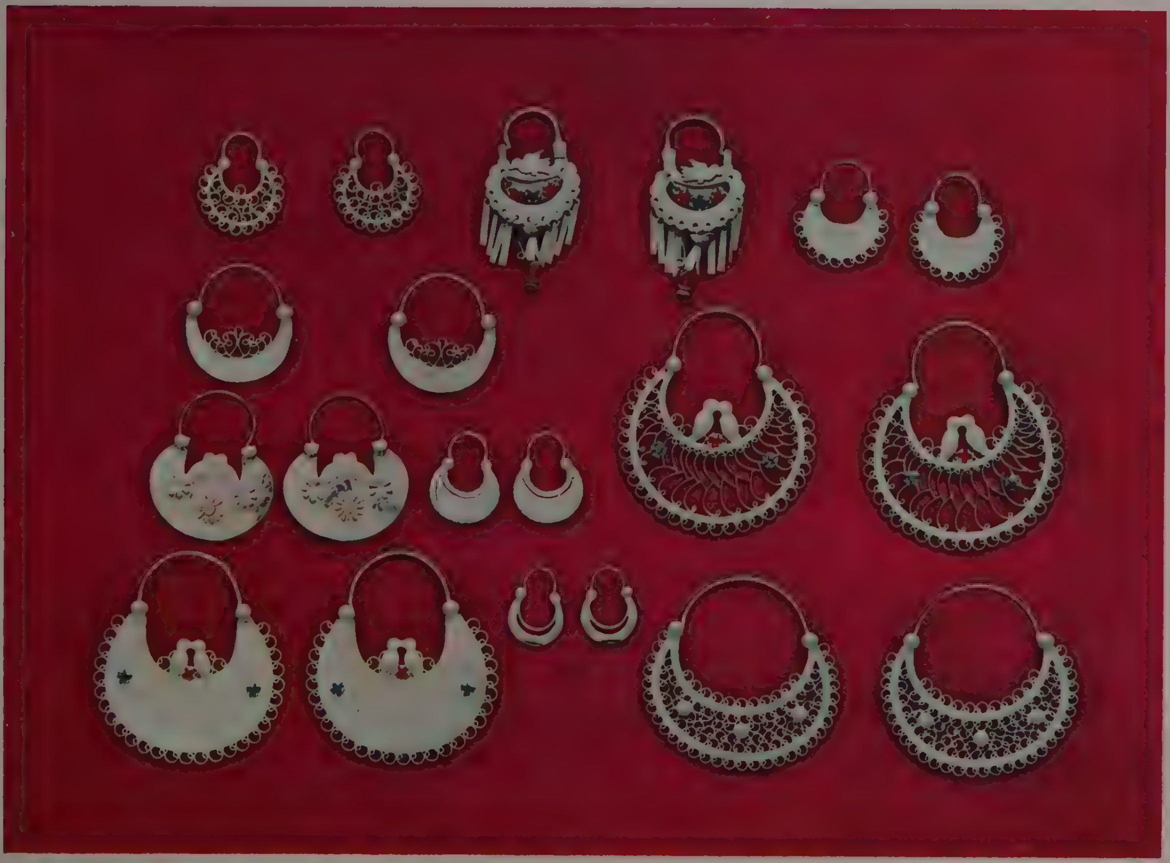
On page 154:

102. Earrings. Puebla, State of Mexico, Hidalgo, and Oaxaca.

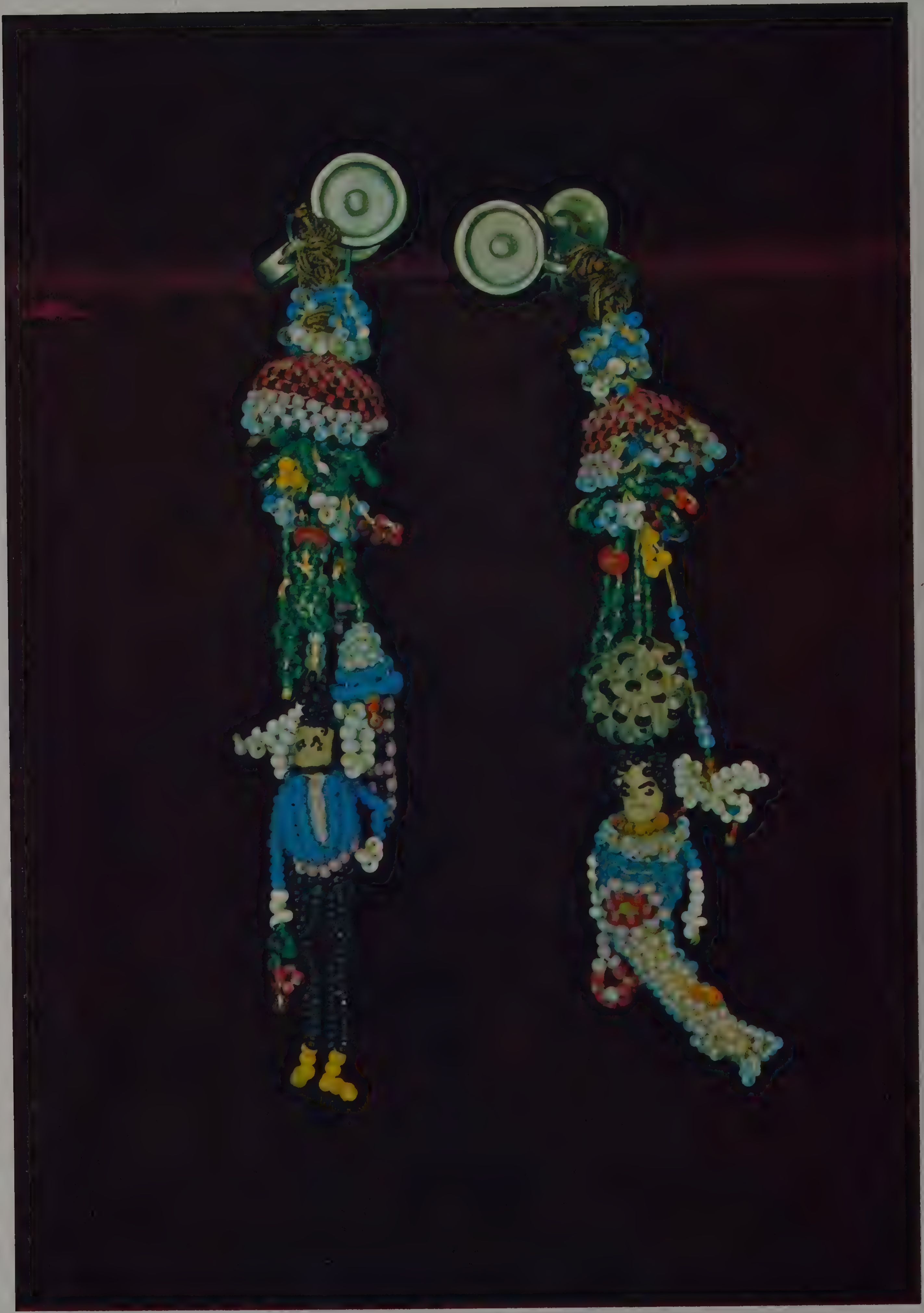
103. Necklaces. Oaxaca and Michoacan.



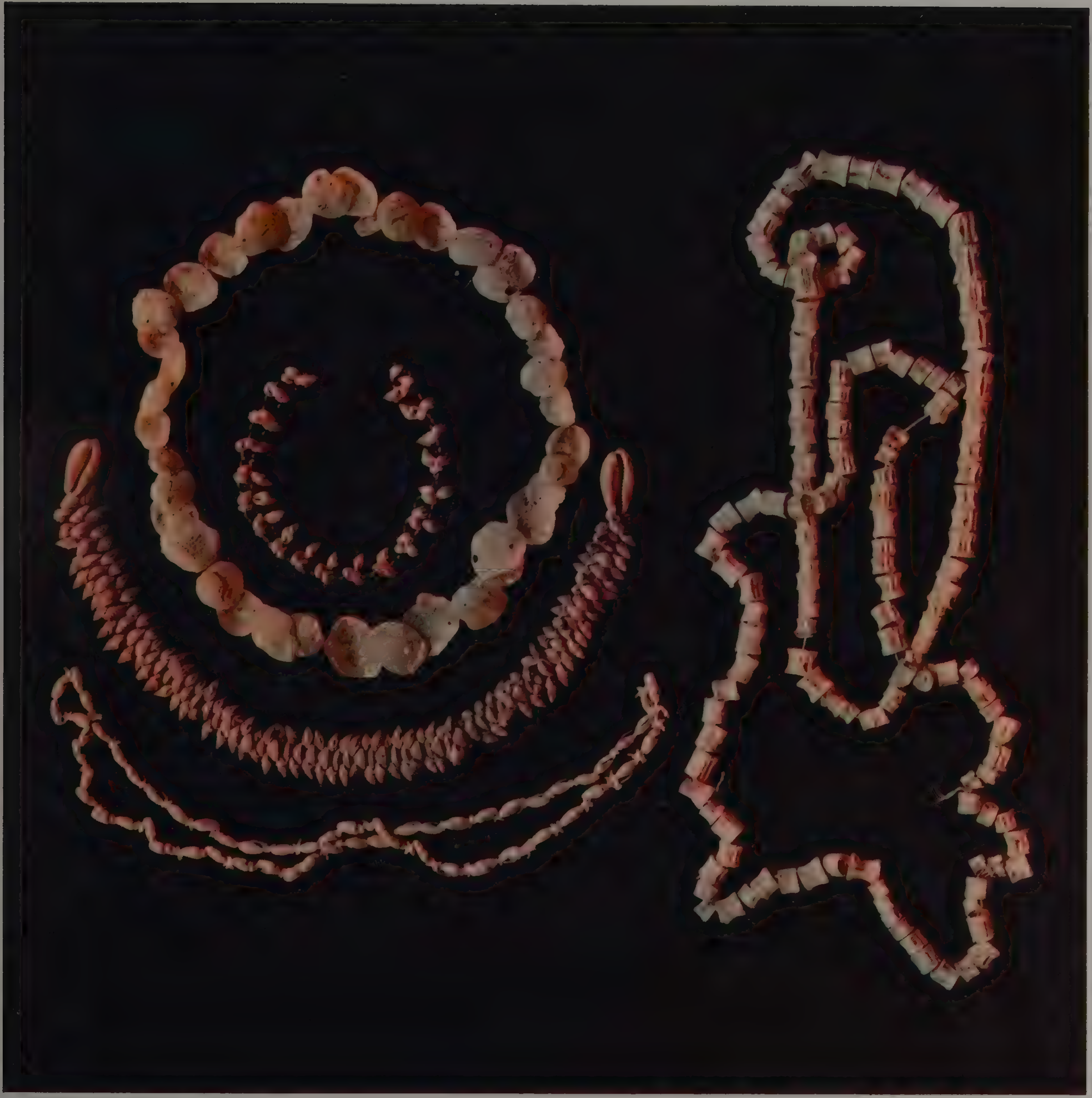
104. Earrings and necklaces. Patzcuaro, Michoacan.



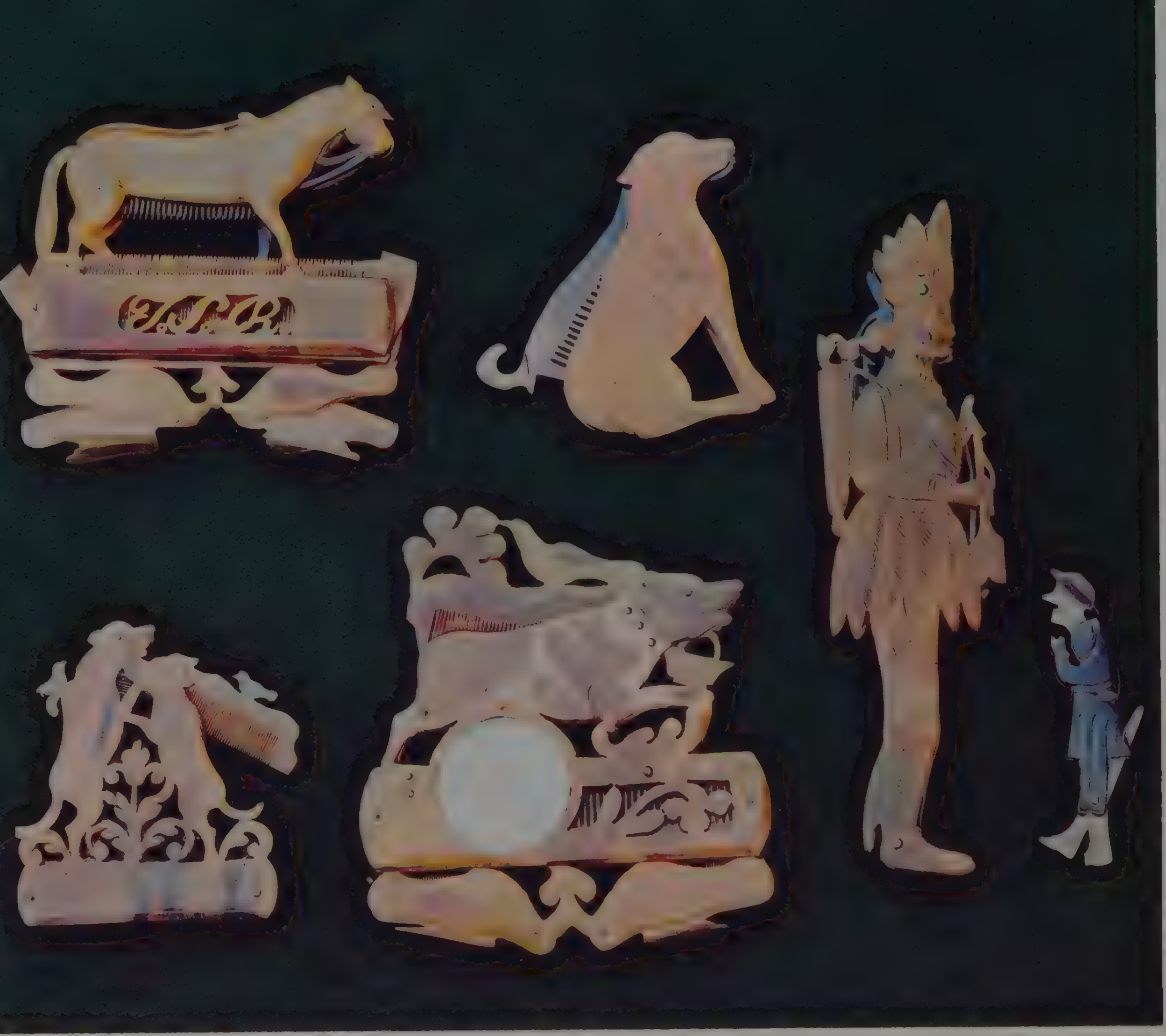
105. Earrings. Zitacuaro, Michoacan.



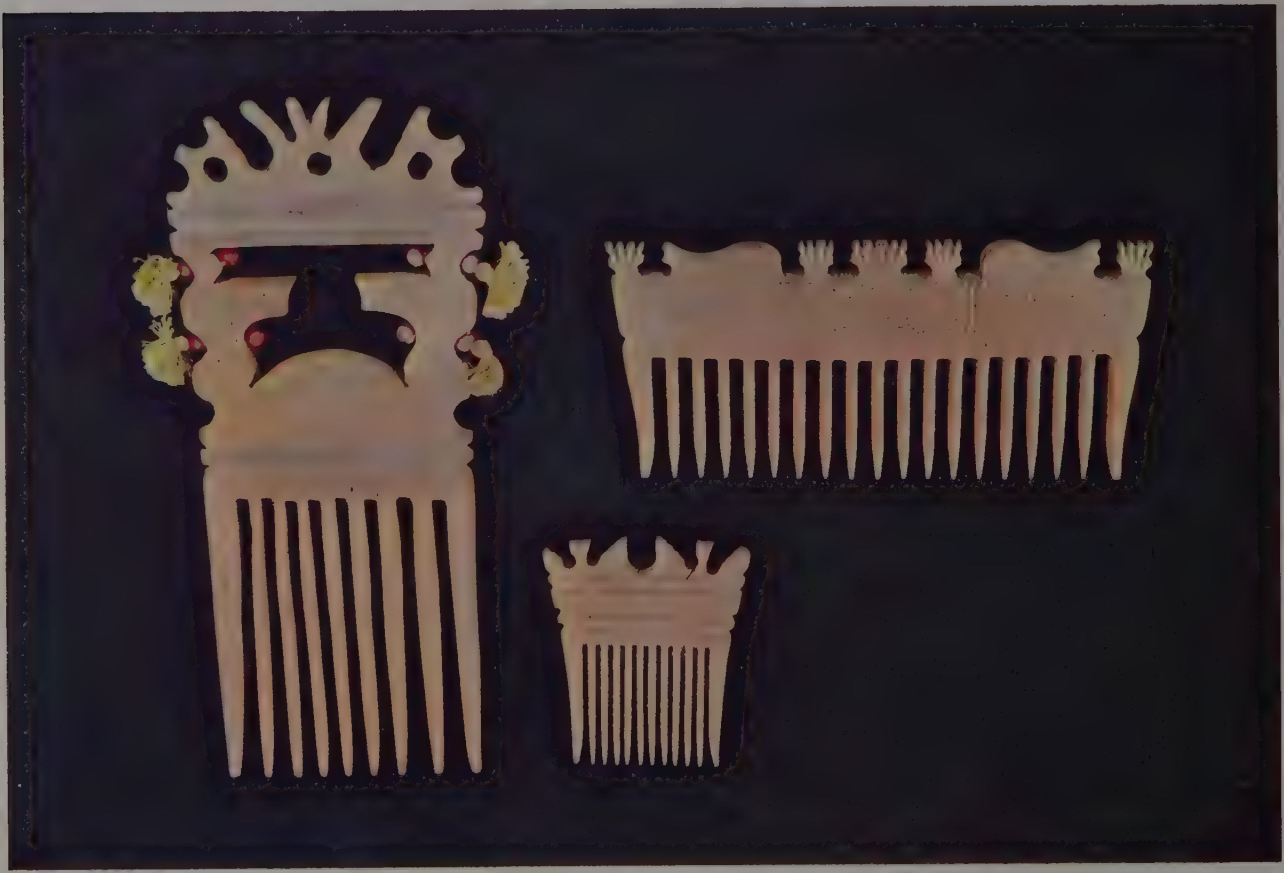
106. Earrings. City of Puebla.



107. Necklaces. Viboras, Sonora.

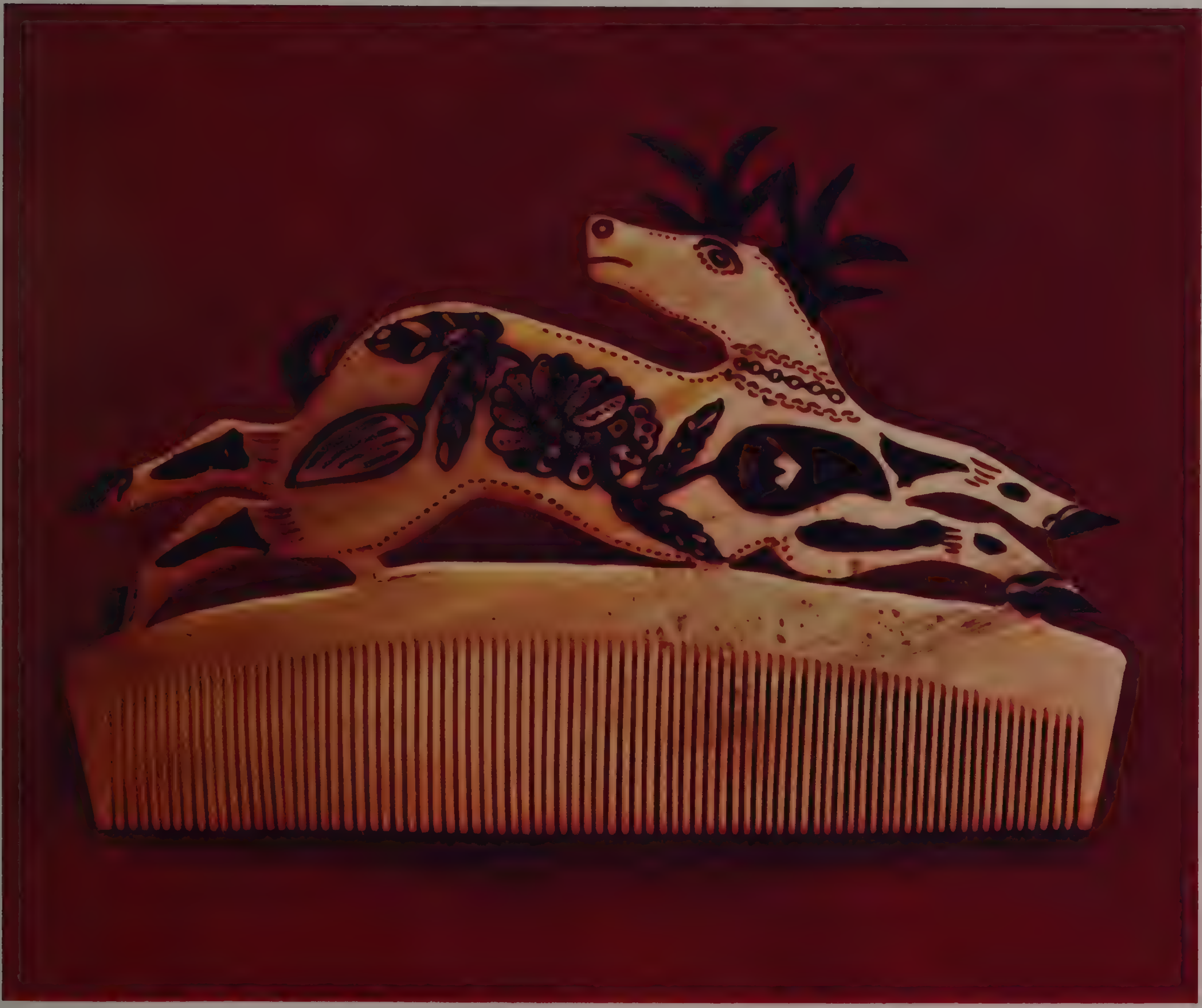


108. Combs. Puebla



109. Combs. Oaxaca.

Art, as understood by the Mexican, finds its fullness in all his daily activities. JEAN CHARLOT[1]



110. Comb. San Antonio de la Isla, State of Mexico.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

By Irmgard W. Johnson

Textiles have always been very important and significant in the life of Mesoamerican Indians. After the Spanish Conquest, descriptions written by XVI Century chroniclers express amazement at the magnificent apparel of the people of New Spain. These descriptions were not exaggerated. Ancient murals, codices, stelae, sculpture, and painted ceramics show innumerable persons dressed with incredible variety and richness, and through these it is possible to glimpse the materials, color, designs, and manner of using them. The people wore, also, special adornments in the form of borders, feathers, and other decorative elements.

Among tributes paid to domineering groups (such as the Aztecs) by subjected peoples, lenghts of cloth and different types of cotton materials were of major importance. Many of these were extraordinary in the beauty of their decoration and symbolism of the motifs. The conquering Europeans —we repeat— were astonished by the perfection of the spinning and the excellent quality of the weaving.

Although only a relatively small number of pre-Columbian textiles have been preserved in Mexico —compared with enormous quantities found in the dry regions of Peru and southwestern United States— these fragments are proof that the early inhabitants of Mesoamerica were experts in the textile arts and that they dominated an amazing variety of techniques. Concretely, we have ancient cloths from Mexico found in the Sacred Well at Chichen Itza, Yucatan; fragments discovered in caves such as those at Chiptic, Chiapas; Quiengola, Isthmus of Tehuantepec; the Mixteca Alta region, Oaxaca; the Tehuacan Valley of Puebla; La Candelaria, Coahuila; Chilapa, Guerrero, and many other regions. Other fragments of cloth have been rescued from tombs and burials such as those at Teotihuacan, Tlatelolco, Zaachila, Yagul, Infiernillo, etc.

Certain pre-Columbian textile characteristics still survive, especially in places that are isolated from modern technology. Thus, by observing contemporary indigenous forms and techniques, we can reconstruct many of the methods that must have been used formerly.

Raw materials. Indians of ancient times preferred to cultivate white cotton, although they also used *coyuchi (coioichcatl)*, a natural wild brown cotton. As cotton was not cultivated in the Highlands, it was brought from hot regions. During the time of the Aztecs, large quantities of both textiles and cotton were received by the Central Plateau as tribute from coastal areas. This fiber constituted one of the main raw materials of high Mesoamerican cultures and its use was restricted to the privileged classes; the bulk of the population, usually, wore clothing made from *ixtle*.

Recently, evidence of the *Gossypium hirsutum* L. cotton was found in Coxcatlan Cave in the Tehuacan Valley of Puebla; this dates back to 5800 B.C. The earliest examples of weaving in cotton date from the Early Period at Zacatenco *(ca.* II Century B.C.) in the Valley of Mexico, and from Santa Maria Phase (900-200 B.C.) at Coxcatlan. Other vegetable fibers were used also, although principally in marginal regions or places that were less developed. Most common were *ixtle*, yucca, *chichicaztle,* apocyna, and others.

Unlike Peru, where wool from llama, alpaca, and vicuña was used, Central America had no knowledge of these fibers until the Spaniards introduced sheep.

On the other hand, rabbit hair, feathers from tropical birds, and skins of different animals were utilized. The people embellished their clothing with 'silk of the earth' —threads twisted with hair from rabbits or hare. According to the amazed chroniclers, this combination produced a soft and lustrous texture.

Although 'Chinese silk' was introduced after the Conquest, there are indications that in certain regions the filament of a wild silk (silk from the *madroño,* red oak tree) was used, although in small quantity.

Another highly important material, of great value, consisted of brightly colored feathers provided by an infinite number of tropical birds. These were used to decorate fine cloth, either interwoven or carefully sewn onto a finished piece. They also served for various adornments, such as headdresses, fans, and shields, carried by nobles, and priests. Various materials decorated the apparel, such as sea or snail shells, stones of different qualities and colors, and objects of copper, gold, or silver.

Of the aforementioned materials, both types of cotton and various agave fibers are still used. Other survivals —to a lesser degree— are *chichicaztle* and wild silk, both in the Puebla Sierra and in Oaxaca. In the Highlands of Chiapas (Zinacantan), feathers are used for adorning ceremonial *huipils*. Dancers in many parts of Mexico still use great feather headdresses, fans, and even plumed costumes. Non-traditional materials frequently used are mill-woven fabrics, threads and woolen yarn, ribbons and lace.

PREPARATION AND SPINNING. The codices show us that spinning was done in ancient times just as it is today. The method which was developed in the cotton areas in the New World is clearly pictured by Sahagún.

The preparation of cotton consists of the following basic steps: 1) the separation of fibers from seeds and cleaning the former of impurities; the Indians do this work with their hands; 2) the fibers, placed on a mat or on a leather cushion —usually deerskin— are beaten with special sticks until the fibers are fluffy and even; 3) the fibers are then twisted with the spindle until the desired thickness and twist are obtained. The spindle consists of a wooden stick or shaft and a disk *(malacatl)* which supplies the momentum. Usually the spindle is made to 'dance' within a bowl that rests on the floor, and in which *tizate* (chalk) is placed so that the implement does not slip. The size of the shaft and the weight and diameter of the *malacate* or spindle-whorl vary according to the fiber used and the desired thickness of the thread.

The preparation of wool is based on European methods: the wool is sheared, washed, and cleaned, then the fibers are straightened with a pair of cards, the latter implements having been introduced by the Spaniards. In some regions spinning is done with a spindle and spindle-whorl, while in other places the spinning wheel —also of European origin— is used. The threads must be warped before they can be placed on the loom. According to ancient custom, this is done by means of pegs driven into the ground in a certain way, around which the warp threads are wound. The lenght of the piece to be woven depends upon the distance between the end poles; the width is determined by the number of yarns warped around the pegs. Another manner of preparing the warp threads is on a fixed apparatus which the pre-Conquest Mexicans called *tzatzaztli* (Codex Matritense). These devices still exist in some towns of the Puebla Sierra.

Before placing the warp yarn on the loom, it is usually soaked in 'corn dough water,' which serves as sizing and gives strength to the yarn, thus facilitating its manipulation during the weaving.

DYEING MATERIALS. The chroniclers —especially Sahagún and Francisco Hernández— mention a large number of dyes used by specialists in coloring the cloth. This indicates that the art of dyeing was highly developed. Dyeing materials are of vegetable, animal, and mineral origin. We have data regarding the use of mordants —for example, alum and copperas (ferrous sulfate)— which were employed to fix or to modify the tone of the dye.

Coloring matter of vegetable origin came from flowers, leaves, stems, seeds, or roots of plants, as well as from the wood and bark of trees. For example: the most famous blue dye was *añil* or indigo *(Indigofera suffructicosa* Mill., *I. añil* L.); blue also came from *muicle (Jacobinia spicigera)*. Golden yellow was obtained from the parasitic plant *zacatlaxcalli (Cuscuta americana* L.). Orange-red came from the fruit of the *achiote* plant *(Bixa orellana* L.). One of the dyes that was modified according to the mordant added to it was extracted from Brazil wood *(Haematoxylum brasiletto* K. and *H. campechianum* L.). Some of these dyes are still used today in several regions of Mesoamerica.

Coloring matter of animal origin came mainly from cochineal and *caracol* or shell-fish. Carmine red was obtained from *grana* or cochineal *(Coccus cacti* L.), a cactus louse cultivated on certain types of prickly pear. *Grana* was highly esteemed, both in pre-Conquest times and during the Spanish Colonial period. It is still used in small quantities in towns in Oaxaca. Shell-fish dye, light purple in color, was extracted from a sea molusc *(Purpura patula pansa)*, found all along the rocky coast of the Pacific, from Mexico to Peru. Cotton dyed with this color is known in southern Mexico as *hilo caracol* (purple yarn). This is comparable, both in use and in value, to the famous Tyrean purple that was used to dye the clothing of Byzantine emperors.

Dyes of mineral origin came mainly from certain earths and from oxides. Ochre was a source for yellow. Red was obtained from iron oxide, and white from chalk and gypsum. Today mineral colors are rarely used for dyeing cloth.

Many traditional dyestuffs have fallen into disuse, replaced by anilines, which were introduced into Mexico in the 1890's.

Three methods of dyeing cloth are employed: 1) the fiber is dyed before spinning; 2) after spinning, the yarn is soaked in the dye; 3) after weaving, the cloth is dyed. These techniques probably were known in pre-Conquest times and, with the possible exception of the first, are still used by the Indians.

THE LOOM. Weaving was women's work; they used a fairly rudimentary loom, yet with this produced cloths of extremely fine quality, beauty, and complicated form of interlacing, although simple utilitarian cloth was also woven.

The back-strap loom was used. This is represented in various codices of Nahua, Maya, and Mixtec origin. Furthermore, a magnificent clay sculpture from the island of Jaina (National Museum of Anthropology) represents a Maya goddess (?) weaving with a back-strap loom, exactly the way this is done today in many indigenous villages.

The loom consists of the following basic pieces: the upper warp beam, that is attached by means of a rope to a post or tree; the lower breast beam is fastened by a strap that fits around the waist of the weaver. The warp yarns are strung between these two beams. By moving forward or backward, the weaver regulates the tension of the yarns with the weight of her body. For the most basic weave a batten is necessary; its main purpose is to beat the weft yarns. The batten is the most finely finished implement and the one that the weaver esteems above all others. The weft is introduced with a bobbin. The shed rod and the heddle serve to open alternately the shed for the introduction of the weft. A tenter is attached underneath the cloth to maintain constant its width. For more complicated weaves, additional sticks are introduced.

In Mesoamerica, this loom has been used since very ancient times, and still today is preferred by Indian weavers. When the men use it, it is generally for weaving blankets, serapes, or ixtle *ayates* (carrying cloths).

Another type of loom, the treadle loom, was introduced by the Spaniards at the consummation of the Conquest. This is made of a fixed wooden framework which has the warp yarns horizontally and is worked with pedals. Indian women, who usually weave for family consumption, are faithful to traditional methods and never use this treadle loom. Only the men work it, to make large woolen serapes, homespun cottons, or certain types of *rebozos*. Various centers are famous for serape weaving, for example, Teotitlan del Valle and Tlaxiaco in Oaxaca; Tianguistengo, Coatepec de las Harinas, and Texcoco, in the state of Mexico. Although they are not of the fine quality of the old Saltillo serapes, many have designs and color executed in exquisite taste and harmony.

WEAVING TECHNIQUES. Fragments of cloth, miraculously rescued from a number of archaeological sites, show us the diversity and dominion of weaving techniques, of forms of interlacing and textures, ranging from the simple to the most elaborately and extraordinarily complex (see Johnson, I. W.[1]).

The study of contemporary indigenous textiles constitutes an enormous help in reconstructing and interpreting methods employed by weavers of long ago. The processes have not changed basically, in spite of the introduction of new raw materials and European implements and designs. Outstanding is the number of techniques still used by weavers on the backstrap loom; for example, plain weaving and its variations are used for a wide variety of clothing and textiles; brocade is produced in many ways, designs, and materials; loop brocading lends itself to *servilletas* with motifs; warp and weft pattern weaves (variation of damask) is made for wrap-around skirts, *huipils, servilletas,* belts, and bags; double-cloth weaving is used mainly for bags, belts, and some *quechquemitls;* twill is woven to be used for *jorongos, cotones,* and *enredos* or skirts; the use of tapestry predominates in serapes and ornamental blankets; a variety of gauzes, of both simple and patterned weaves, are found in fine, lightweight garments, like the *quechquemitls* and *huipils;* warp twined weave is made for *servilletas*, small cloths with designs; shaped weaving is a form of ornamentation for the *quechquemitl;* the use of embroidery is almost universal.

Reserve-dye techniques were also known, and were practiced until recently. *Ikat* (yarn tie dye) is used mainly in *rebozos.* Antique silk *rebozos* from Santa Maria del Rio (San Luis Potosi) were very famous in the Colonial period. *Ikat* is used, also, in the region of Toliman, Queretaro, for ornamenting *quechquemitls* and silk or rayon sashes. *Plangi* (cloth tie dye) is a reserve technique executed, though rarely, in the region of Cadereyta, Queretaro, and Zimapan, Hidalgo, for designs on woolen skirts.

Among the ancient techniques whose practice has disappeared are quilting (for armor or *ichcahuipilli)*, painting of the cloth, *batik* (reserve technique), and stamping with seals. All these formed an integral part of the designs of the clothing.

When we realize the delicacy attained at times by the spinning, the intricacy of the weaving, the beauty, the coloring, and the design, it seems incredible that these cloths can be made so skilfully on a loom put together with a set of plain sticks. The truth is that with these simple implements Indian women produce garments of exquisite delicacy, the making of some of which takes as long as six months.

This does not mean that everything produced on a back-strap loom is of great artistic value. Much of the fine old weaving tradition is either lost or altered. On one hand, indigenous dress is being abandoned; on the other, although handwoven textiles are still produced, these are becoming inferior in quality of weaving and decoration.

DESIGN. Although some of the pre-Columbian motifs have survived —such as certain stylized animal and birds forms, the geometric motifs, and the stepped fret— the majority of the designs have lost their old symbolic importance. The Huichols still retain part of their traditional symbolism, which has been transmitted from generation to generation. Undoubtedly other groups still hold fast to some of their ancient symbolism, although its meaning is difficult for the investigator to interpret.

Many motifs were introduced after the European Conquest. Much of the new was adapted and changes took place according to the selection and the taste of the Indian. Today it is often difficult to say whether one design or another is of pre-Conquest origin, or if it were introduced by the Europeans. In the majority of the cases it is formed by a mixture or transformation of various cultural styles.

After the Conquest the Indians continued to use the traditional processes in their textile arts. The most skillful artisans were frequently employed to weave and embroider cloth for the Spaniards. Magnificent garments and ecclesiastical cloths were made in the convents. Although in many cases the techniques were native, the decorative style was usually European or Oriental; yet it kept something of the indigenous 'flavor,' either in the selection of design or in the combination of colors.

Various regions are characterized today by their decorative style and their taste in adornment. Some textiles, for example, are completely covered by geometric or floral designs. On others, the use of human figures or stylized fantastic animals is common. In the coastal regions aquatic and tropical animals are added. Interlaced geometric motifs on Tarahumara and Huichol belts are traditional old designs.

INDIAN COSTUME. In the Mexico of long ago, more than today, dress of the nobles and of the common people differed in many aspects: although the basic forms were more or less the same, the texture, material, ornament, and color were different. The nobles usually dressed in cotton garments while the majority of the people used *nequen* or agave fibers. At the present time Indian costume is much more varied. It differs from one group to another or from one town to another by its different colors, stylizations, weaving techniques, and the manner in which the garments are worn.

Certain forms have changed little since pre-Hispanic times. The two feminine garments that have survived are the *huipil (uipilli)* and the *quechquemitl*. The *huipil* is a kind of tunic made of two or three rectangular webs, doubled transversely, joined along the length, leaving openings for the arms and the head. *Huipils* can be either long or short, wide or narrow, of wool or of cotton, with plain or complicated weaving and design. In regions where they are no longer woven by hand, a commercial cloth is substituted but the traditional form is conserved. A remarkable survival from pre-Conquest times is the small rectangular decoration, of contrasting material and color, appliqued immediately below the neckline. The same decoration may be seen represented in the codices.

The Indian woman usually has one *huipil* for everyday use and another finer one for festive occasions. The dress *huipil* is used for weddings and often is kept for a shroud.

The *huipil* is used with either an *enredo (cueitl)* or wrap-around, of pre-Conquest origin, or with a skirt with a waistband, of European cut. The *enredo* is composed of one or more webs and is worn in many ways: well fitted or loose, pleated around the waist, or with pleats in front, at the side, or in the back. *Pozahuancos* (wrap-arounds) from the Lower Mixteca region are extraordinary, both for their complex weave and because they are dyed with shell-fish dye, cochineal, and indigo. The main distribution of the *huipil* occurs in the states of Guerrero, Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Yucatan.

Usually the *enredos* are held in place by a belt *(nelpiloni)* also of pre-Conquest origin, and woven on a back-strap loom. These sashlike belts are either wide or narrow, of wool, silk, or cotton; of plain weave or worked with a large variety of motifs and vivid colors. Some belts are made with knotted fringes in *macramé* technique, forming complicated designs; others are adorned with lace, sequins, and tufts of yard. In some towns of the Mixteca Baja region, the 'sash of authority' is used, its fringe decorated with shell-fish dyed thread, worn by men who are invested with authority.

In general, it is possible to distinguish the town in which the belt was woven from its technique, color, and design. Zapotecs of Jalieza, Oaxaca, specialize in making a type of belt characterized by the 'Feather Dance' design. These belts are sold in numerous towns of the State of Oaxaca and even in Guatemala.

An interesting custom —possibly of ancient origin— found in some of the Otomi towns of the Valley of Toluca, decrees that a woman can not marry until she knows how to weave a belt for her future husband. Of all the traditional garments this is perhaps the last to be abandoned.

In the Sierra de Puebla, in the Huasteca, in the Huichol region, and among the Otomi, the *quechquemitl* is used instead of the *huipil;* both are of pre-Hispanic origin. Evidently the use of the *quechquemitl* indicated the social position and was usually associated with goddesses or noble women. On certain occasions the *quechquemitl* was worn over the *huipil*, according to representations in codices and sculpture. Today these two garments are not worn together.

This extremely interesting garment —the *quechquemitl*— is composed of two rectangular webs, lenghts of cloth joined in such a way that they form a type of cape, covering the breast, back, and shoulders. As far as we know, this article of clothing is unknown outside of Mexico.

The *quechquemitl*, with few exceptions, is worn over a European type blouse, in combination with a wrap-around skirt and sash, or with a full skirt. Usually the points fall over the breast and back, but the *quechquemitl* is also worn with the straight side across the front and back, with the points over the upper arms.

As in the case of other textiles, the *quechquemitl* is made of different materials, colors, designs, sizes, and techniques. Examples of exceptional beauty and marvelous execution come from the mountain region of Puebla, where it is made with shaped weaving.

In some towns more than one *quechquemitl* is worn, one over the other; this may also be an ancient tradition. In Michoacan, where the *quechquemitl* is no longer an everyday piece of wearing apparel, it survives, nevertheless, as part of the costume in some dances. In many indigenous towns, little girls dress like their mothers. In contrast, the custom of boys dressing like their fathers is disappearing. In many places neither the *quechquemitl* nor the *huipil* is now used, but it is undeniable that a strong Indian influence is preserved in European-style clothing. Essentially, this is the result of the fusion of two great cultures —the Spanish and the Indian.

Since Colonial times the *rebozo* has been used generally by the mestizo women and, to a certain extent, by the Indian. There are innumerable ways of wearing it: it covers the head, serves as a wrap, children and bundles are carried in it, and it is used as an adornment or headdress. *Rebozos* from Santa Maria, San Luis Potosi, are famous and in great demand. In Paracho, Michoacan, a type of *rebozo* is made with wide fringes covered with knotted designs made with silk threads in brilliant colors, reminiscent of ancient feather mosaic work.

HEADDRESSES AND ADORNMENTS. Formerly, the Indians of Mesoamerica painted and adorned their bodies profusely. Many objects were used —earrings, necklaces, breast plates, pectorals, bracelets, labrets— of different materials such as gold, silver, jade, shell, turquoise, and other semiprecious stones. The headdress, also, was complex and varied, and was associated with its wearer's social position. Headdresses used by the noble classes were prohibited for the majority of the people.

After the Conquest the Indians exchanged many of these things for European glass beads and began to use Spanish forms such as rosaries, medallions, crucifixes, silver coins, beadwork, sequins, and other types of beads made of glass.

Today the women of many groups still wrap their hair with woolen cords in order to form large turbans. The Nahuats of Cuetzalan, Puebla, call this turban a *maxtahual;* the Zapotecs of Yalalag, Oaxaca, use an enormous *rodete* (framework); in some Mixe towns red woolen cords are worn; in San Pablito, Puebla, the ends of the cords are embroidered with small beads or with tufts of colored wool.

Some women wear fine gauze *quechquemitls* over the headdress, or a handwoven shawl folded and used on the head, or a *huipil de tapar* (a *huipil* used in the same manner), or a garment worn like a *tilma* or cape. Many of these headdresses are represented in the codices and ancient sculpture.

MASCULINE CLOTHING. In Mexico's pre-Conquest period, the man wore a breechcloth *(maxtlatl)* and a cape *(tilmatli)*, both of which varied in material, color, and decoration according to the social position of the wearer. The *maxtlatl* survives among the Tarahumara. Garments worn by nobles and members of privileged groups were made of fine cotton, were richly adorned, and were embellished with handsome fringes. Accessories for ceremonial occasions were adapted to the customs of the region. The lower classes used simple clothing made principally of *ixtle* fiber.

The rectangular *tilma* was knotted over one shoulder or in front, thus forming a cape. Some groups, such as the Otomi, still use it, but it is now called the *ayate* and serves also as a carrying-cloth; it is made with plain weaving of *ixtle* or of cotton and is adorned with embroidery or brocade. The use of serapes or blankets, *gabanes* and *jorongos* (types of ponchos) is common in other zones. An interesting piece of apparel, the *cotón*, has continued in use since Colonial times. It is like a tunic with an open neck, short or long sleeves, with the sides left open.

Sandals *(cactli)* have been used since very distant times. They are made of many forms and materials, of agave fibers or of skins, or are plaited in the manner of a *petate* or mat work. In the Chiapas Highlands the Tzotziles and Tzeltales still use *caites*, a form of sandal with a high heel guard, identical in style to those seen in pre-Columbian sculpture from the Maya area or in the murals at Bonampak. In other regions of Mexico the Indian frequently wears sandals or *huaraches*.

After the Conquest many Indian men, especially those of the noble class who had intimate contact with the Spaniards, adopted European dress much more quickly than the women. Certain laws were proclaimed that obliged the natives to use shirts and pants. Women in the tropics, who wore only skirts, were made to cover themselves from the waist up with some kind of garment. They also had to cover their heads to enter church.

Pants and shirt still characterize the Indian man's clothing. The belt or girdle, *huaraches,* and occasionally the breechcloth and the *tilma*, are all that have survived from his pre-Hispanic apparel.

Little is left of the ancient headdresses, but among some of the indigenous groups (in regard to the men) there are reminiscences in the manner of wearing their hair long, adorned with woven bands (among the Huichols) or with a *coyera* (folded cloth worn over the forehead) among the Tarahumara.

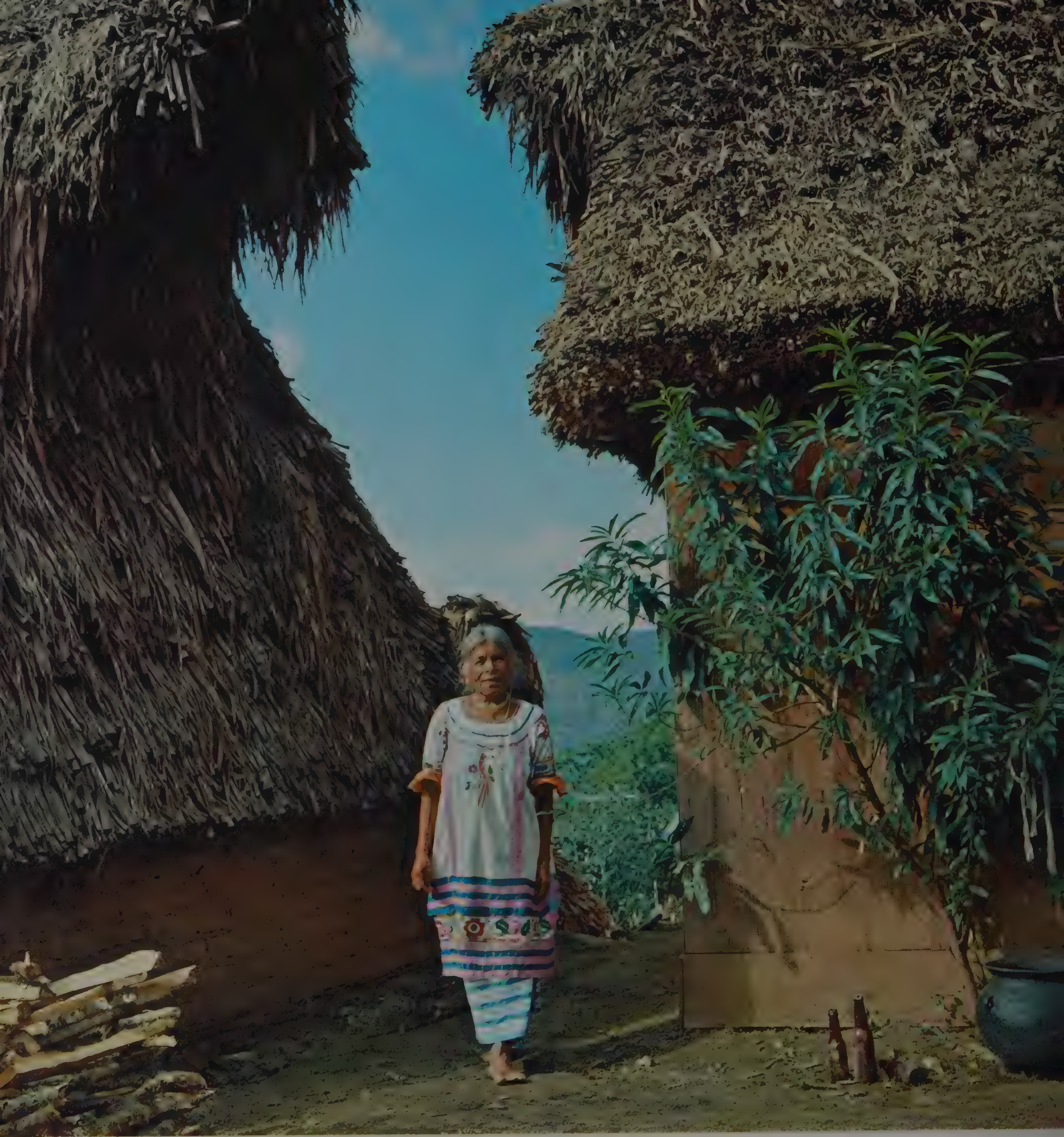
It is important to emphasize the fact that today, in an amazing number of towns, the Indians still dress in traditional costume. Nevertheless, much of that which is associated with ancient textile arts is changing rapidly, and styles of doubtful taste, quality, and durability are taking their place. "She has changed her dress" is a phrase heard more and more frequently. Indian girls no longer wish to learn the arduous task of cleaning, beating, spinning, warping, dyeing, and weaving materials for their clothes. Faced by the demands of commerce, they are losing their pride and esthetic satisfaction in creating a fine piece.

The investigation, conservation, and protection of this wealth which represents a national heritage of incalculable significance, is urgent.

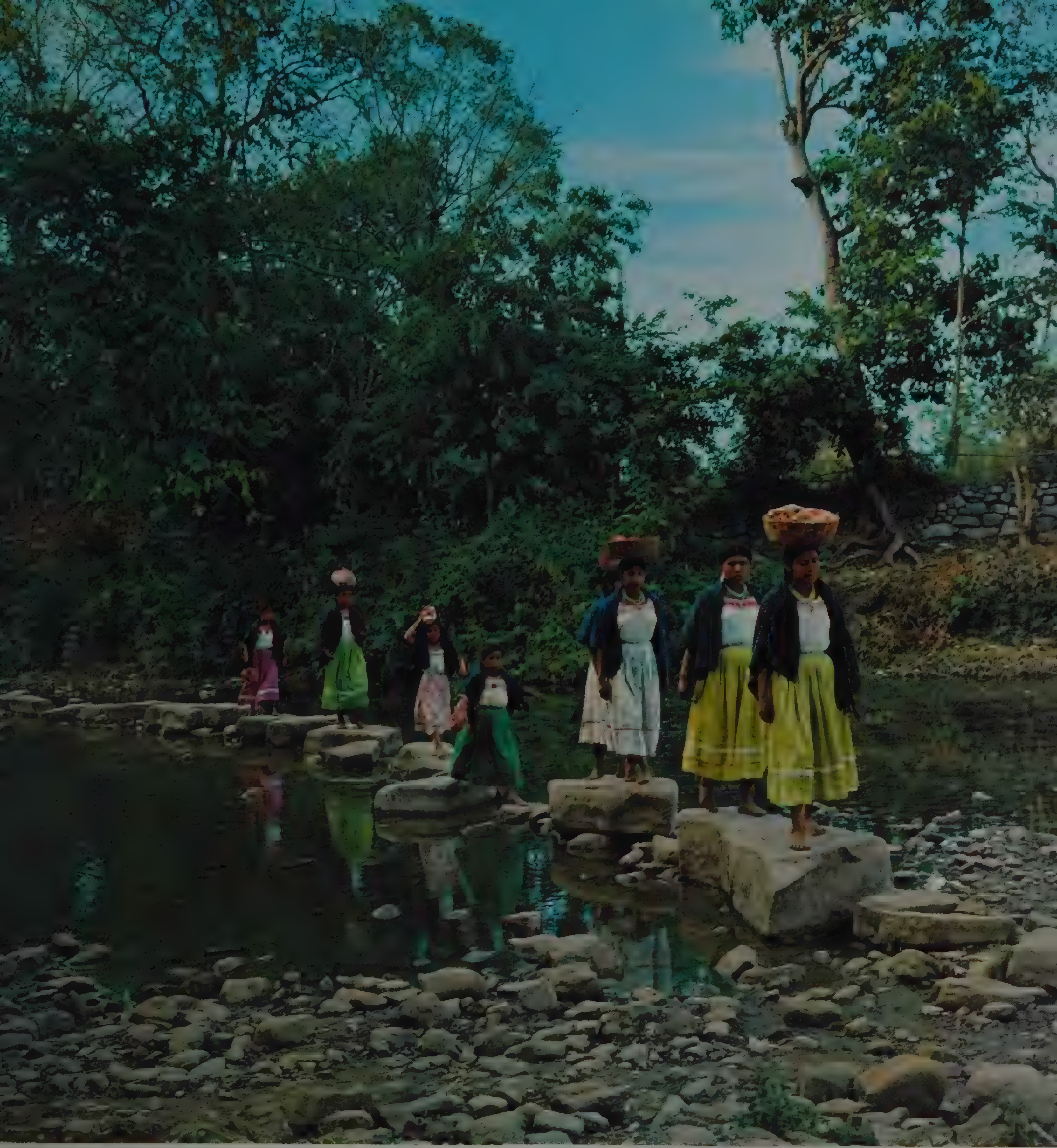
No doubt fashion at Tenochtitlan accentuated simplicity in contrast to the showy medley sought after by the provincials; but even so a procession of women going to a temple must have been a remarkably colourful sight and remarkably varied, for although the cut of the blouses and the skirts may have been the same, still the multicoloured stuffs, the infinite diversity of pattern, and the brilliance of the jewels and feathers made the brown-faced, brown-armed women look like the marvellous birds of the tropics. JACQUES SOUSTELLE[1]

On page 171.

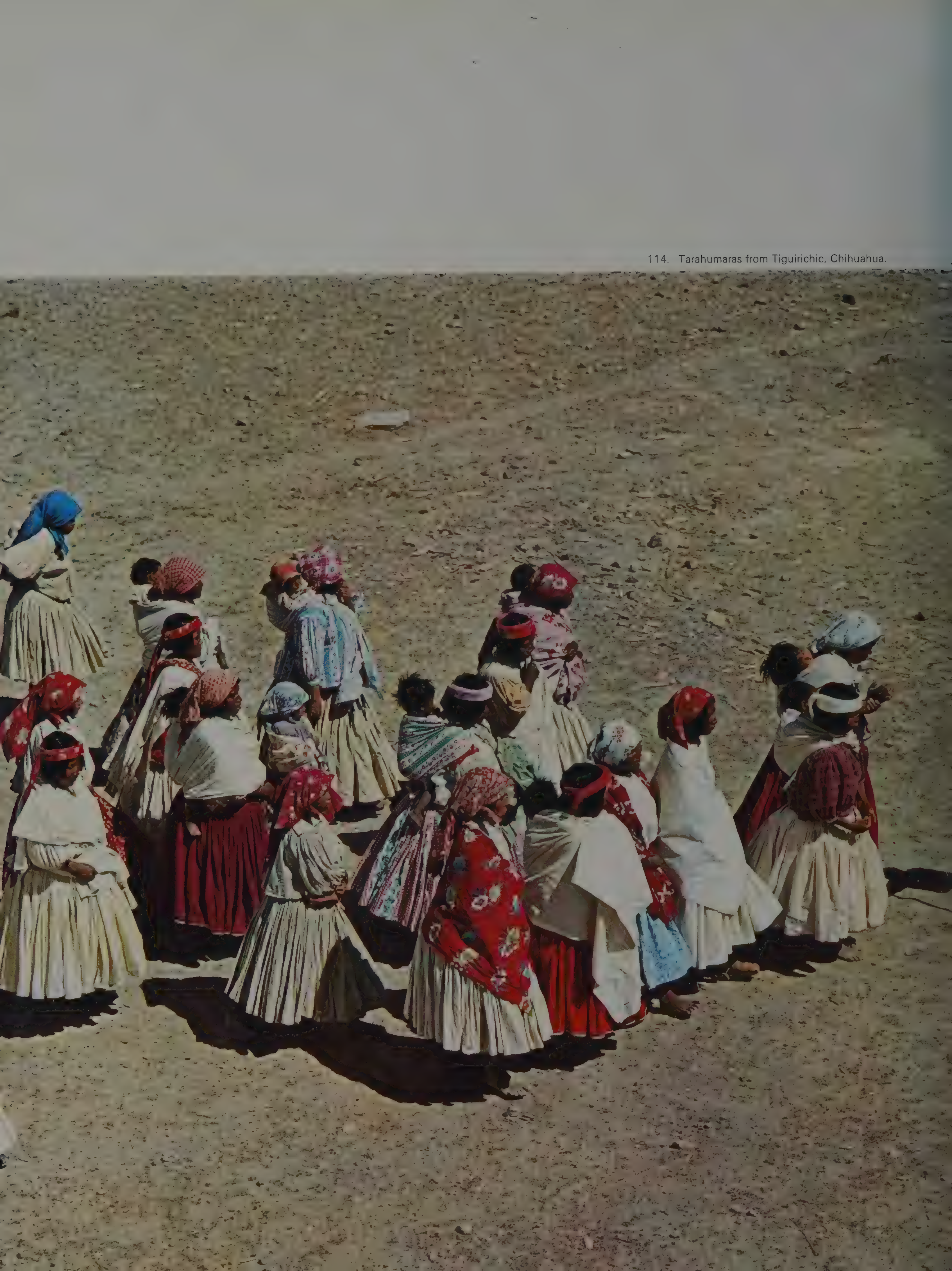
171 Zapotec from Teotitlan del Valle, Oaxaca.



112. Mazatec woman. Huautla de Jimenez, Oaxaca.



113. Nahuas from Huejutla, Hidalgo.



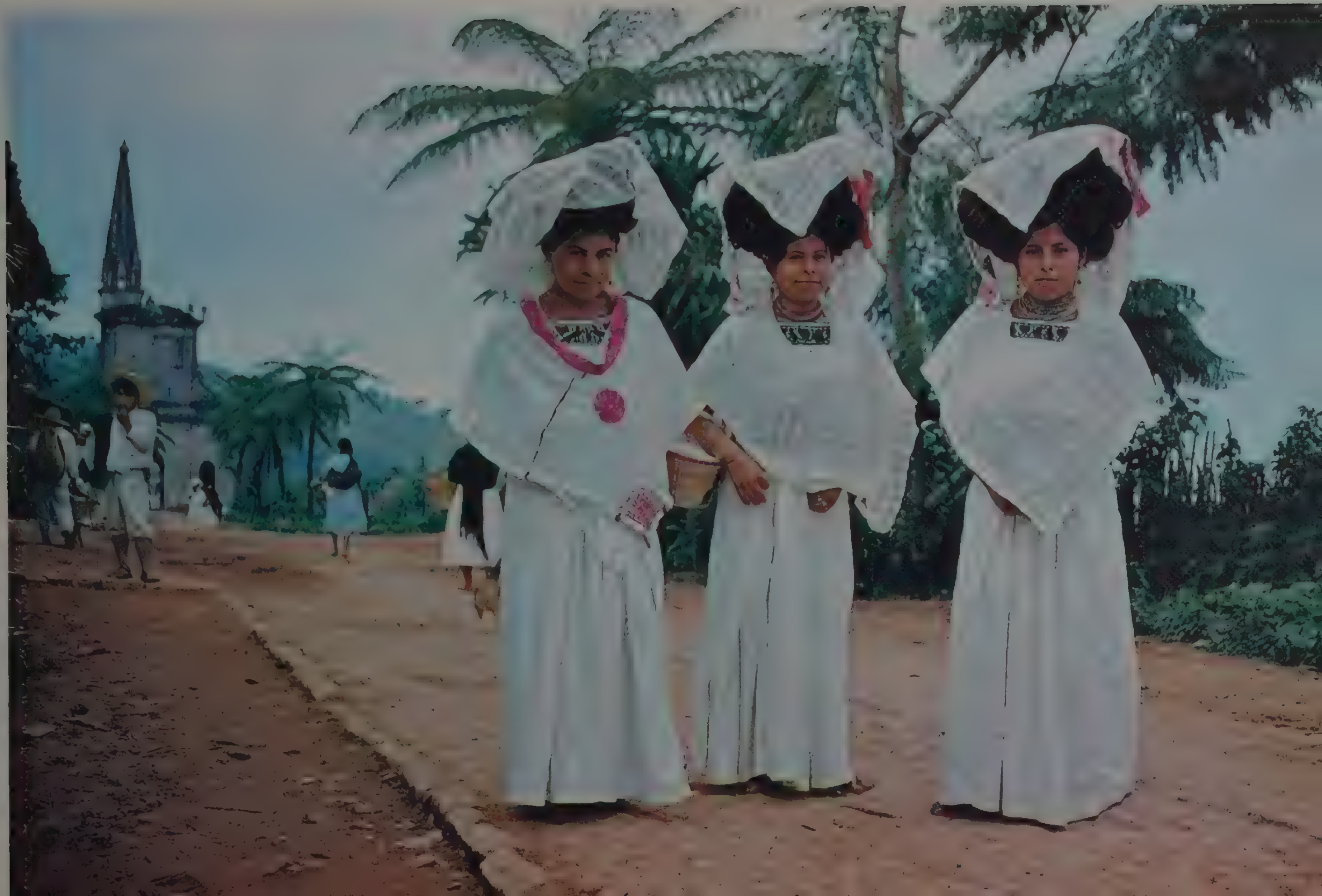
114. Tarahumaras from Tiguirichic, Chihuahua.

115. Seri from Desemboque, Sonora.

. . . they brighten the bare, arid landscape with brilliant touches of color and with lively, graceful silhouettes. MIGUEL COVARRUBIAS

116. Totonacas. El Tajin, Veracruz.

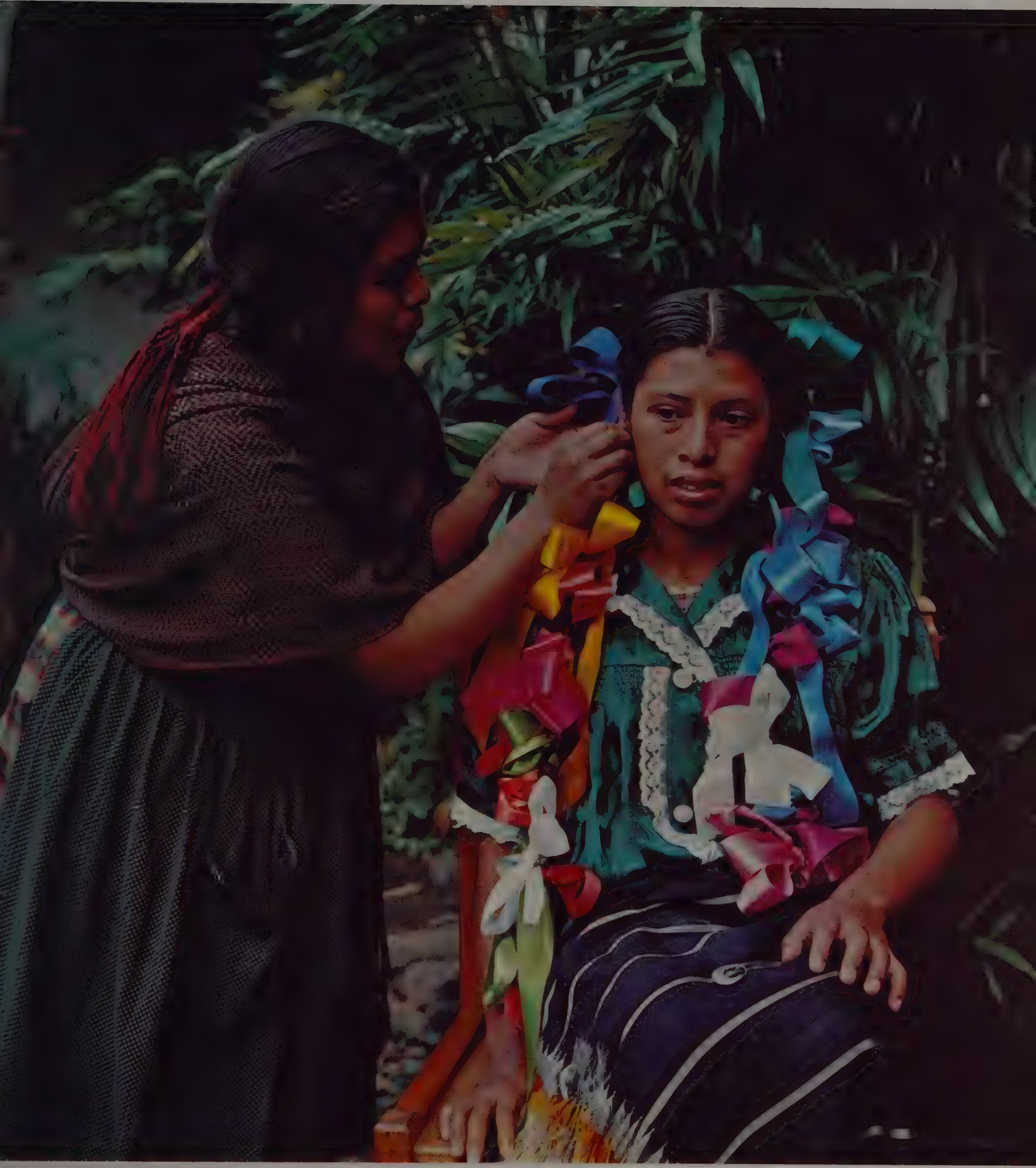
With their dress of smooth rectangular plaits or soft curves, these women almost become sculptures. Mariano Picón Salas

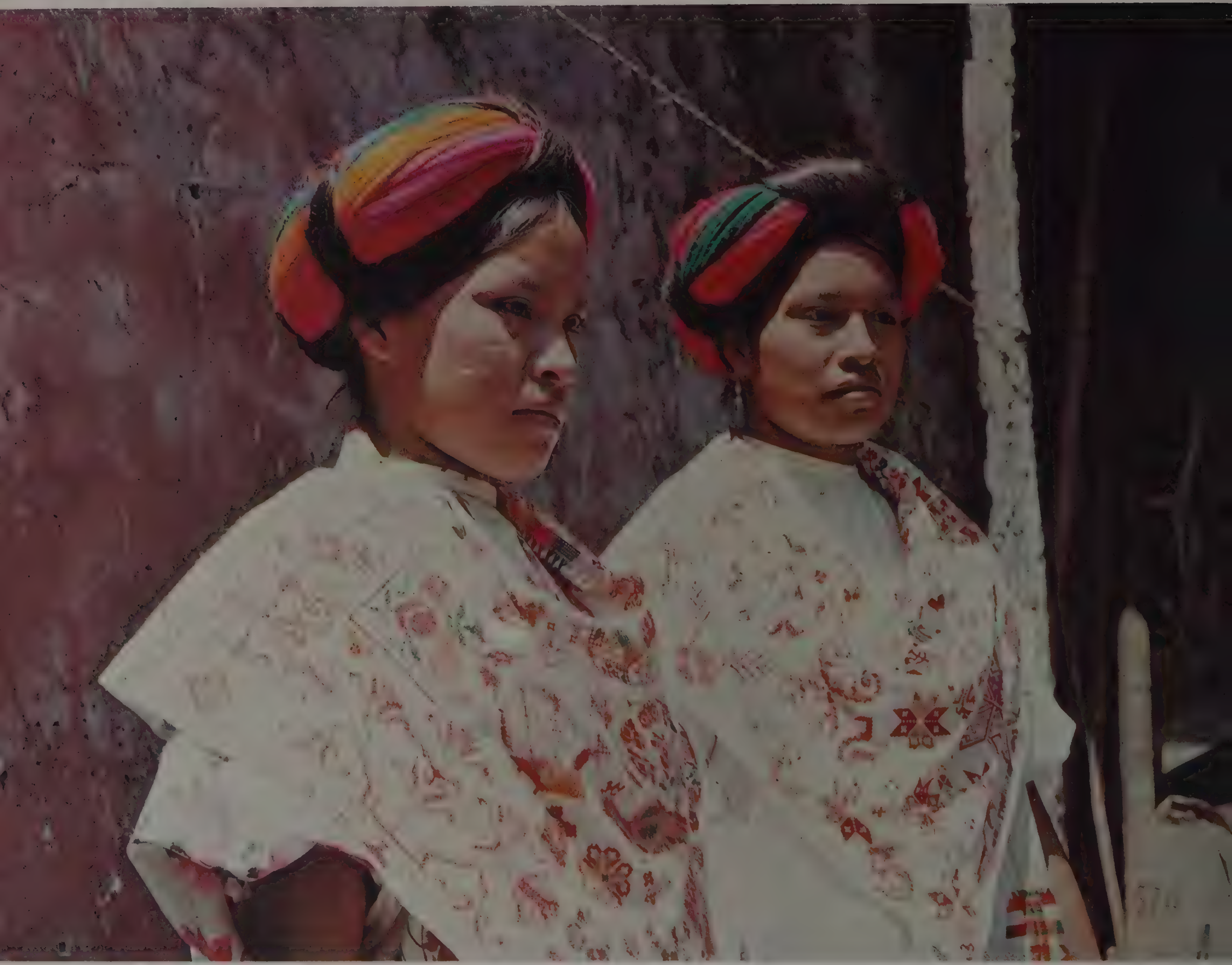


117. Nahuats from Cuetzalan, Puebla.

. . . Hair washed in river water, damp hair twisted into a knot, hair that squeaks from extreme cleanliness, hair black as jet, brilliant as obsidian, fragrant with herbs, coconut oil, sandalwood; because in the heavy growth of her hair the Mexican woman hides her desires and her fears. ELENA PONIATOWSKA

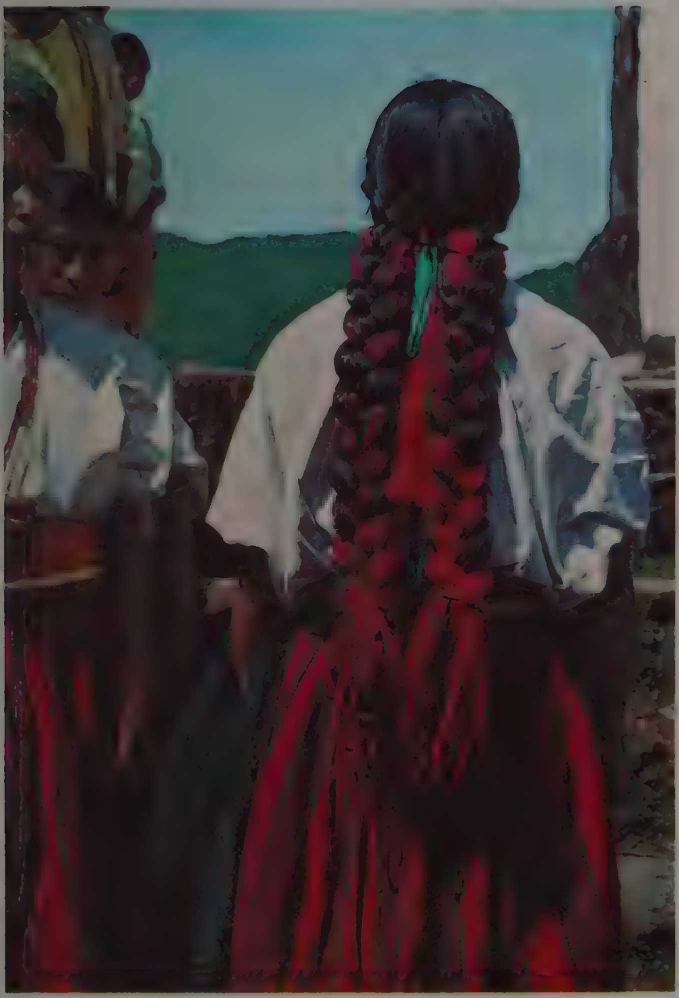
118 Tarascans from Patzcuaro, Michoacan.



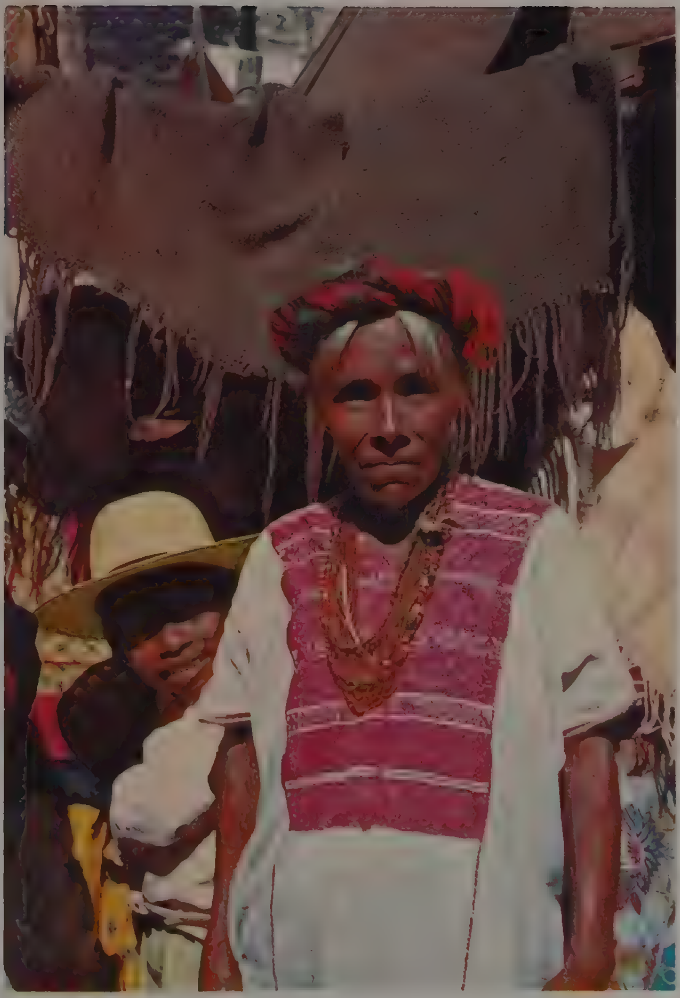


119. Huaxtecs from Tancanhuitz, San Luis Potosi.

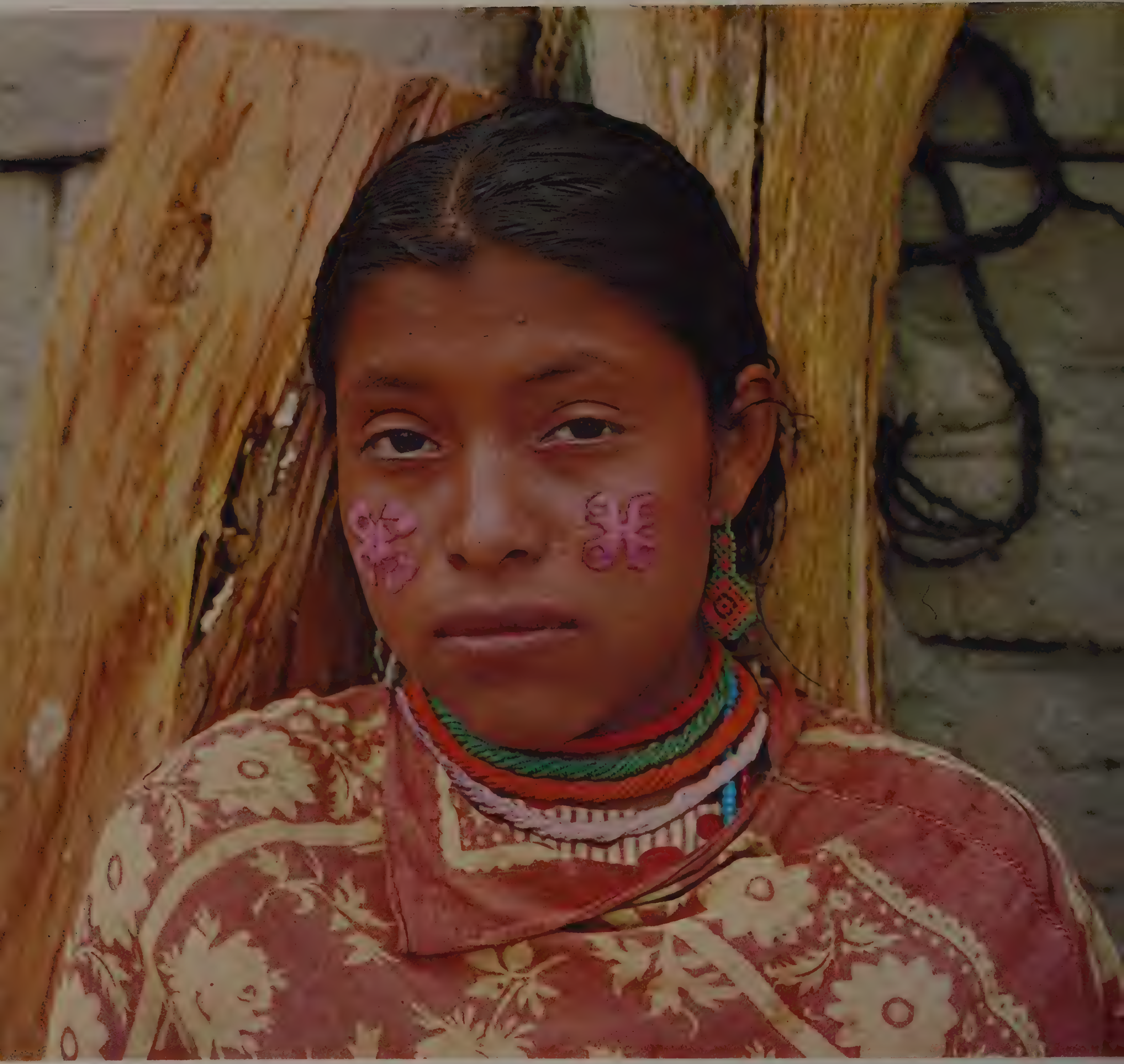
As for their hair, the prevailing fashion at the time of the Conquest required that it should be raised on the head so as to form two loops above the forehead, like little horns: this is particularly to be seen in the *Codex Azcatitlan.* JACQUES SOUSTELLE[1]



120. Mixe from Chichicastepec, Oaxaca.



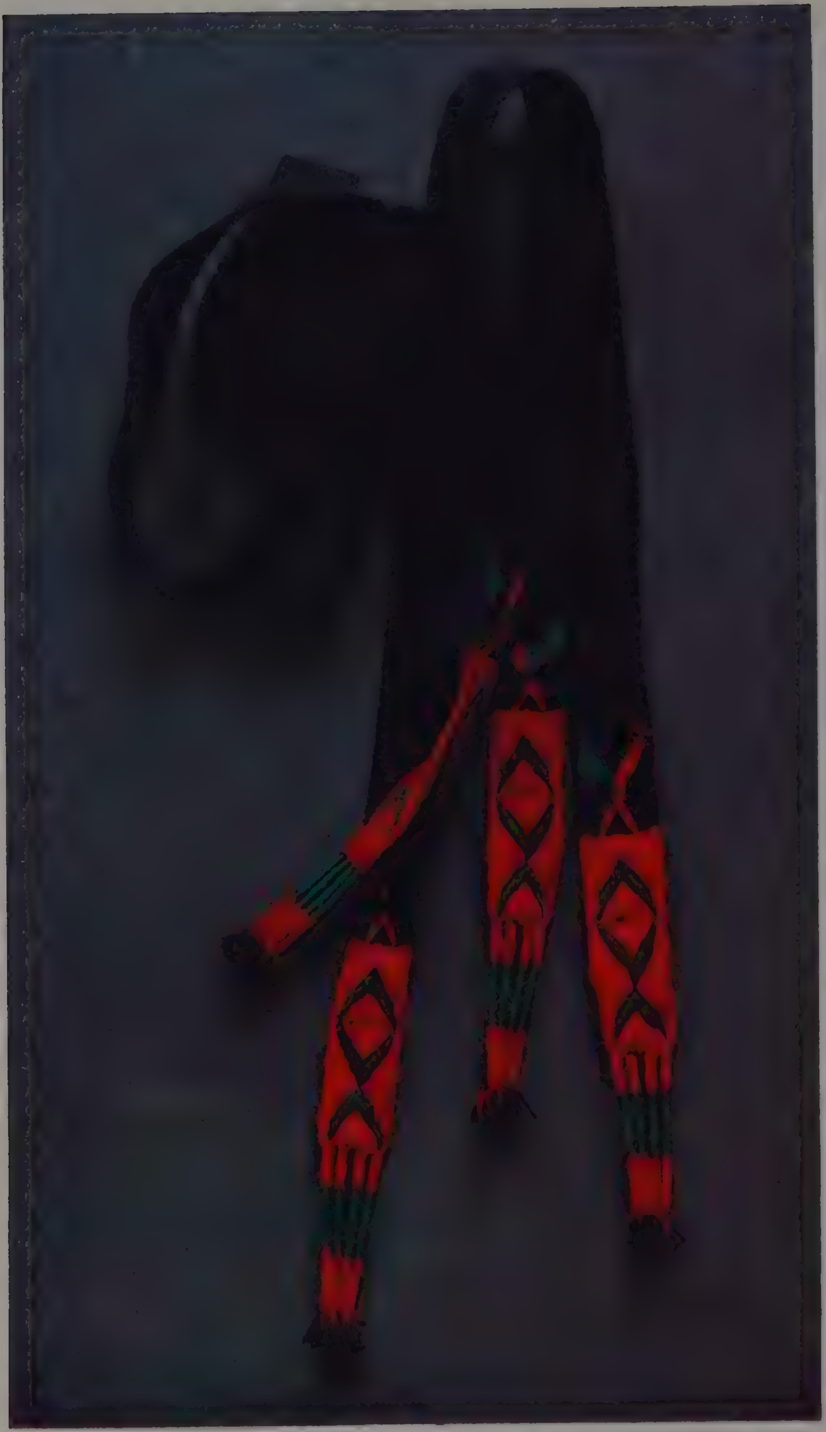
121. Mixe. Acatlan, Oaxaca.



122. Huichol woman from Ocota de la Sierra, Jalisco.

In the youthful face of the Huichol woman, flowers are not a frame for her beauty but grow on her cheeks—flower upon flower. Elena Poniatowska

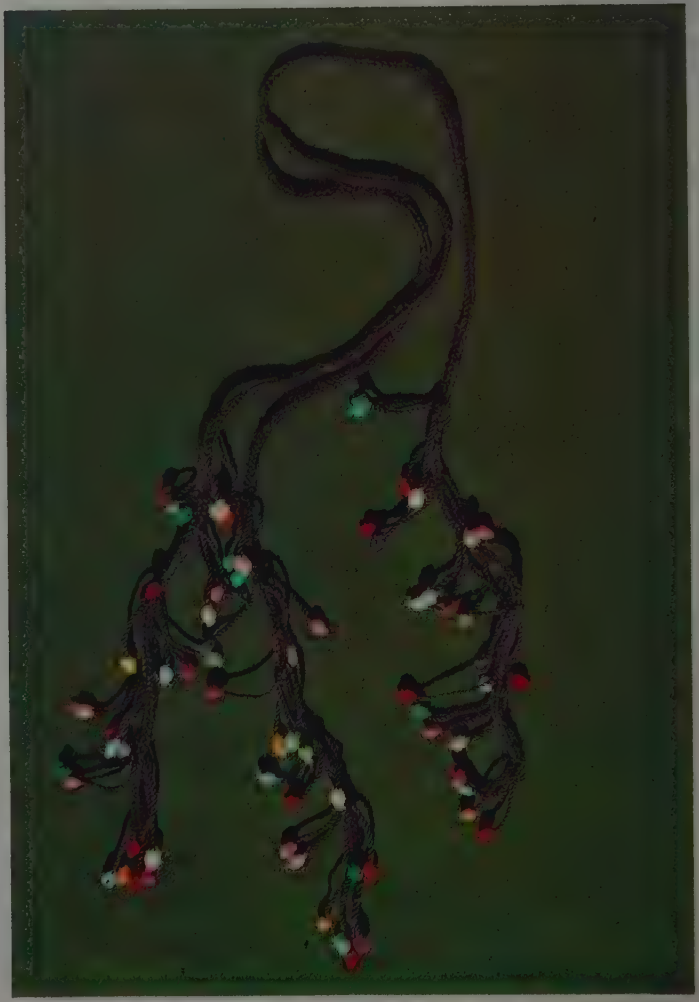
123. Seris from Desemboque, Sonora.



124. Ribbons. Carapan, Michoacan.

On page 185

126. Cords worn in the hair. San Pablito, Puebla.



125. *Tlacoyales.* Zongolica, Veracruz.

Legend covers with this *huipil* the last nudity of Malinche, that ambivalent person who said "yes" so that the mestizo come into being. Perhaps she never wore it but this exquisite wedding gown of feathers and embroidered finery was the first bridal dress of the immense Mexican progeny... Since then, with threads of white cotton and tan *coyuchi,* we have spun our doubts and rancors. *Malinchistas?* Proud heirs of two cultures? Many feathers of the same color have fallen and Hernán Cortés can sleep peacefully in his tomb because we have directed our energies toward new pre-Hispanic conquests. We are not going to unearth him. We want to unearth what he destroyed. The eagles, the serpents, the lord of the winds, and the god of the rains, the tigers, the stones of Mitla, Monte Alban, Chichen, and Uxmal, all that Cortés wanted to buy for a few small mirrors and twenty or thirty colored glass necklaces. ELENA PONIATOWSKA

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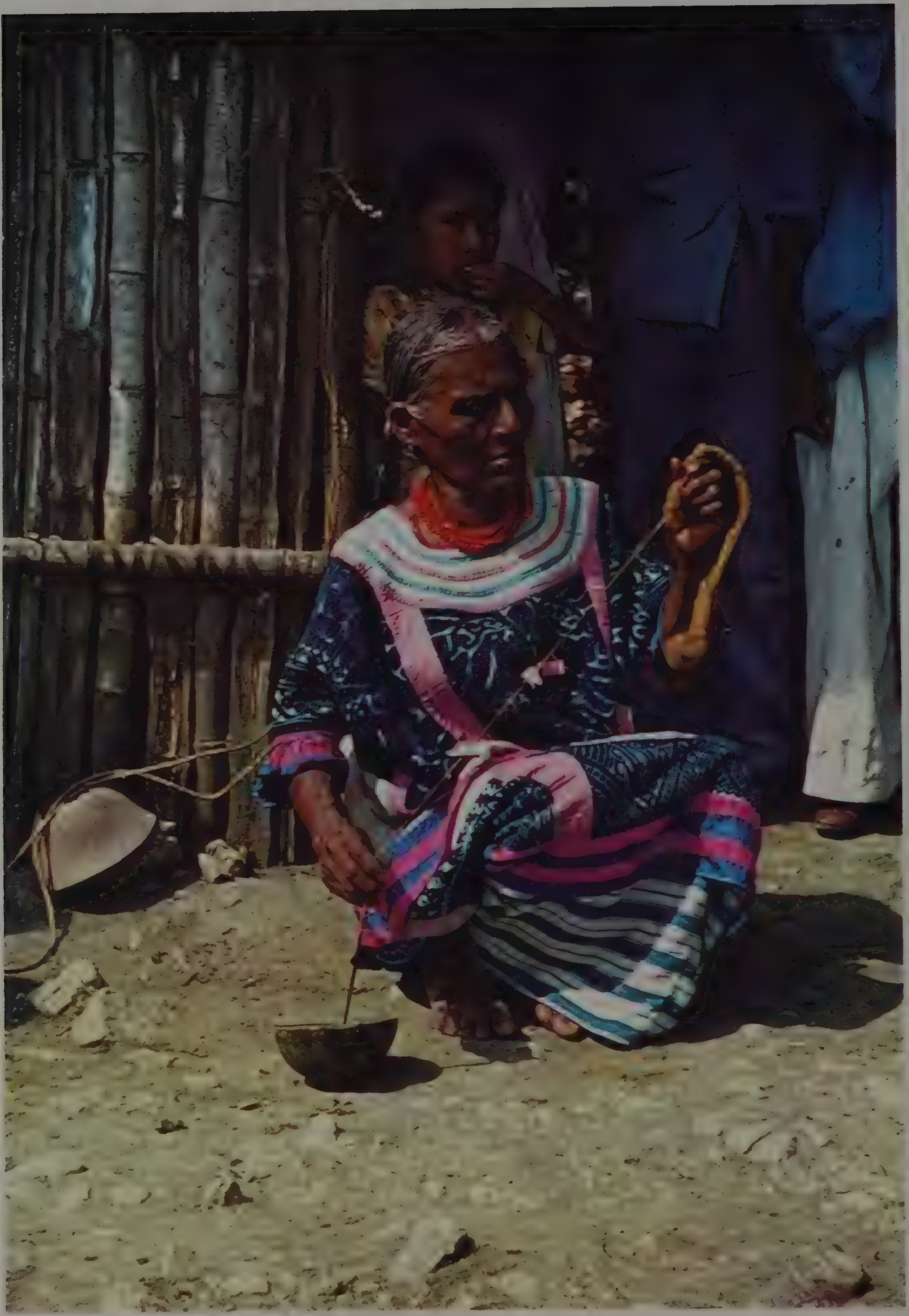
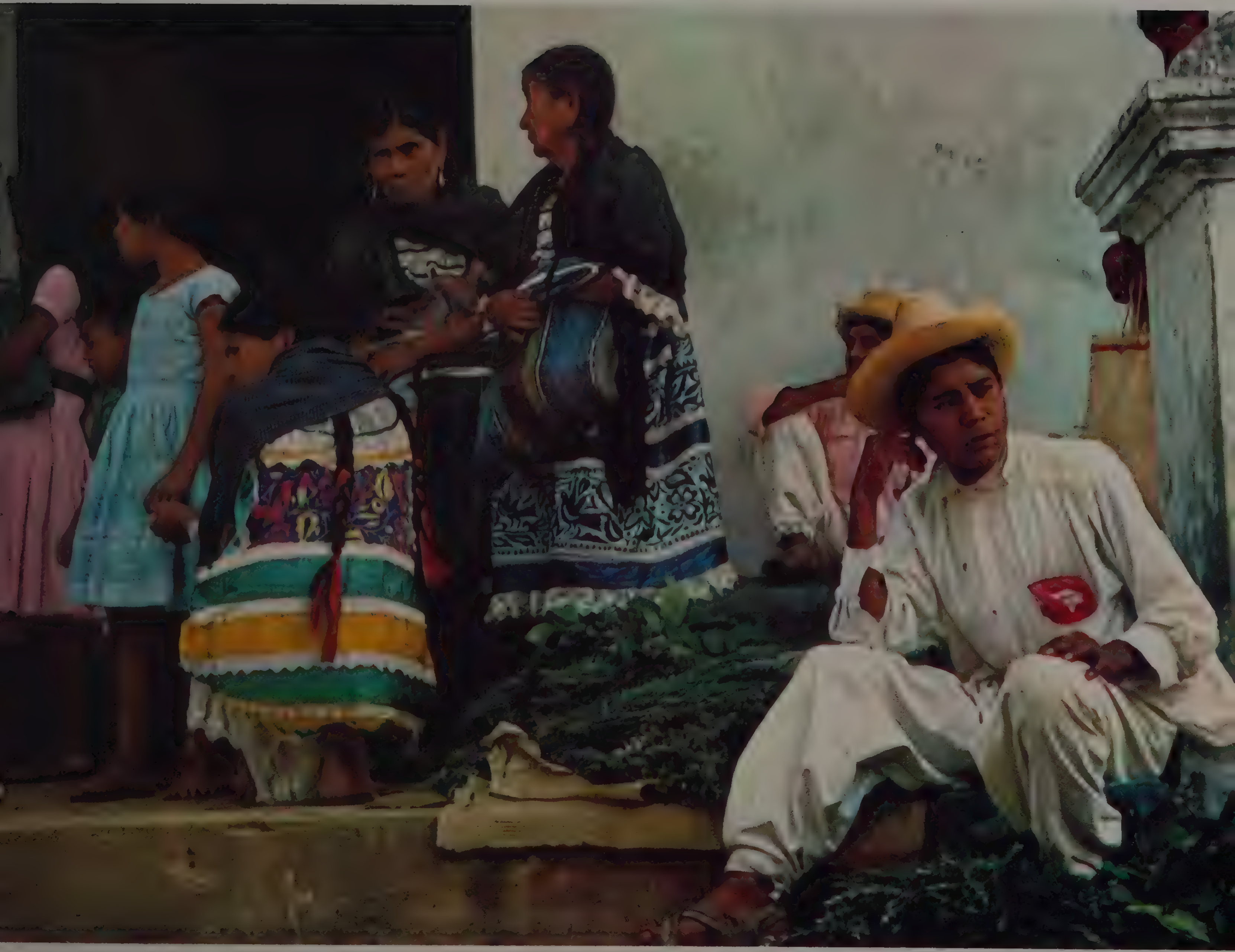
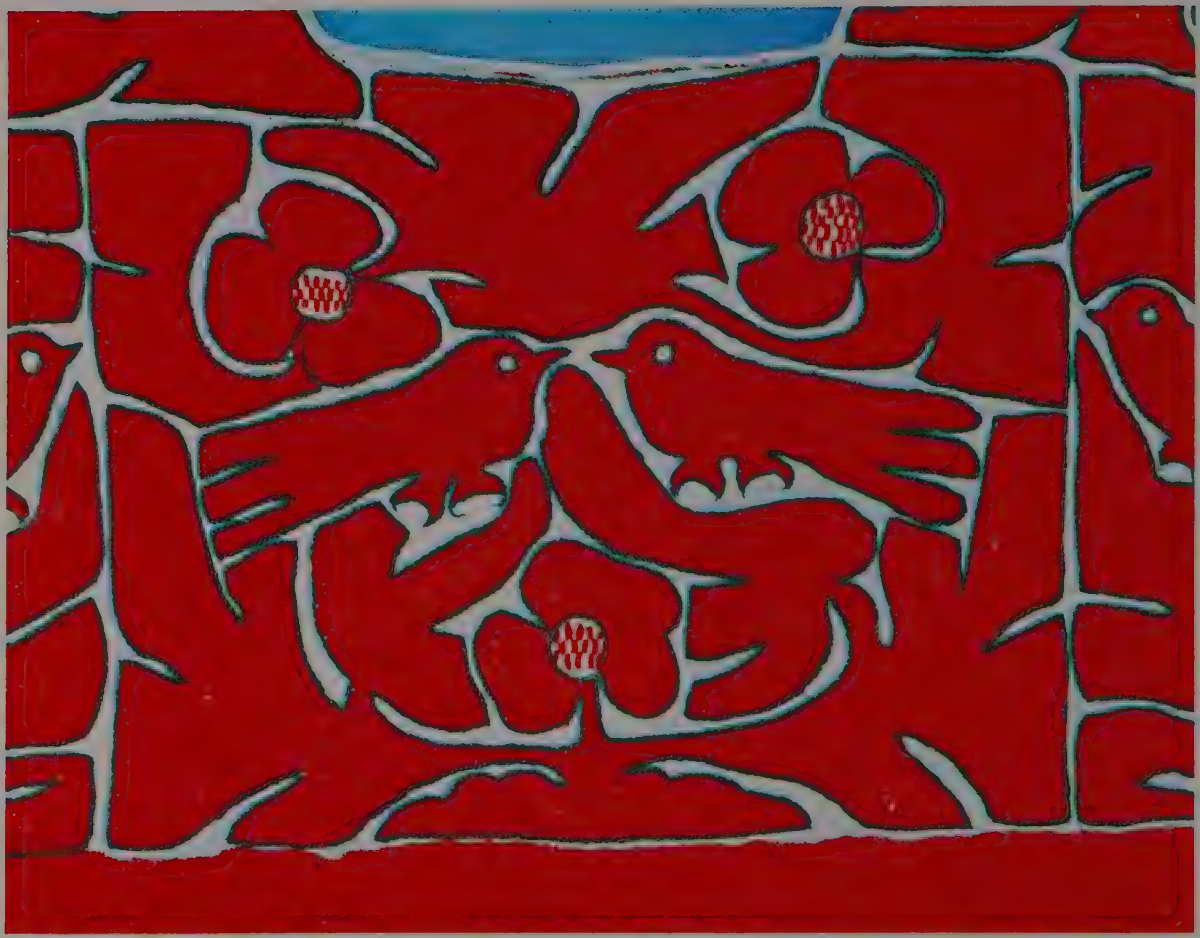
127. Mixtec woman. Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca.



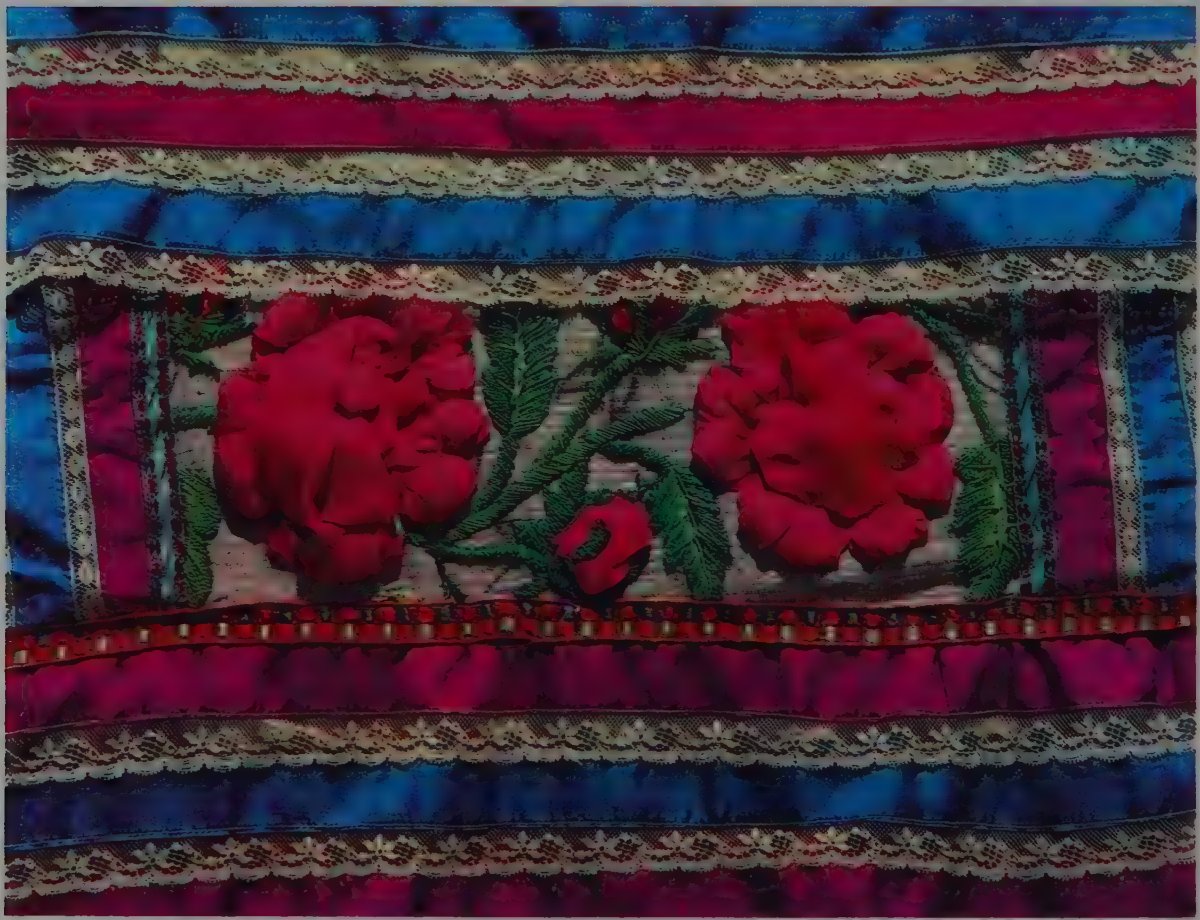
128. Mazatec woman. Ayautla, Oaxaca.



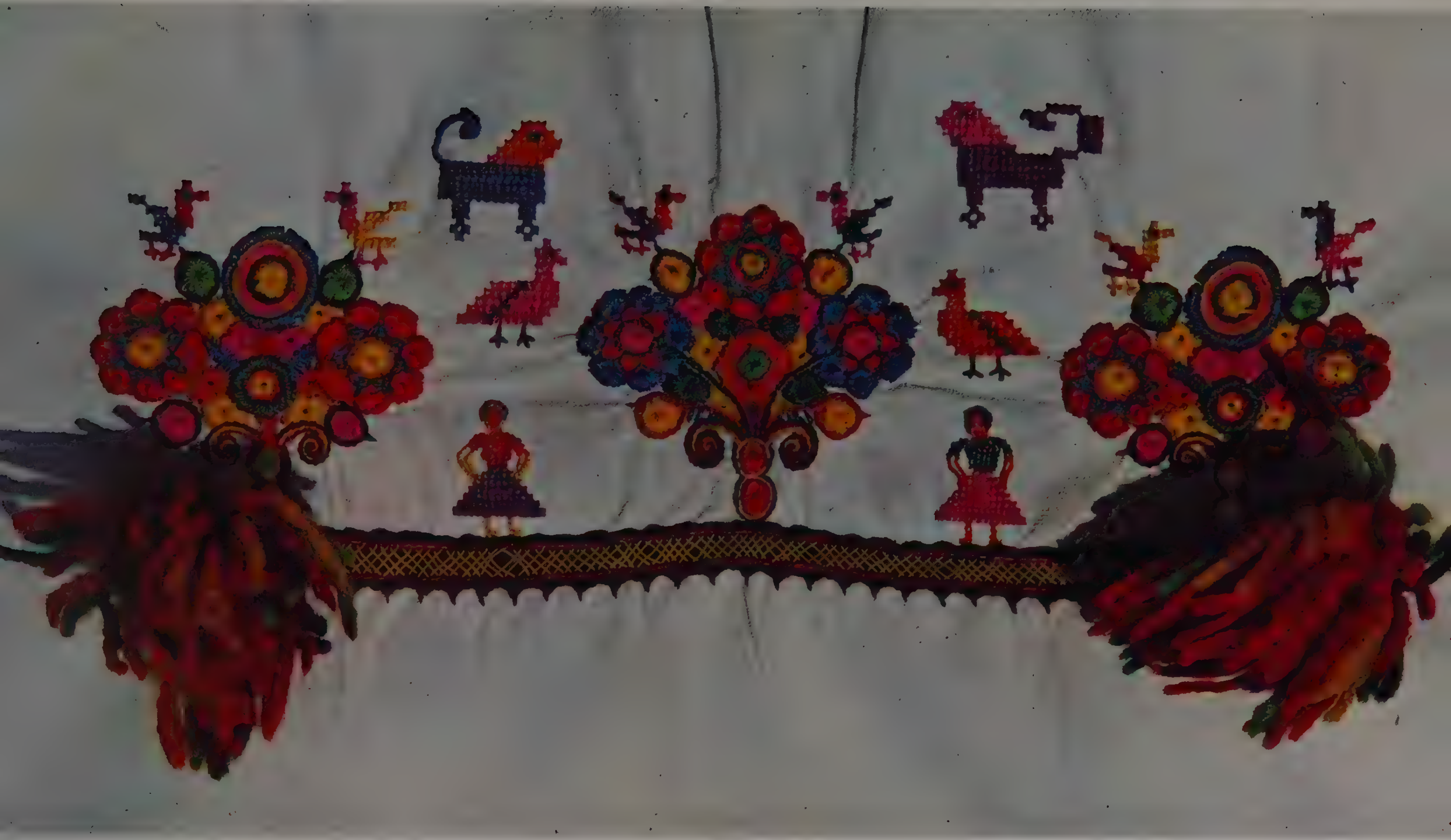
129. Mazatecs. Jalapa de Diaz, Oaxaca.



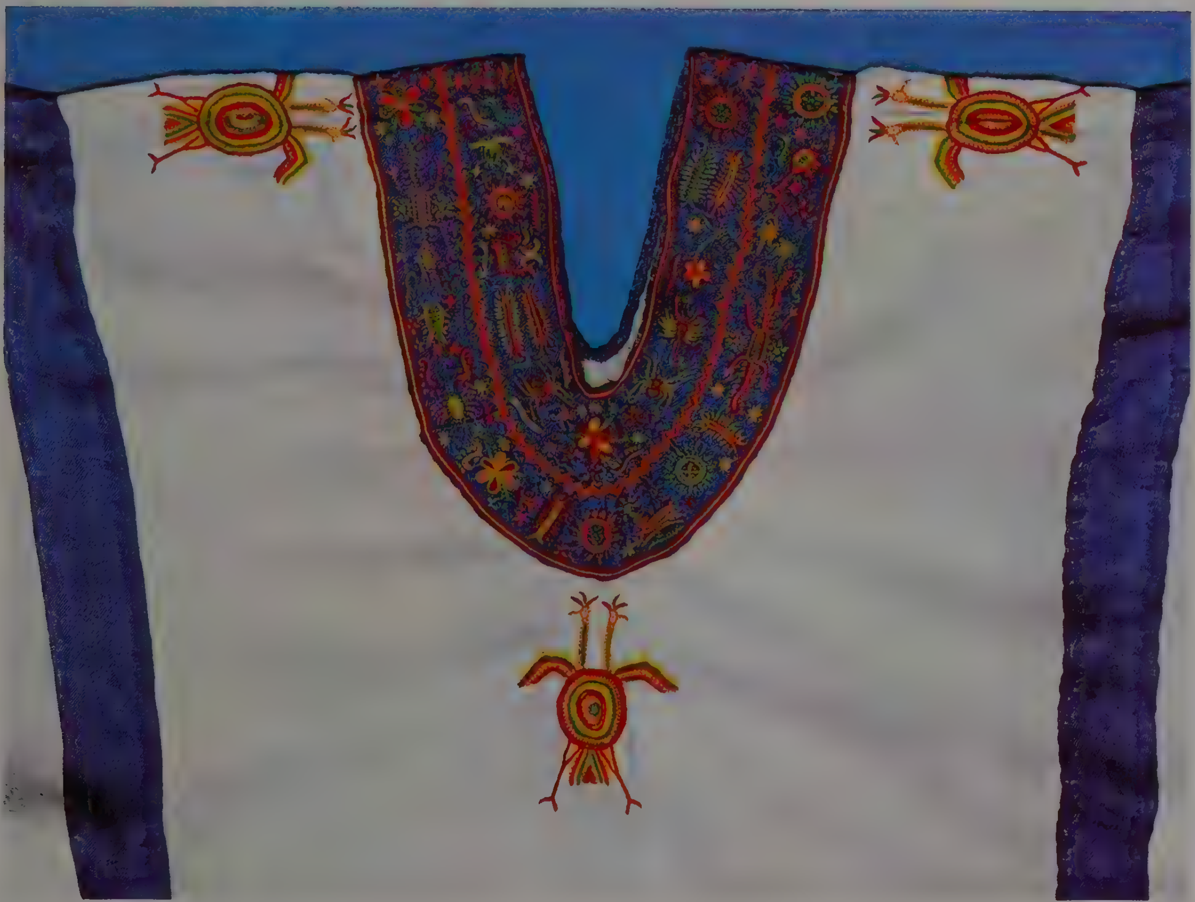
130. *Huipil* (detail). Ayautla, Oaxaca.



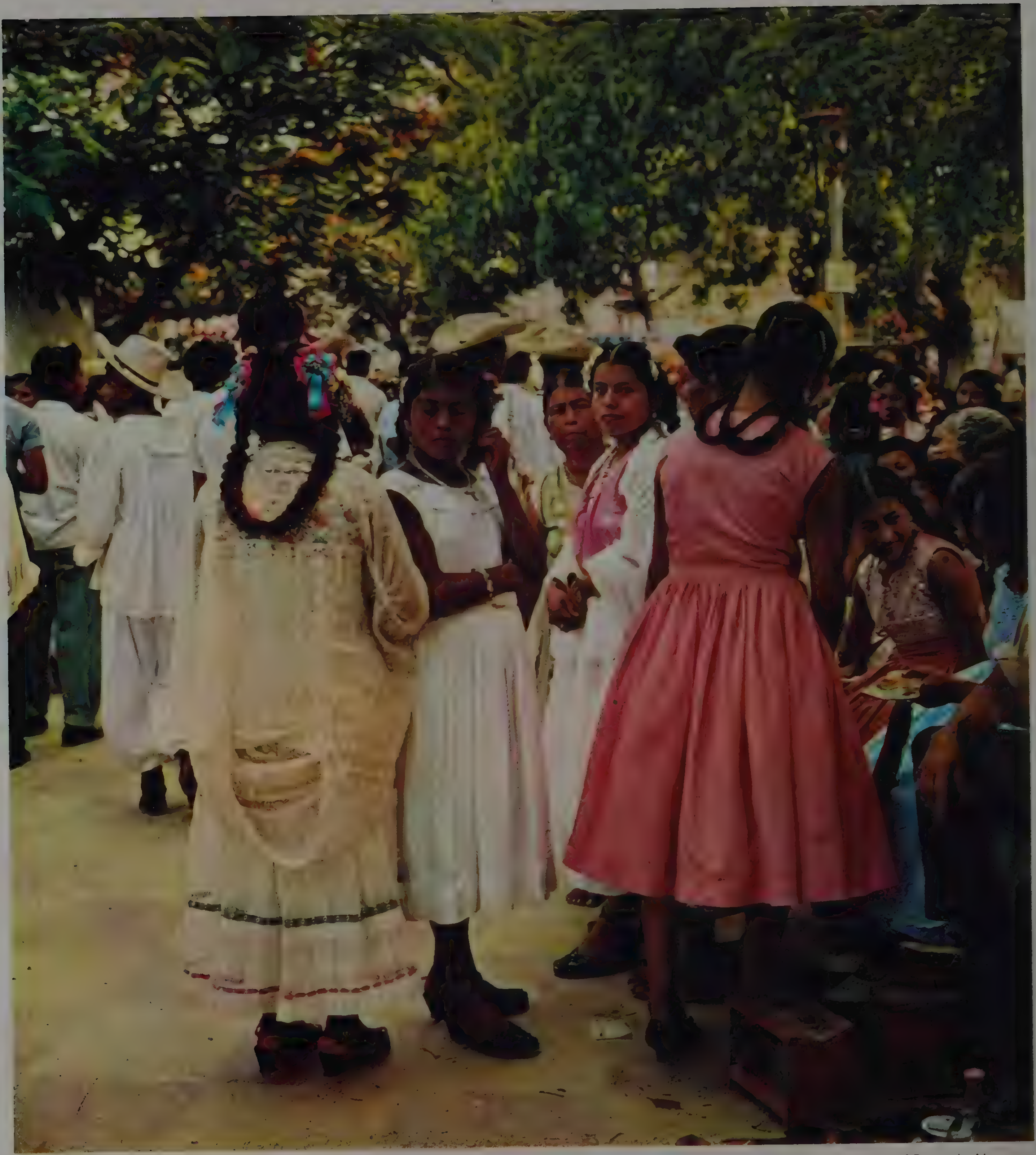
131. *Huipil* (detail). Huautla de Jimenez, Oaxaca.



132. *Huipil* (detail). San José Lachiguiri, Oaxaca.



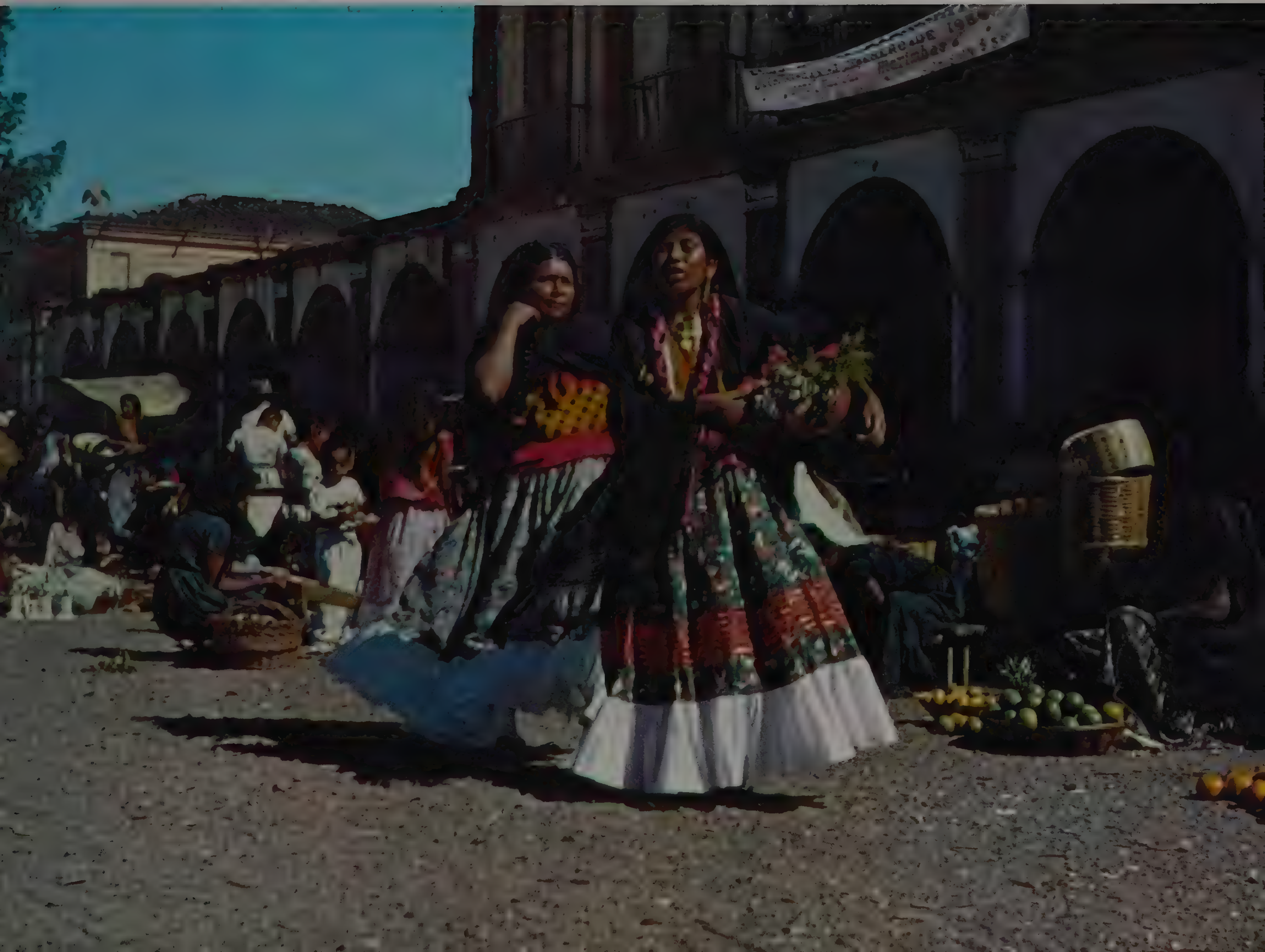
133. *Huipil* (detail). Pinotepa Nacional, Oaxaca.



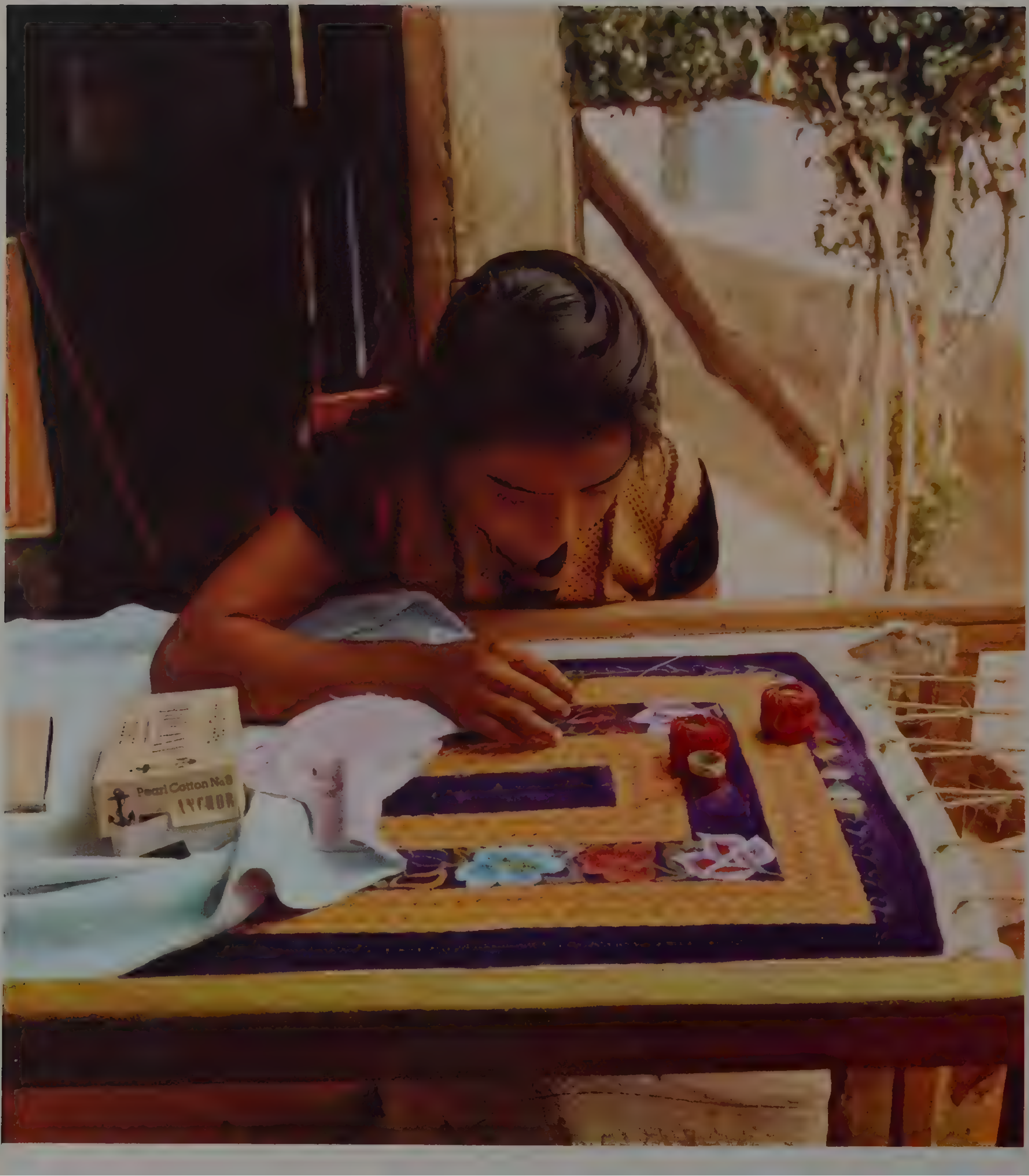
134. Totonacs of Papantla, Veracruz.

An illusion should be added to the beauty of flowers which harmonize so perfectly with personal adornment, and to their power of emanating the most varied perfumes: the illusion that it is the person wearing the flowers who emanates this fragrance. Because of this, and due to their fleeting life, offerings of flowers have always been the favorite symbol of amorous sentiment. Gabriel Fernández Ledesma[2]

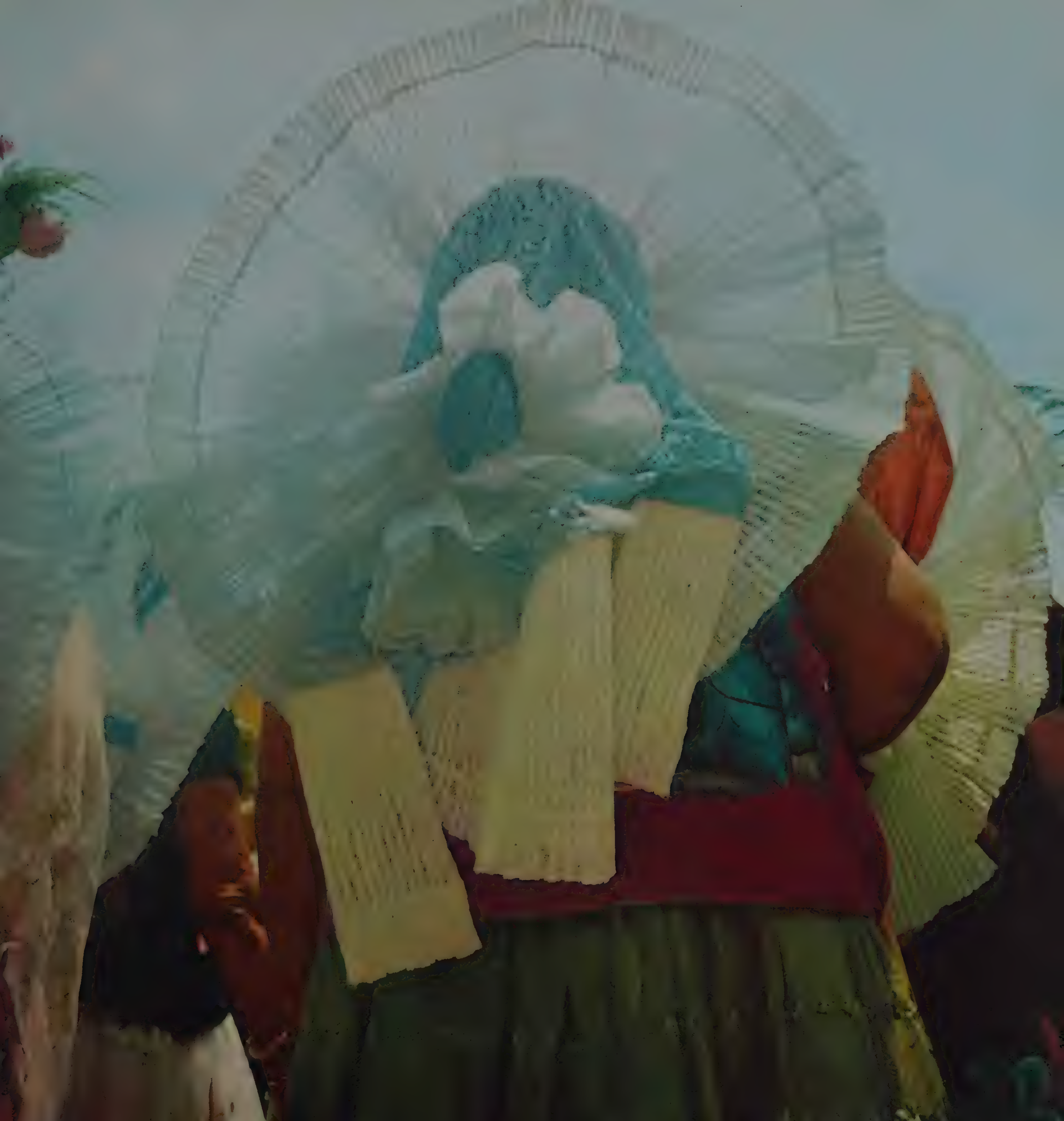
135. Zapotec women from Juchitan, Oaxaca.



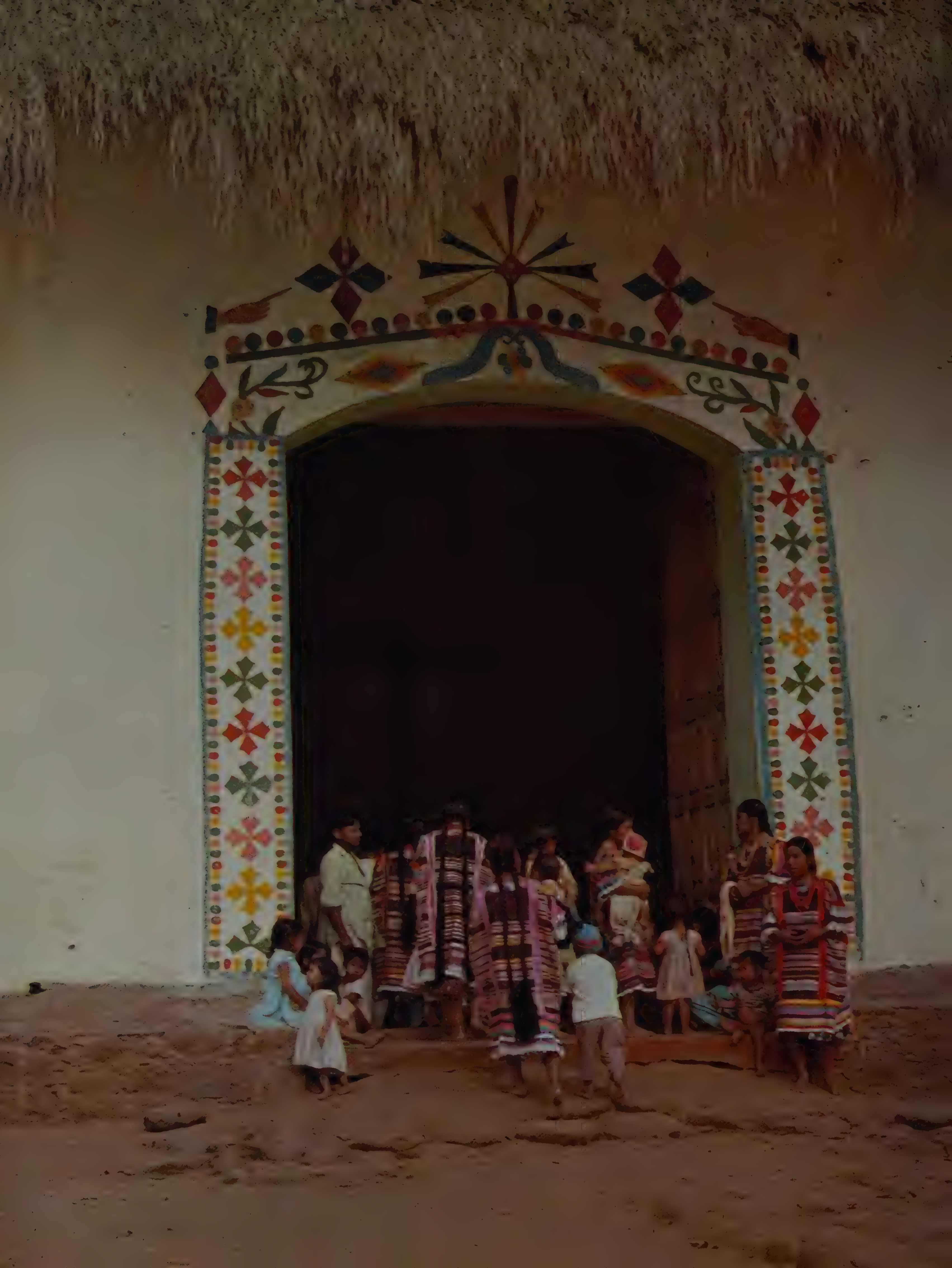
They were attired in their most brilliant silk dresses, red, purple, orange and green, with wide bands of complicated fretwork embroidered patiently on sewing machines in yellow, red and black. They wore vast fluffy *huipiles* or blouses of white lace. MIGUEL COVARRUBIAS

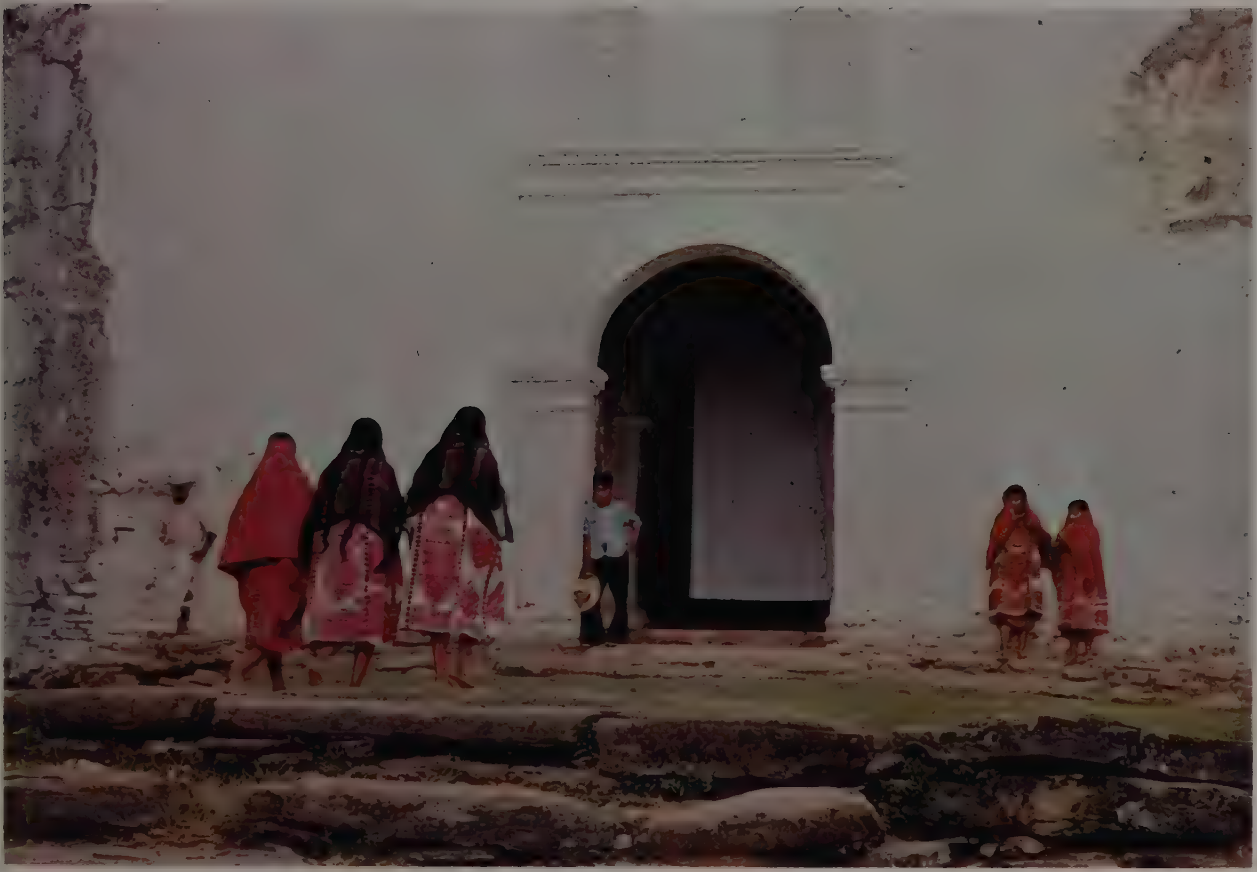


136. Zapotec girl from Tehuantepec, Oaxaca.



137. Zapotec woman from Tehuantepec, Oaxaca.

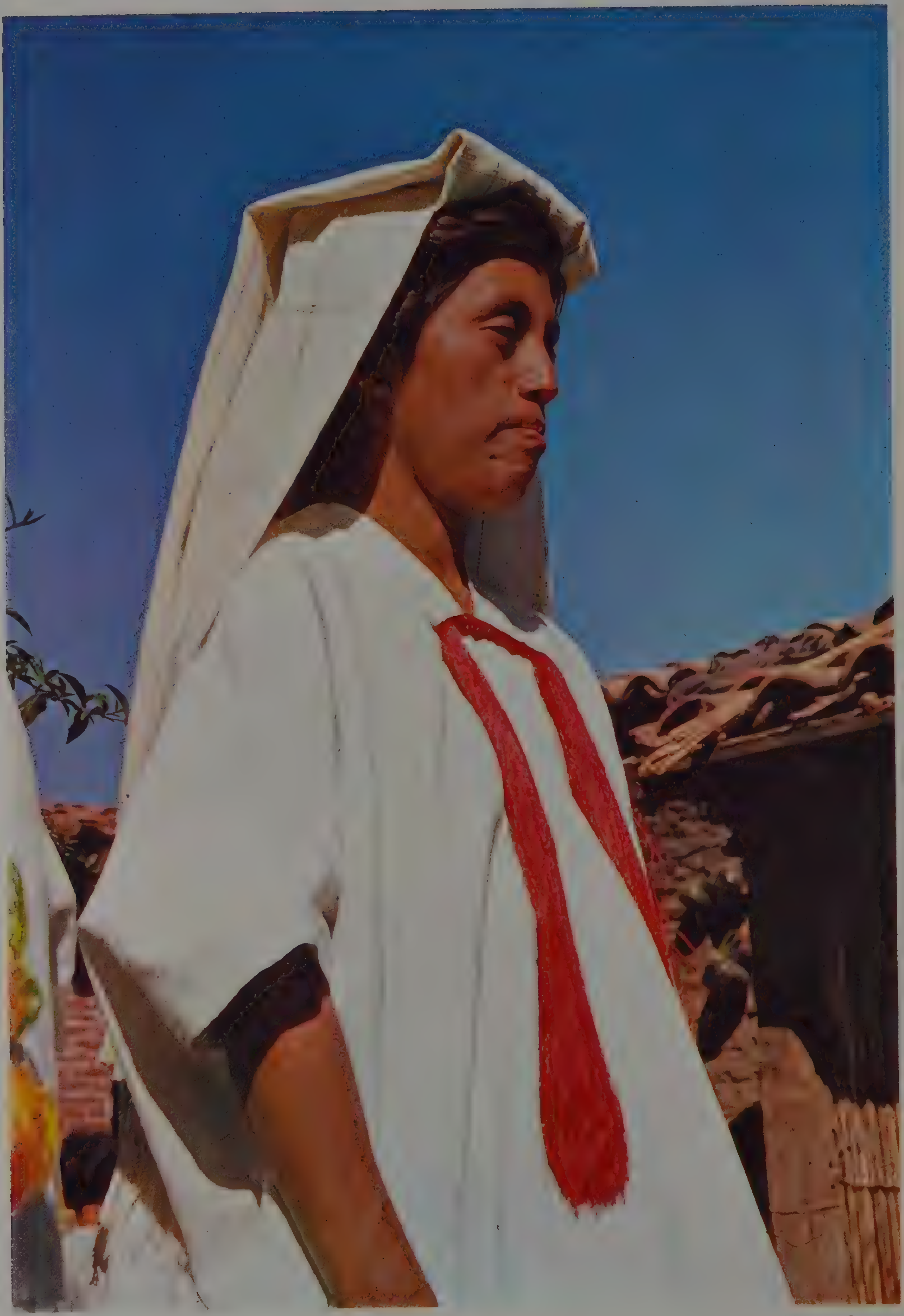




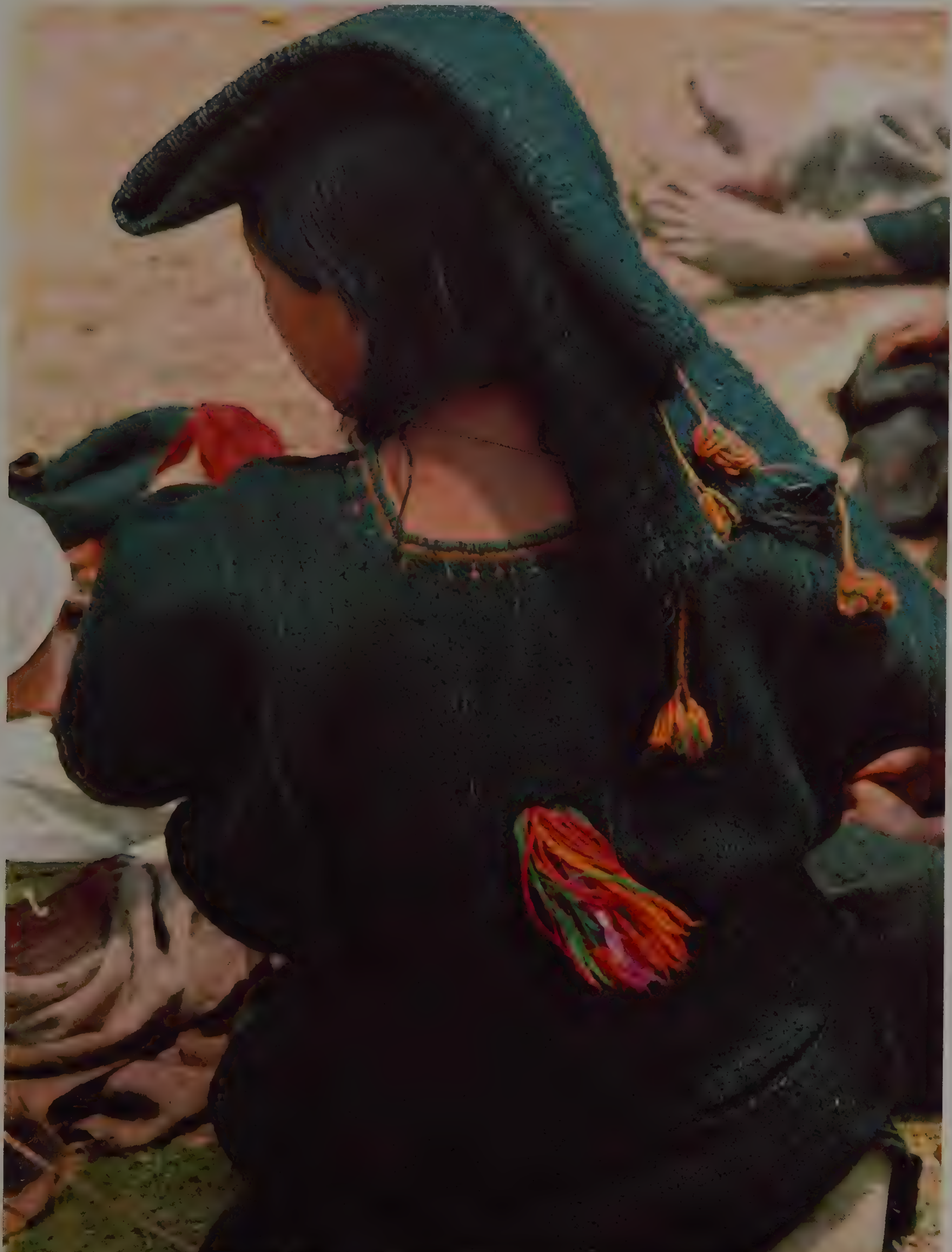
139. Chinantec women from Ojitlan, Oaxaca.

> . . . where we find the esthetic tradition most purely preserved. . . is in Indian woven goods and embroideries. . . free of the necessity of flattering the taste of the possible buyer, endeavoring only to satisfy his intimate feeling for beauty. MIGUEL OTHÓN DE MENDIZÁBAL

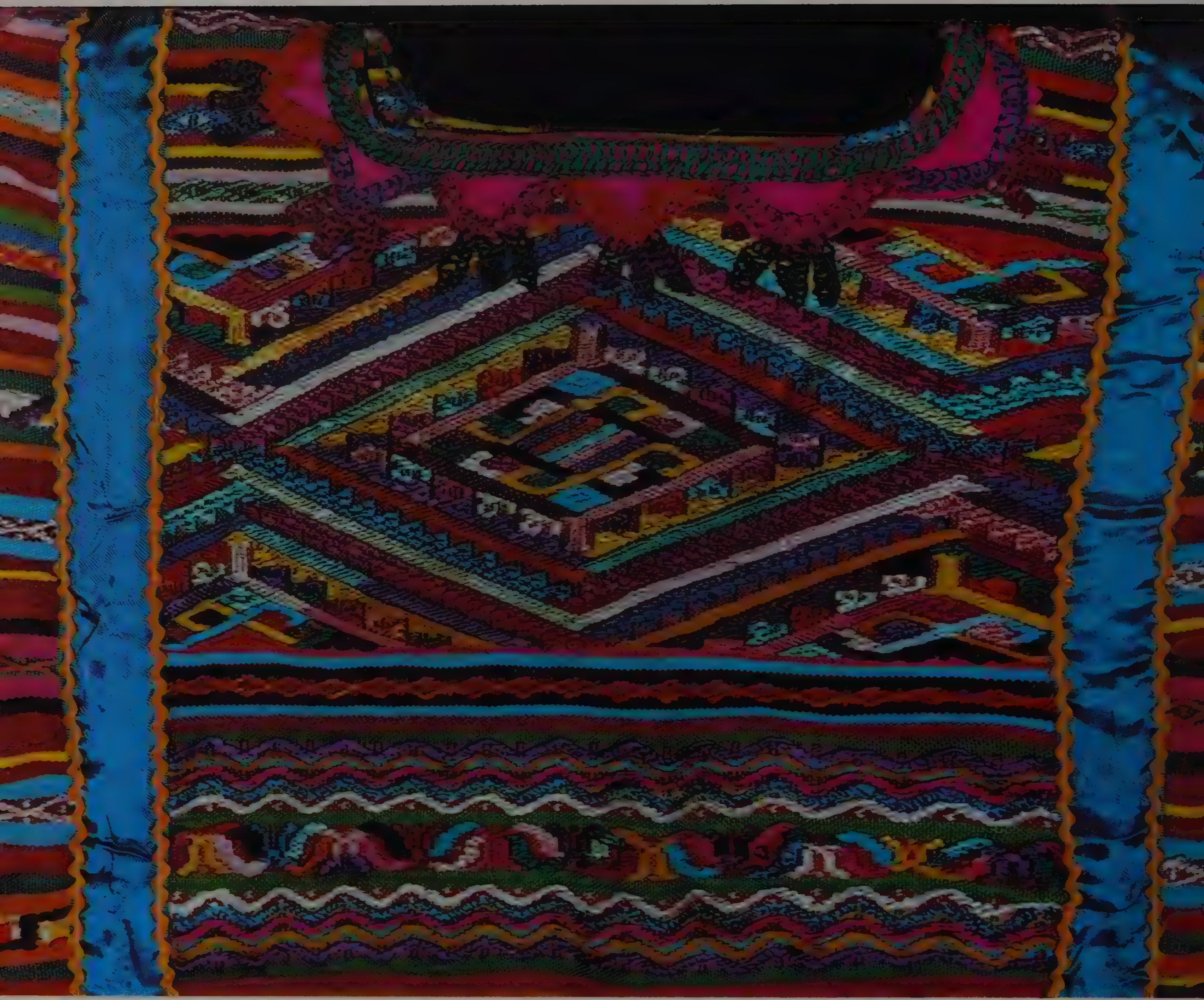
On page 196:
138. Chinantec women from Usila, Oaxaca.



140. Zapotec woman from Yalalag, Oaxaca.

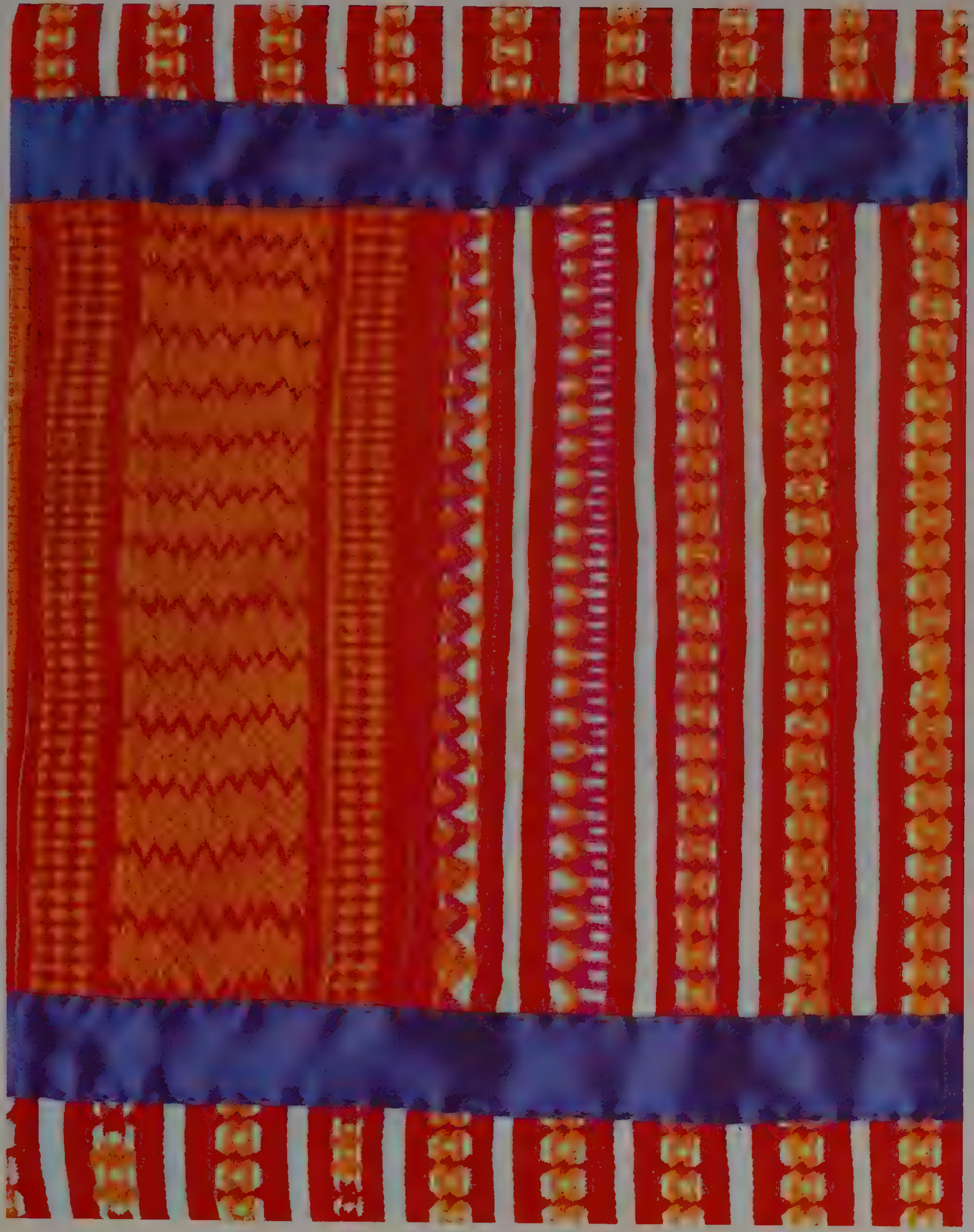


141. Tzotzil from San Juan Chamula, Chiapas.

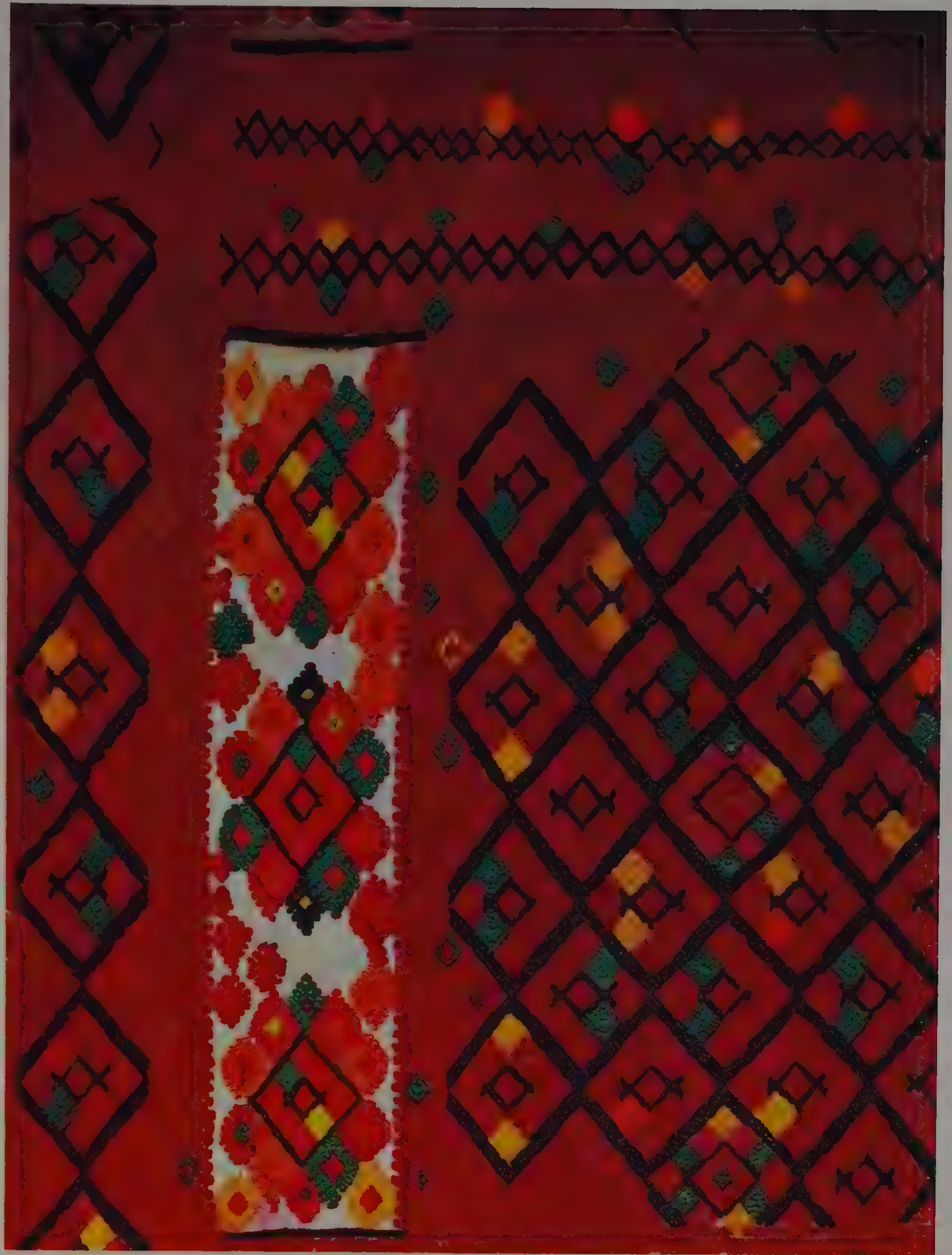


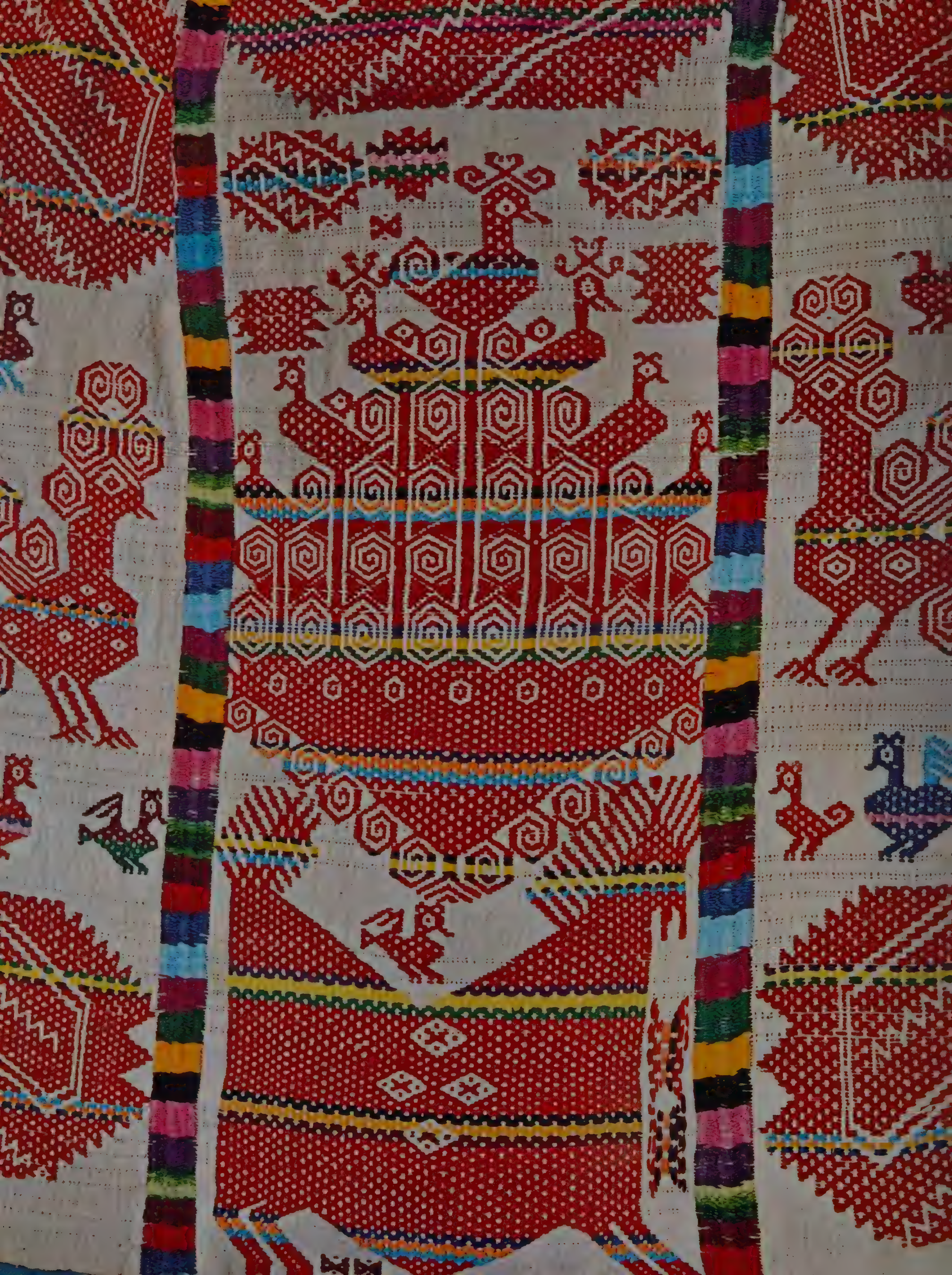
142. *Huipil* (detail). Usila, Oaxaca.

144. *Huipil* (detail). Copala, Oaxaca.



143. *Huipil* (detail). Tenejapa, Chiapas.



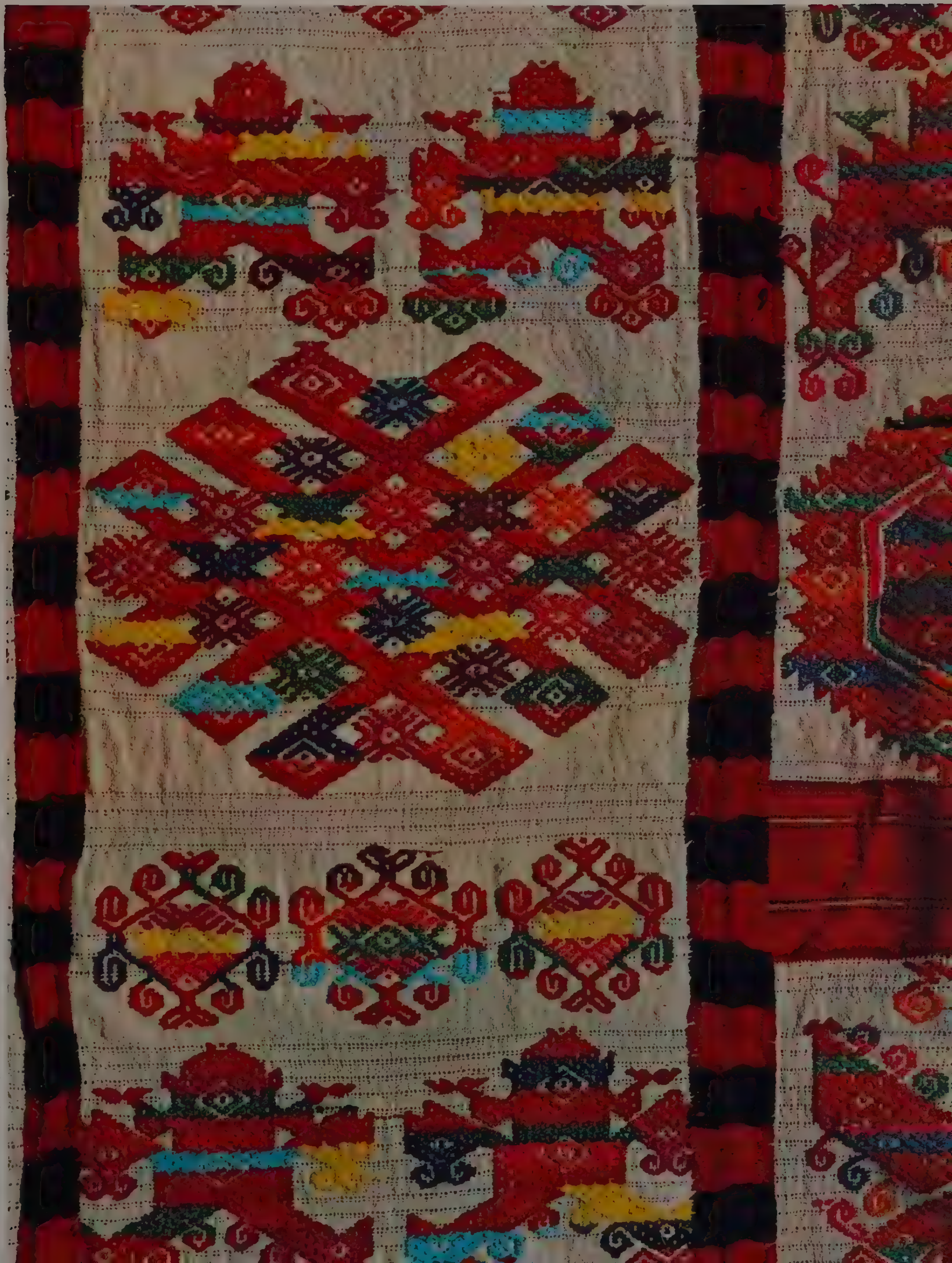


The Mexican, like the Oriental, does not create naked or direct forms that are simply utilitarian. The possessor of inborn artistic faculties, he always contributes his personal touch of charm when conceiving his forms, and with a deep understanding of beauty, he passionately gives a finishing touch to his creations.

Gabriel Fernández Ledesma[1]

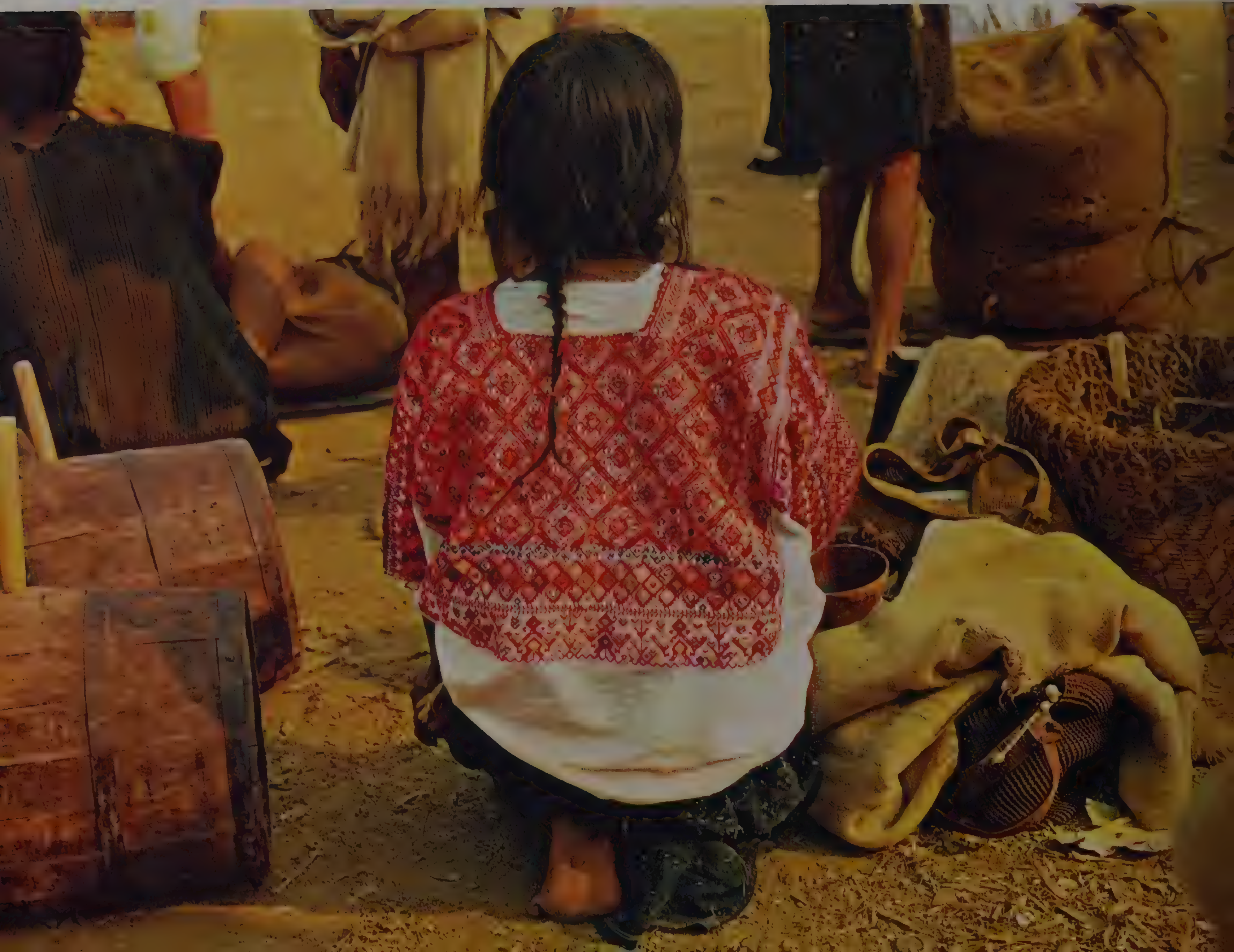
On page 202:

145. *Huipil* (detail). Ojitlan, Oaxaca.

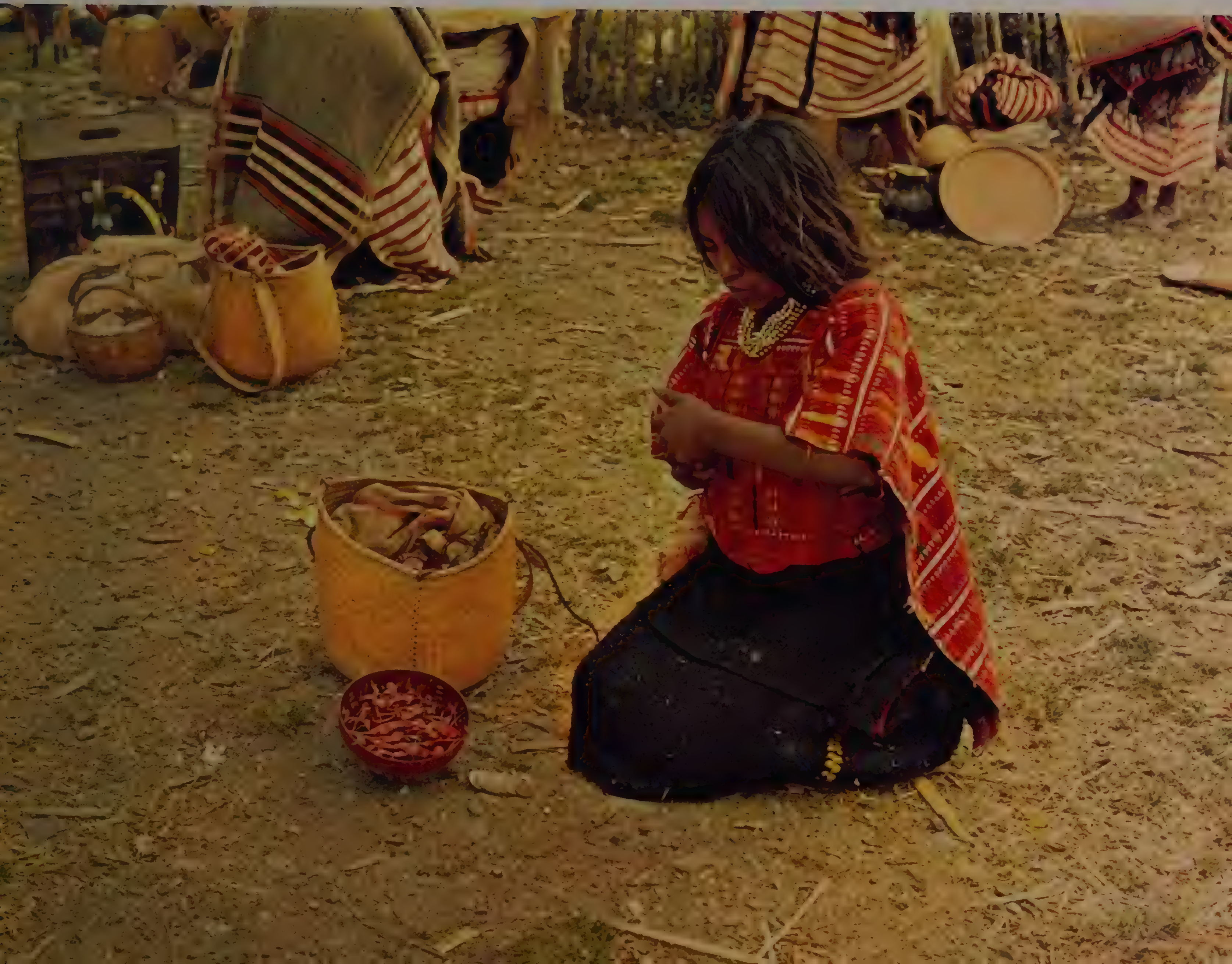


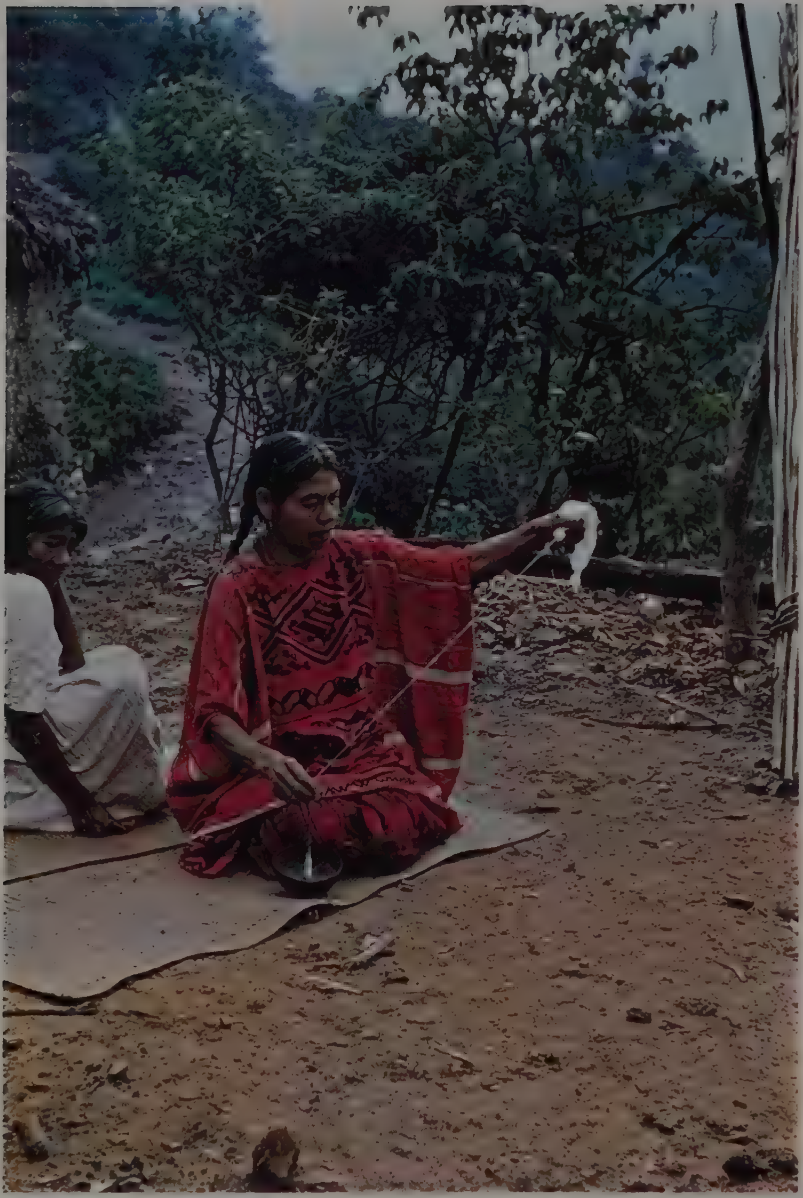
146. *Huipil* (detail). Ojitlan, Oaxaca.

147. Tzotzil from Magdalenas, Chiapas.



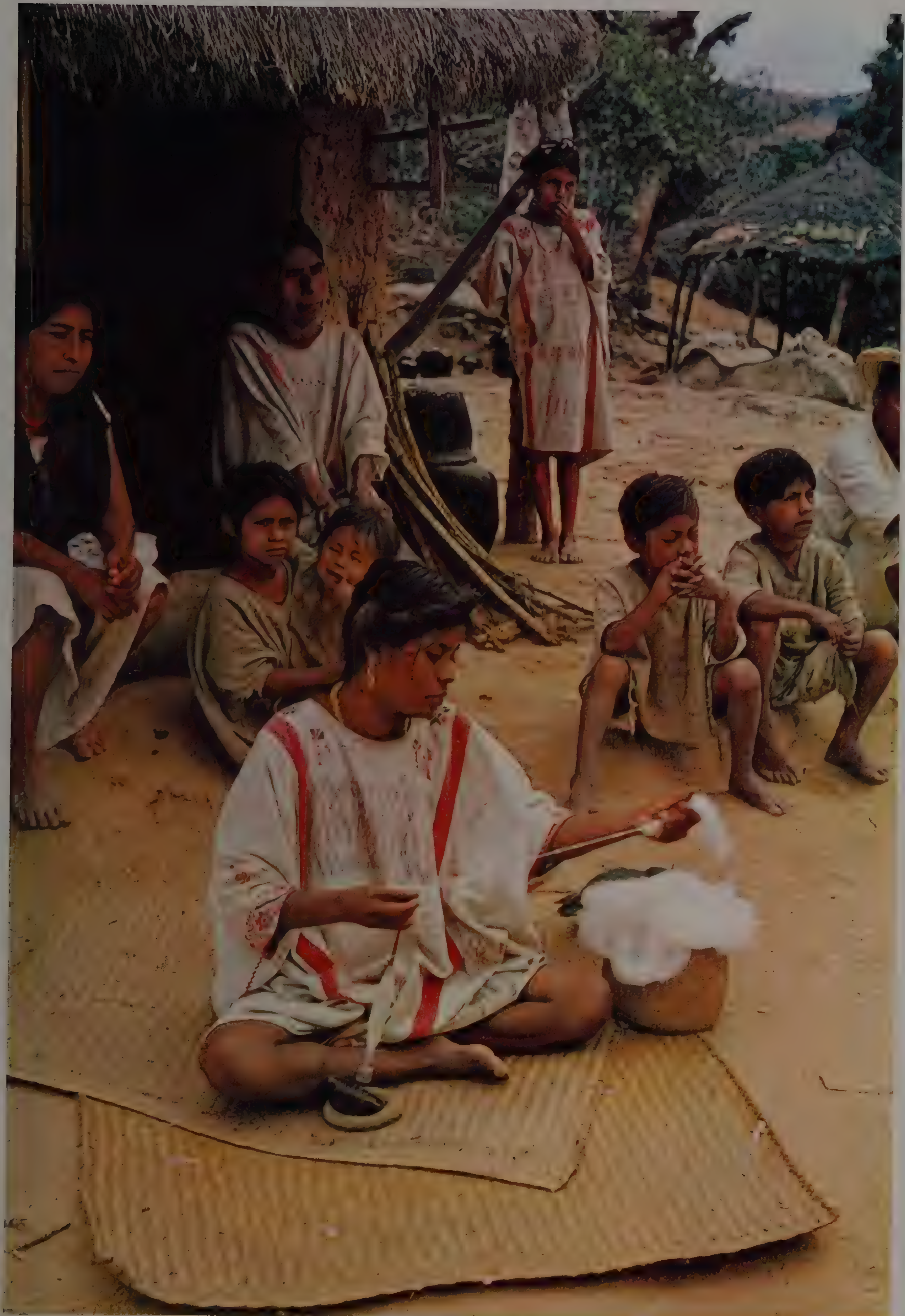
148. Trique from Itunyoso, Oaxaca.



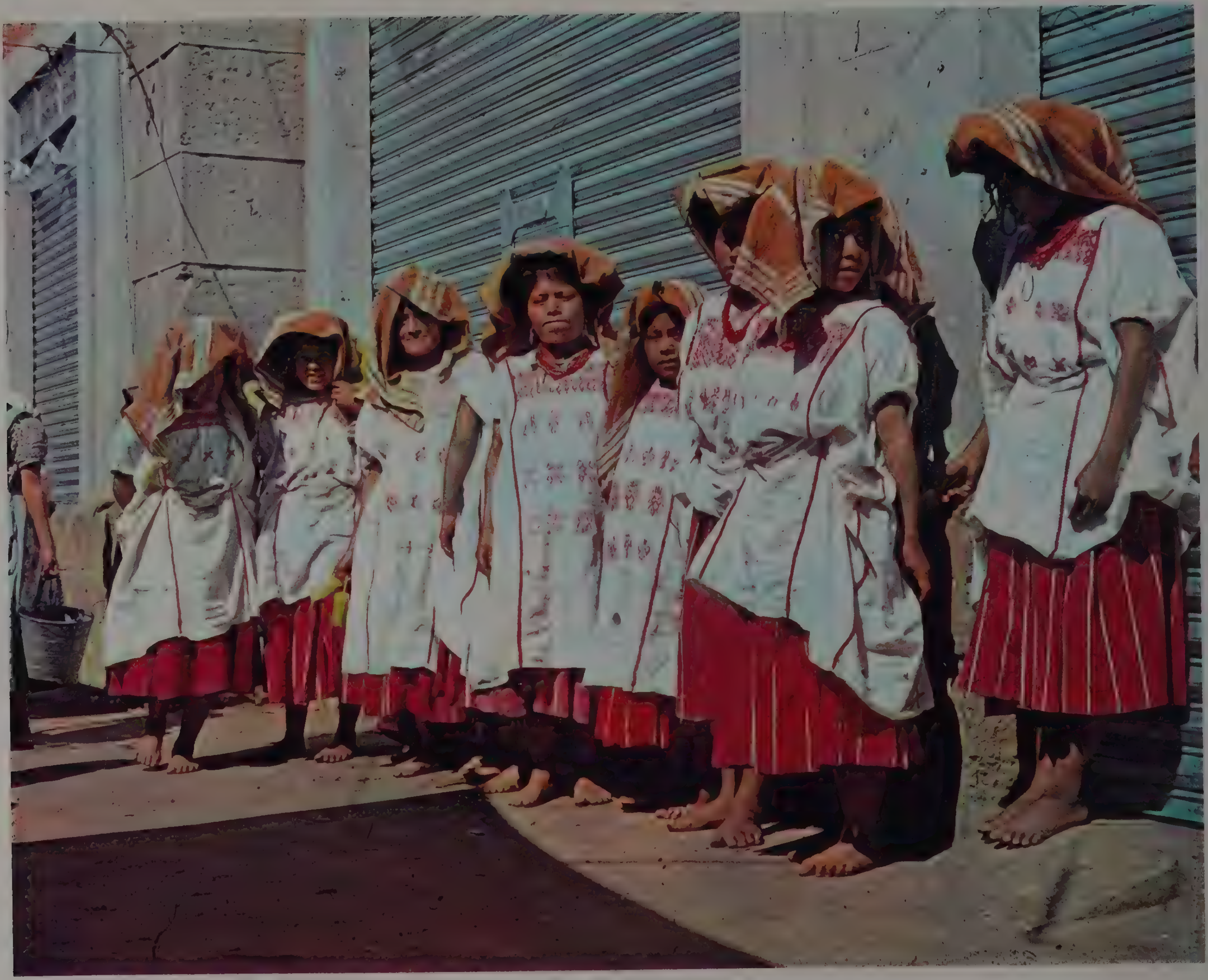


149. Cuicatec woman from San Andres Teotilalpan, Oaxaca.

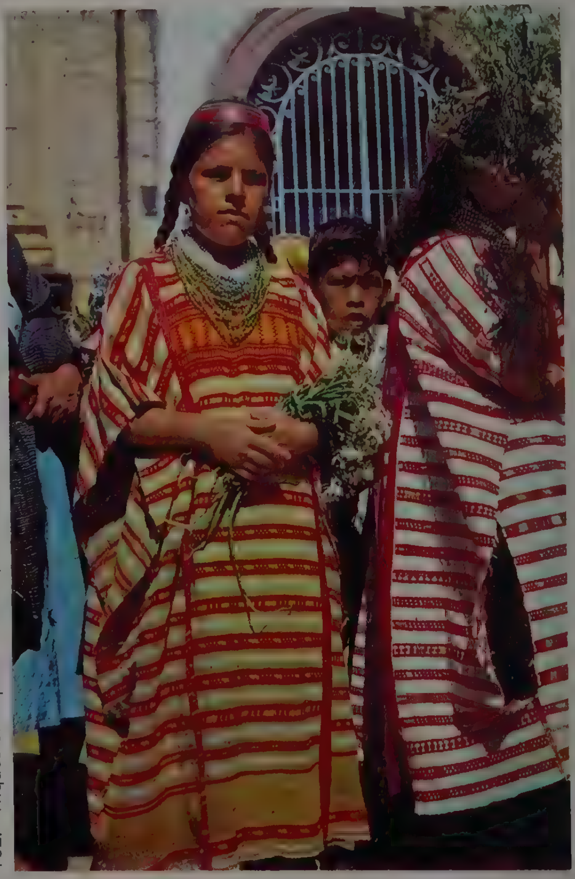
The irresistible desire felt by the Indian to embellish. . . the most intimate and most humble garments. . . an attitude which is the product ot fervent and centenary labor. MIGUEL OTHÓN DE MENDIZÁBAL



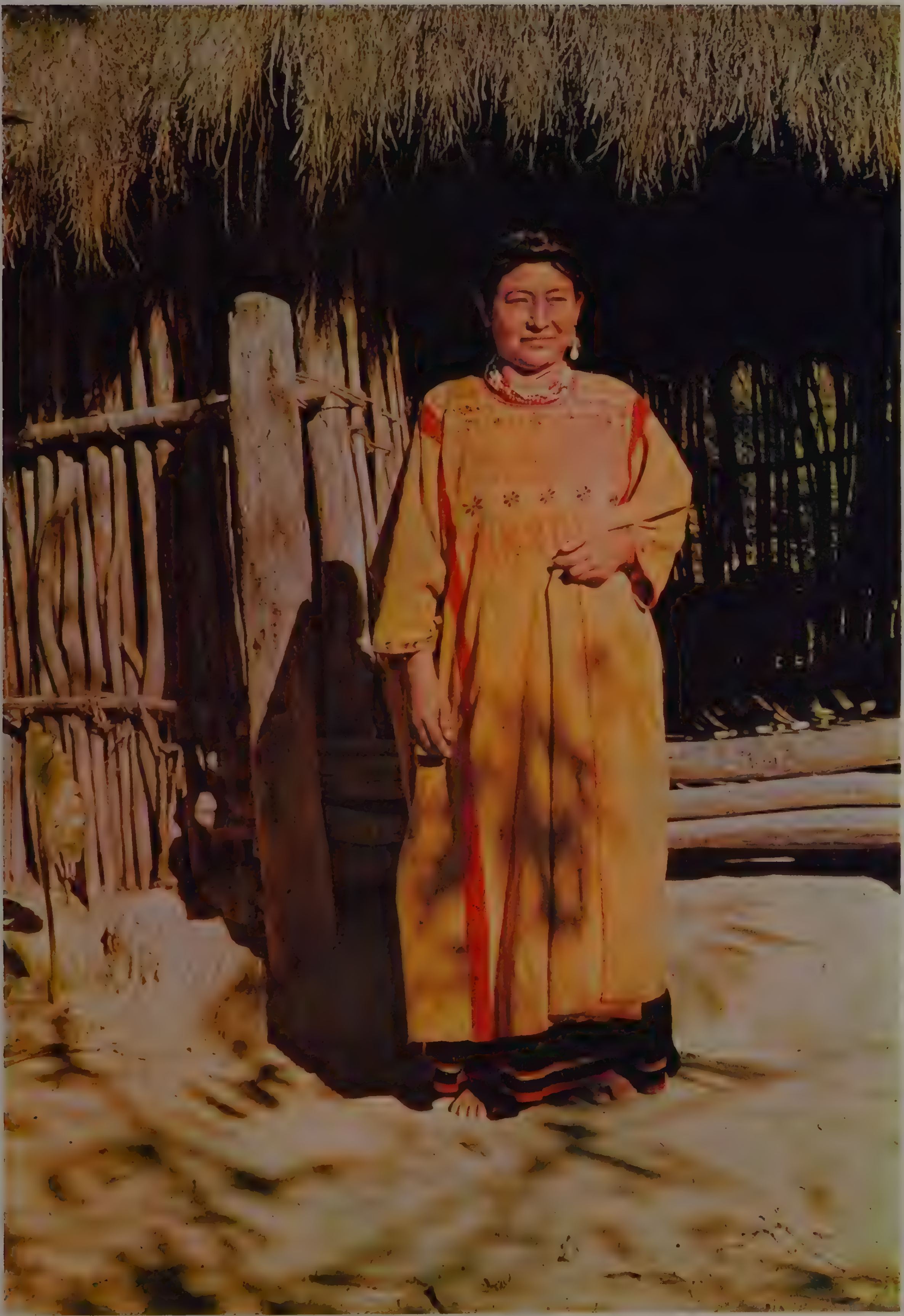
150. Amuzgo woman from Zacualpan, Guerrero.



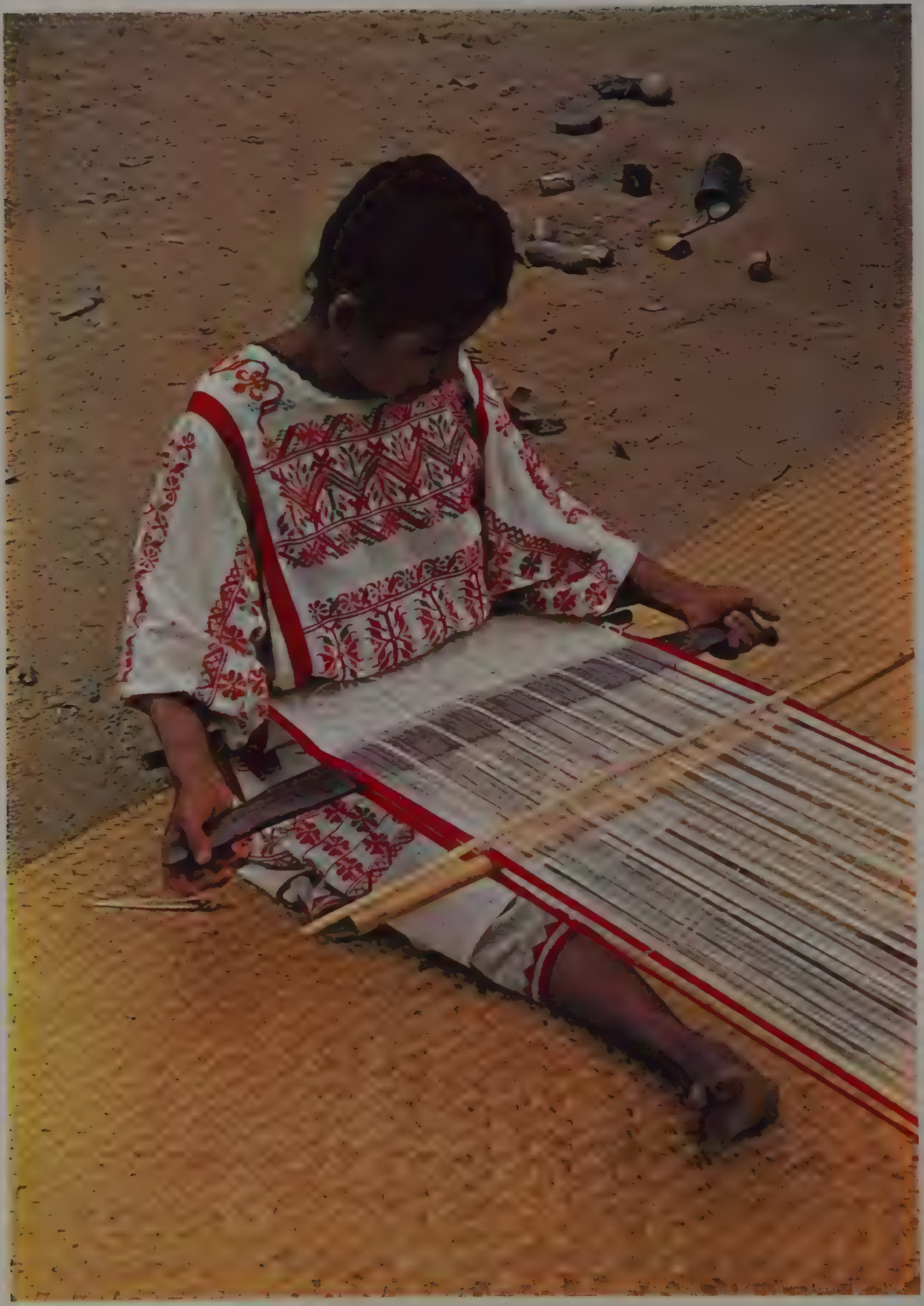
151. Mixes from Cotzocon in the city of Oaxaca.



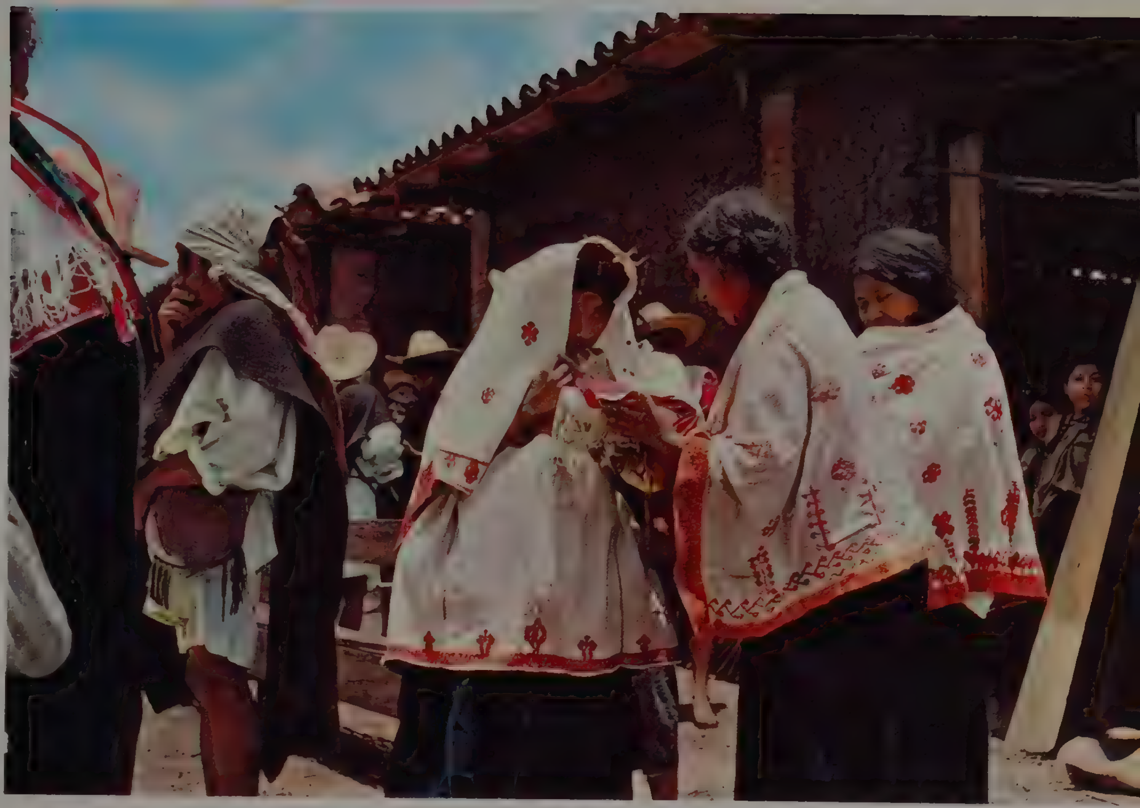
152. Triques of Copala in the city of Oaxaca.



153. Mixtec woman from Zacatepec, Oaxaca.

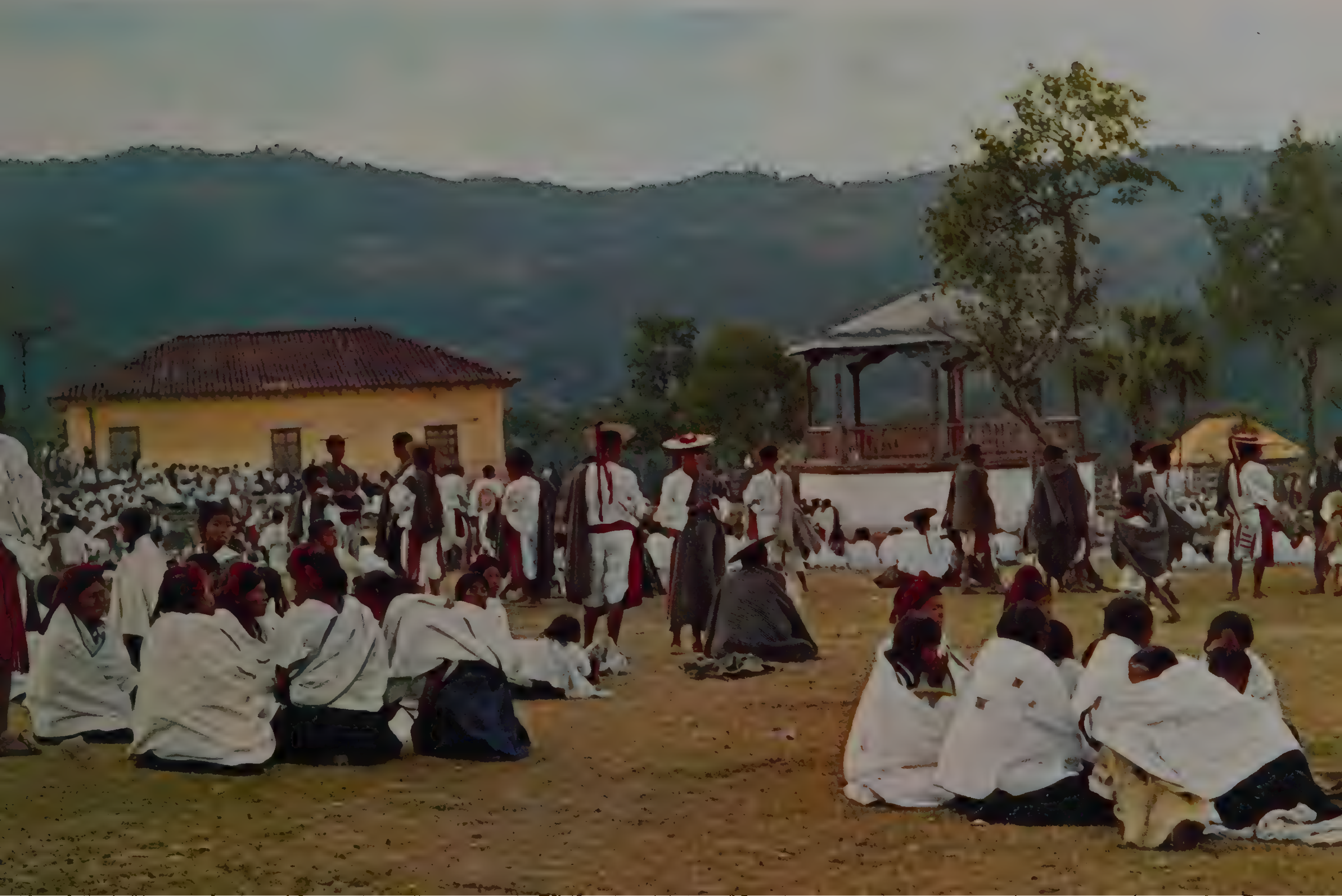


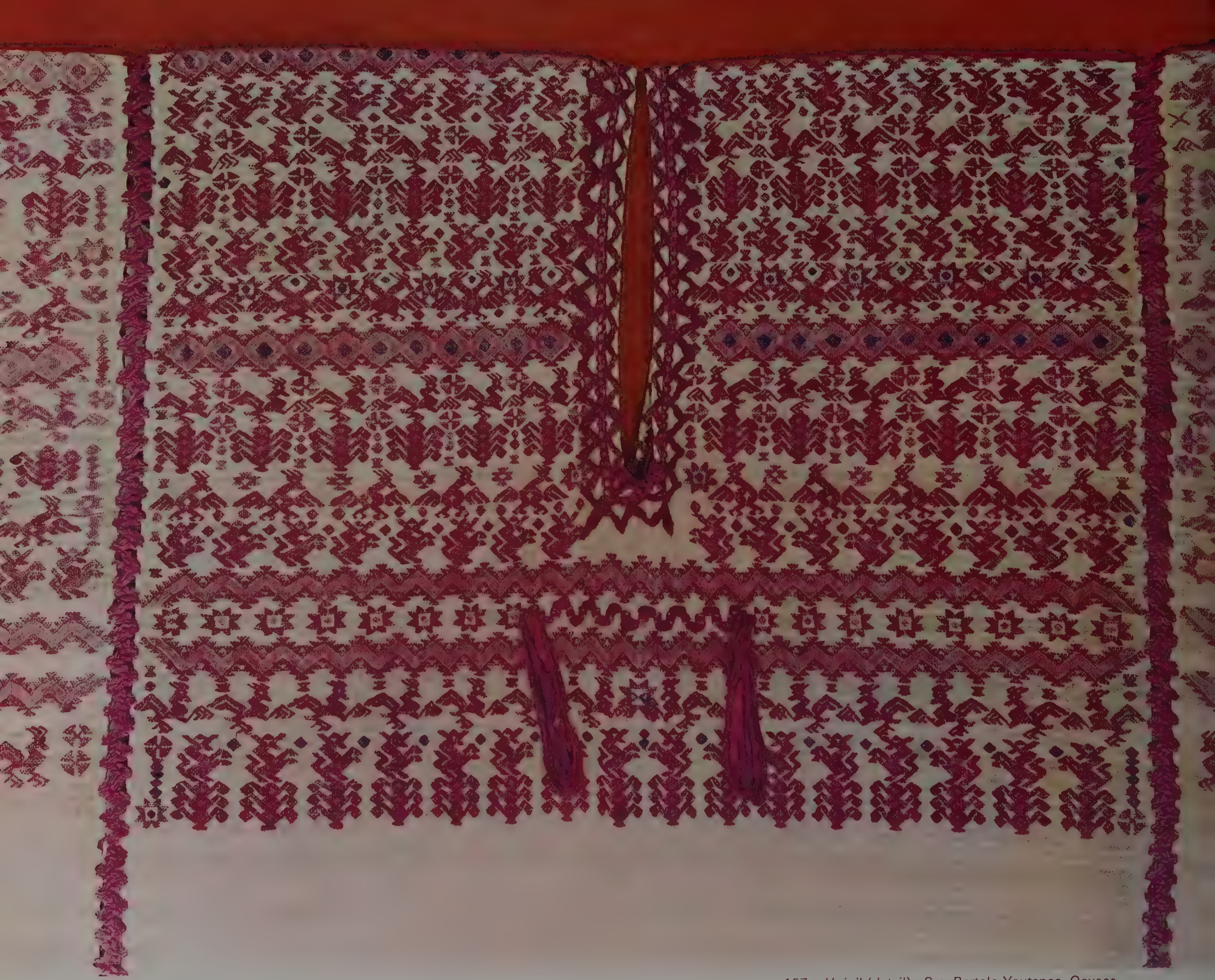
154. Amuzgo woman from Xochistlahuaca, Guerrero.



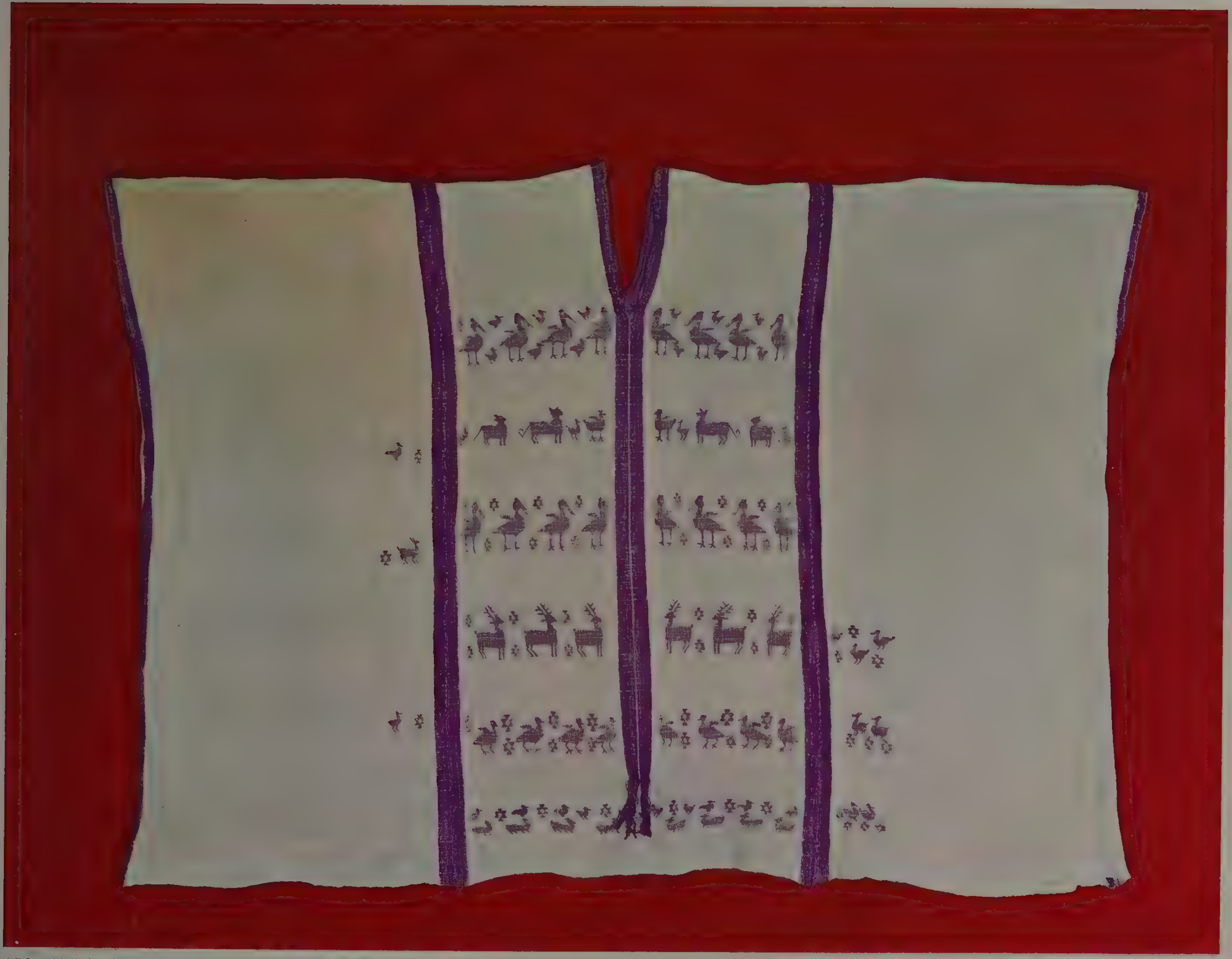
155. Tzotzil Indians from San Pedro Chenalho, Chiapas.

156. Tzotzil Indians from Huistan, Chiapas

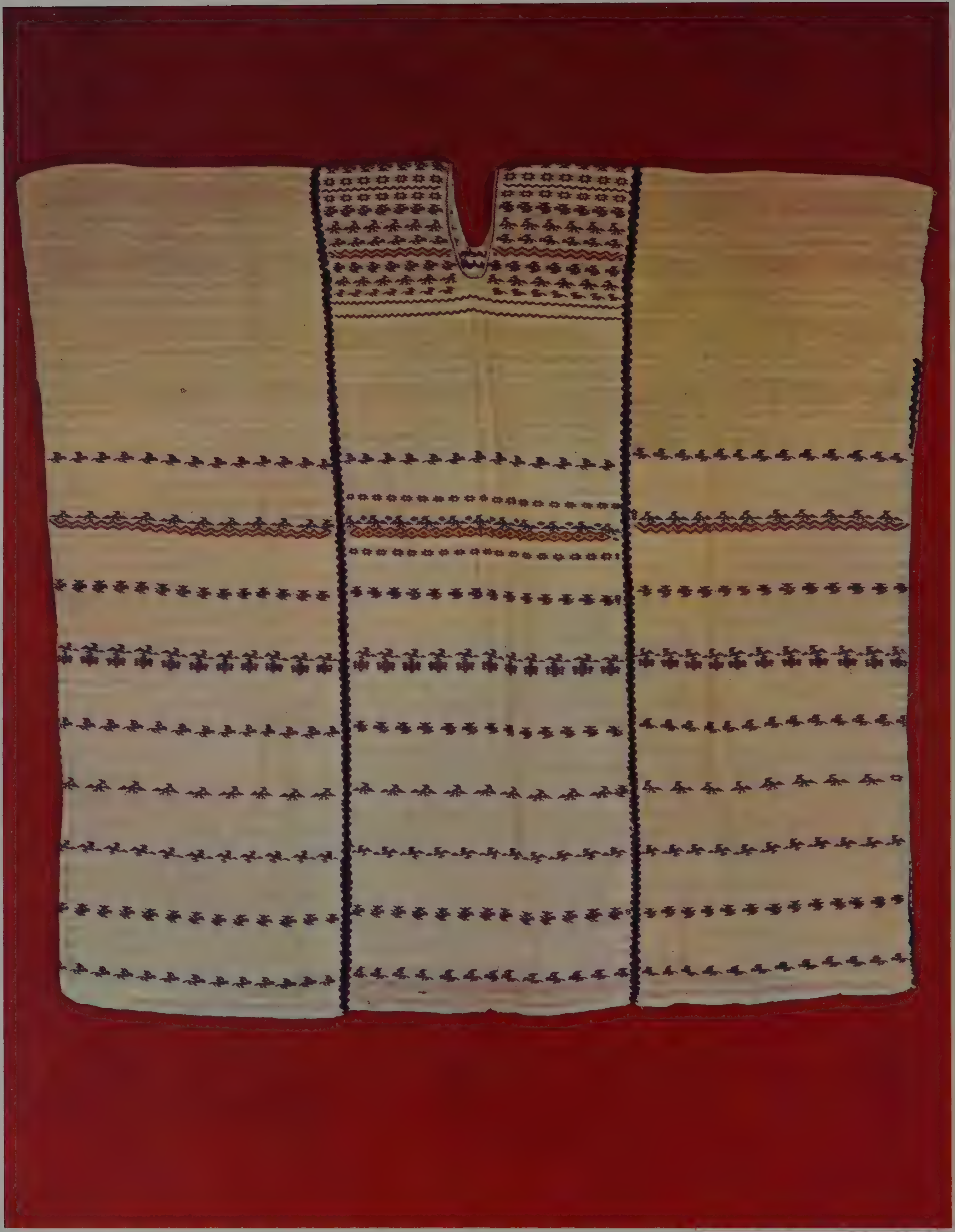




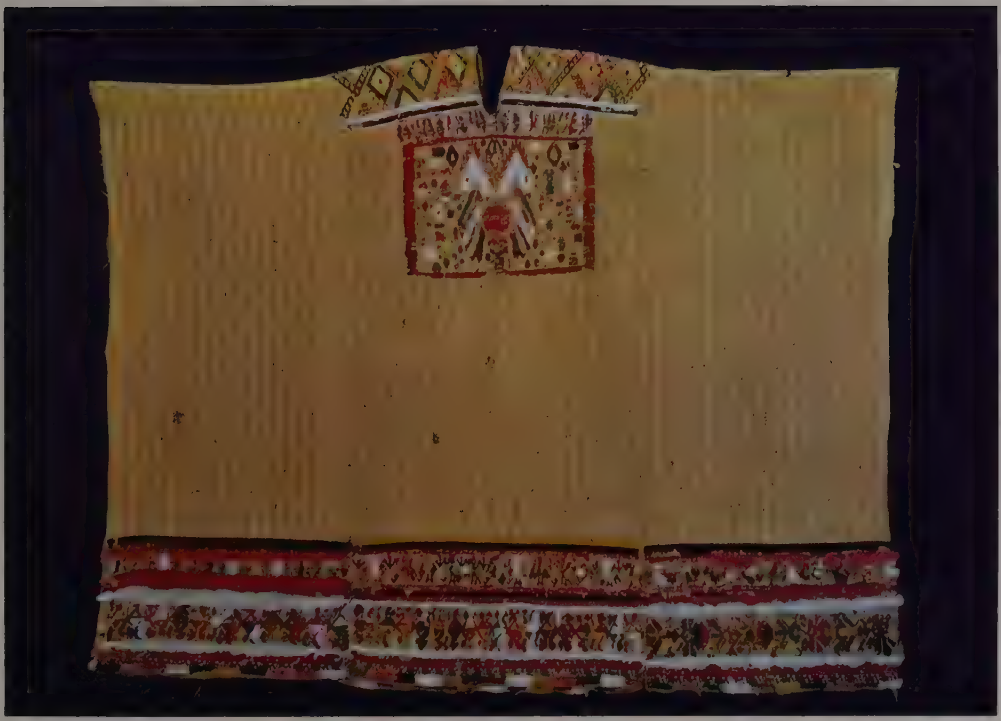
157. *Huipil* (detail). San Bartolo Yautepec, Oaxaca.



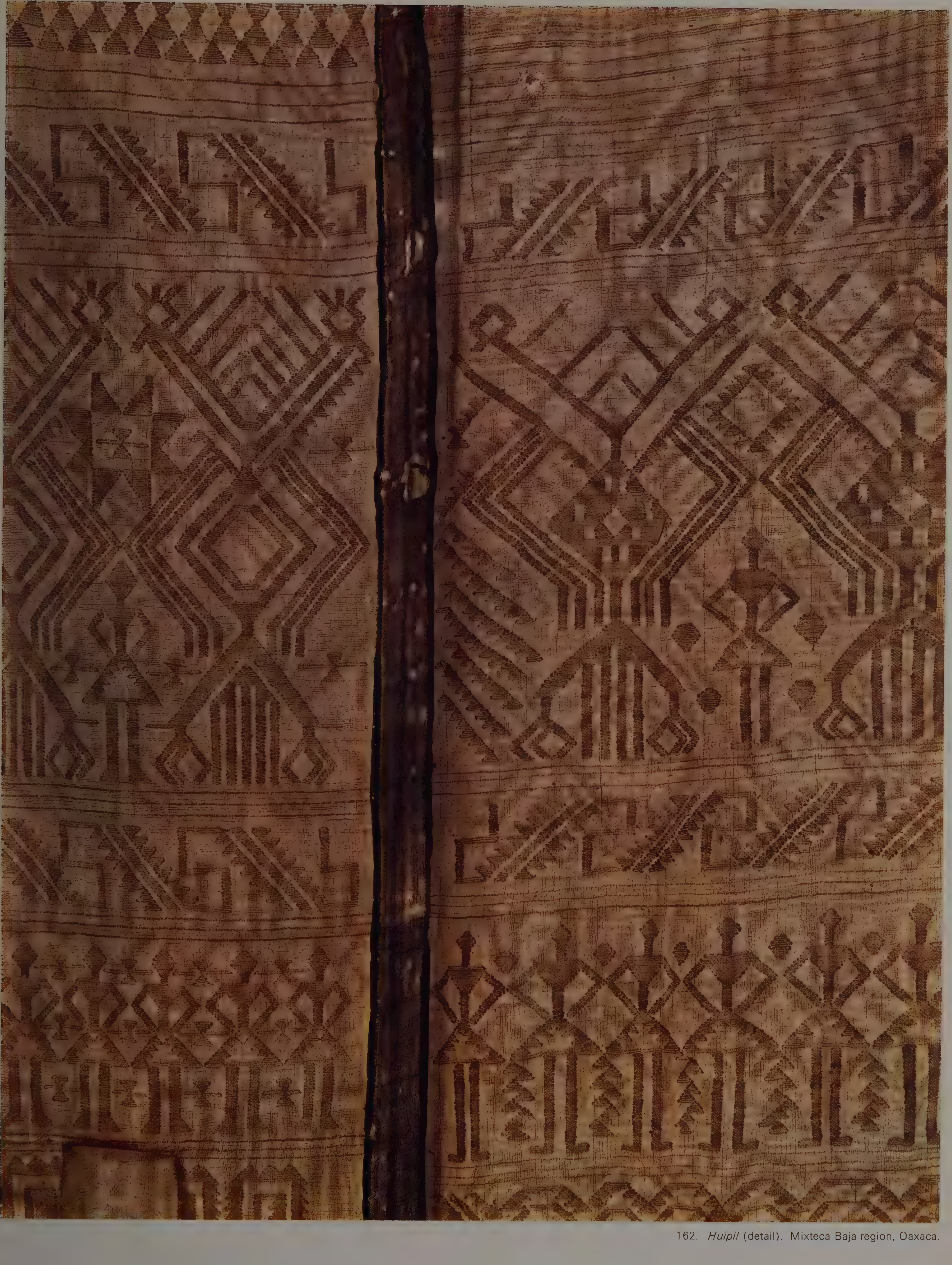
158. *Huipil*. San Mateo del Mar, Oaxaca.



159. *Huipil.* San Bartolo Yautepec, Oaxaca.



160. *Huipil* called "La Malinche's garment." Provenience unknown

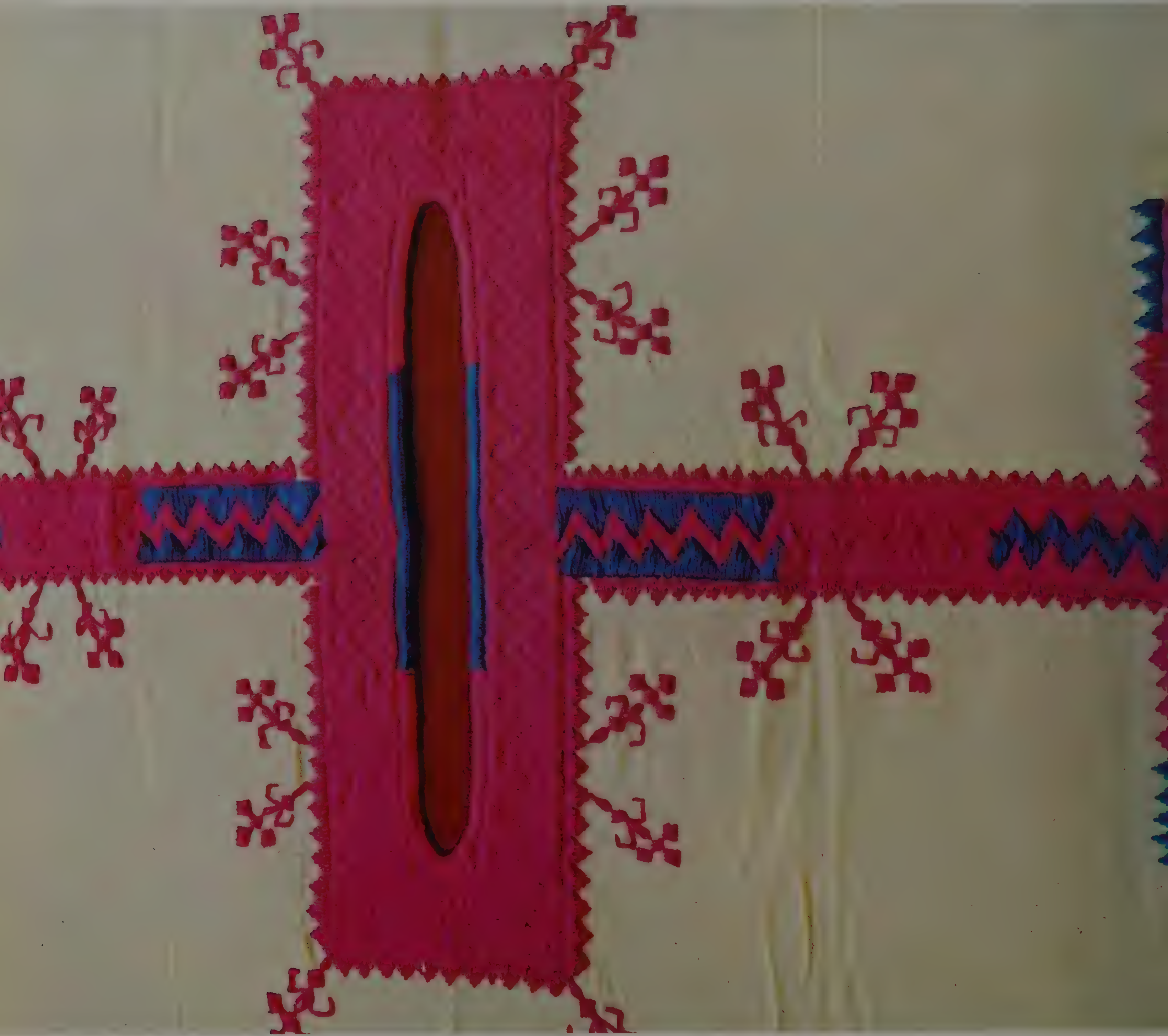


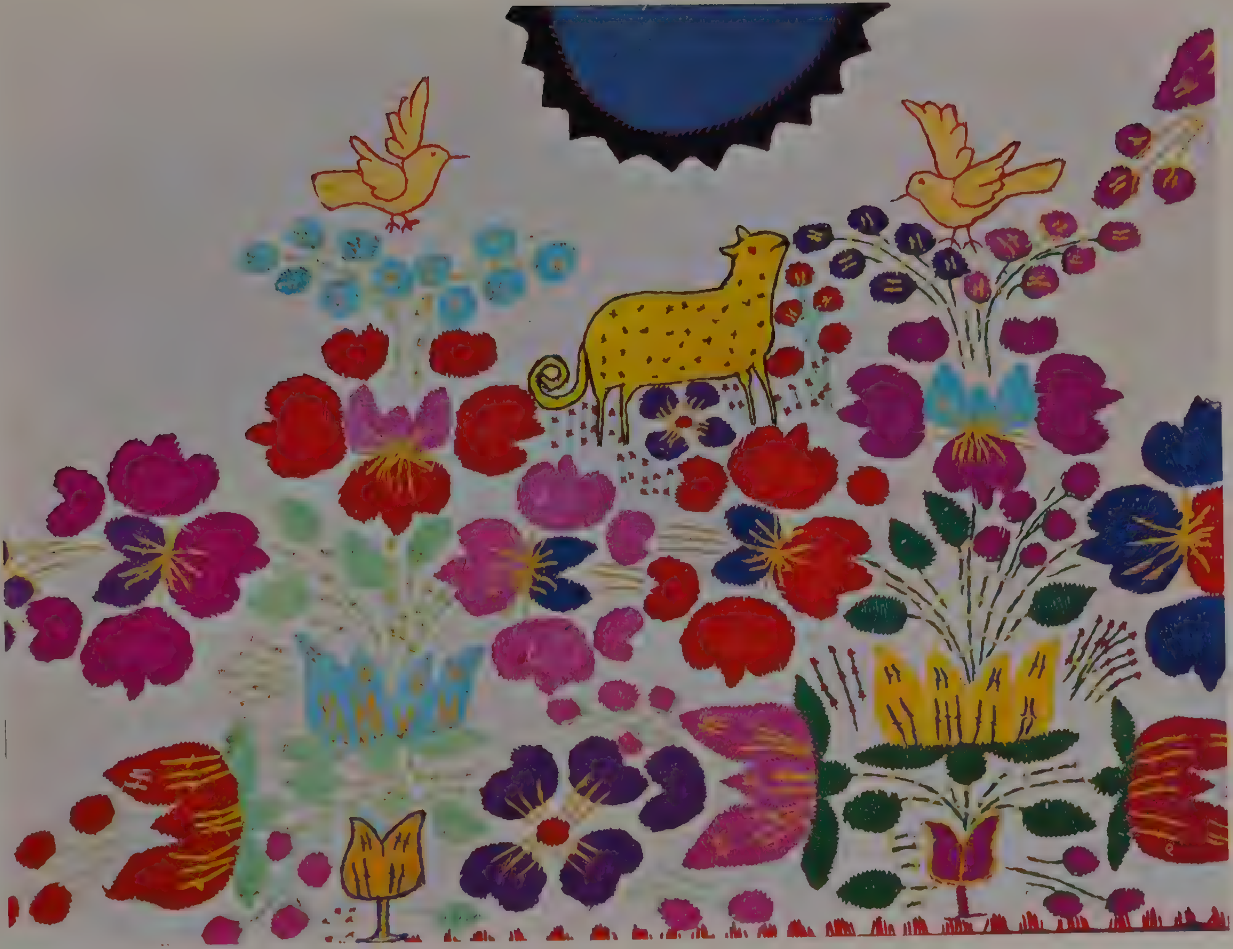
162. *Huipil* (detail). Mixteca Baja region, Oaxaca.

On page 216:

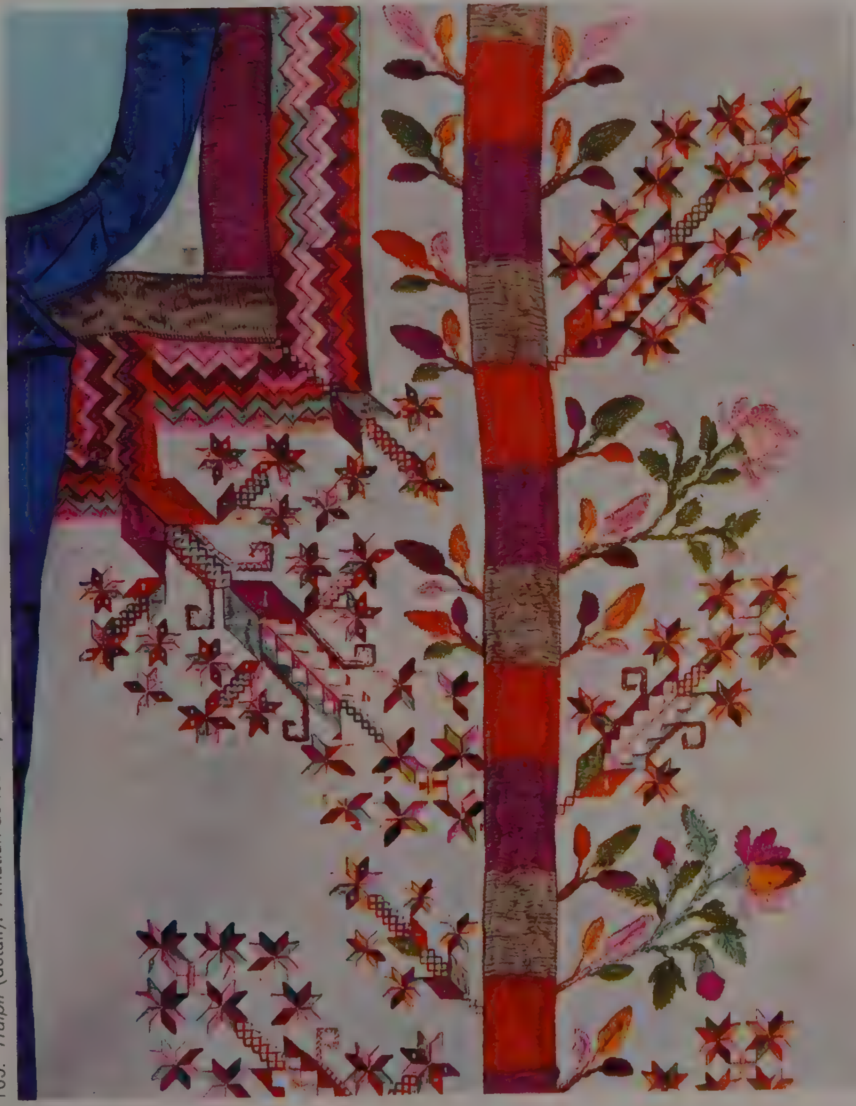
161. *Huipil* (detail). Choapan, Oaxaca.

163. *Huanengo* (detail). San Felipe de los Herreros, Michoacan.





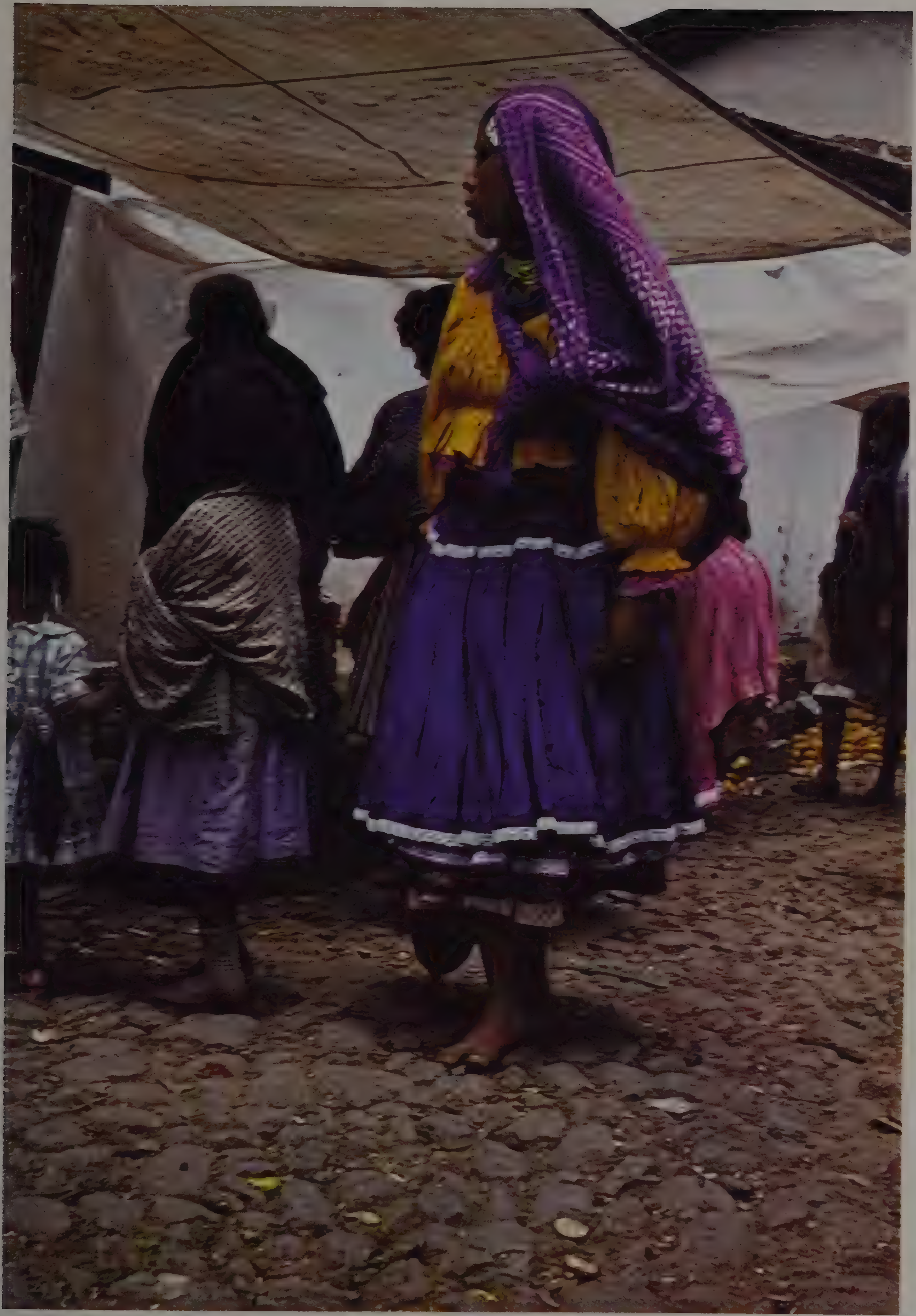
164. *Huipil* (detail). Chilapa, Guerrero.



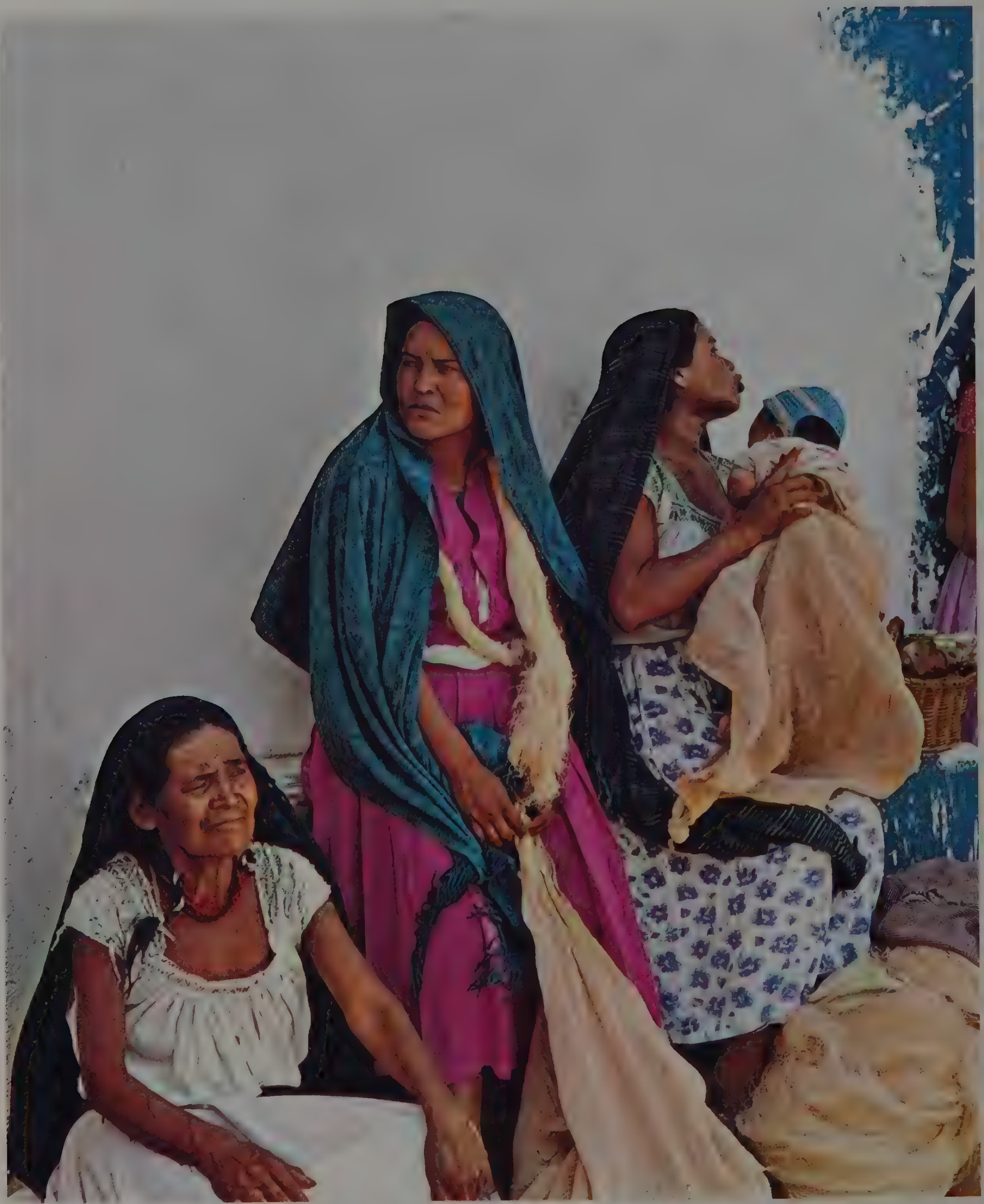
165. *Huipil* (detail). Amatlan de los Reyes, Veracruz.

The *rebozo* is of the same importance to the woman as the serape to the man. It is her hat and coat; serves as a cradle for the baby on her back and as a blanket when it is lying beside her; for a market basket, as a cover for a large clay pot of *tamales* on the street; when twisted on the head, as a stand for a basket or water jar. Often young girls wear *rebozos* folded over the shoulders and crossed in front for adornment.

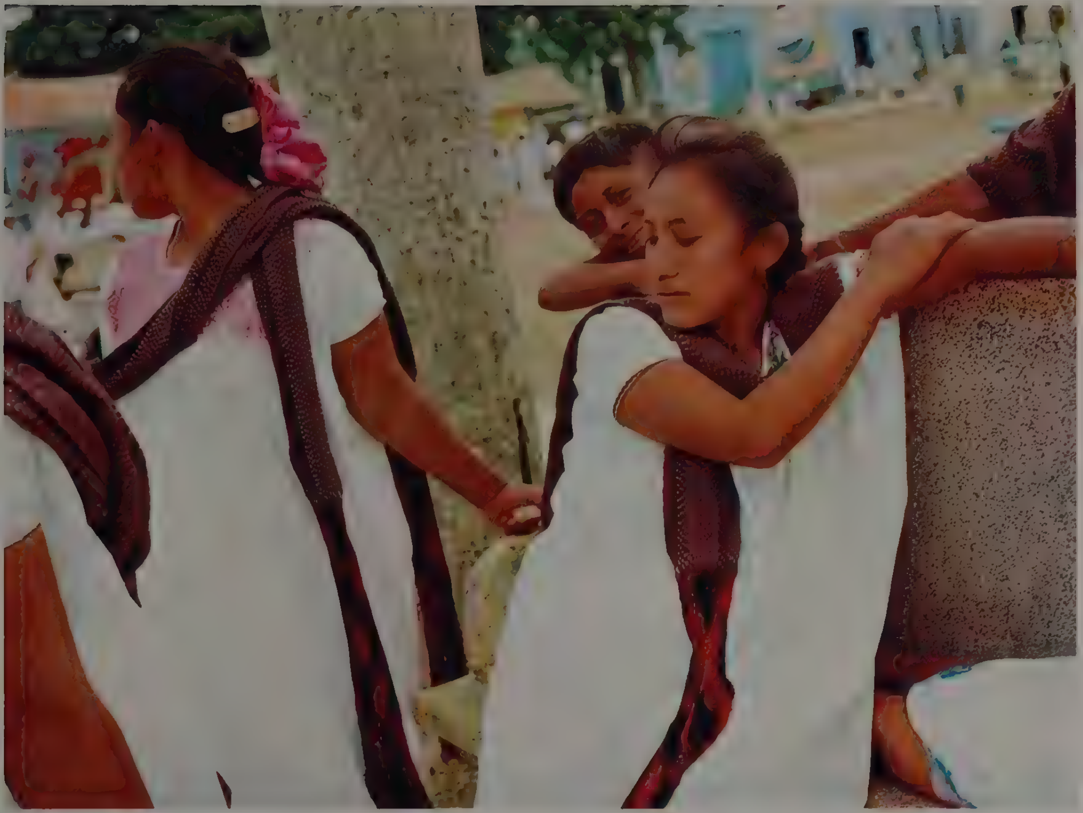
FRANCES TOOR[1]



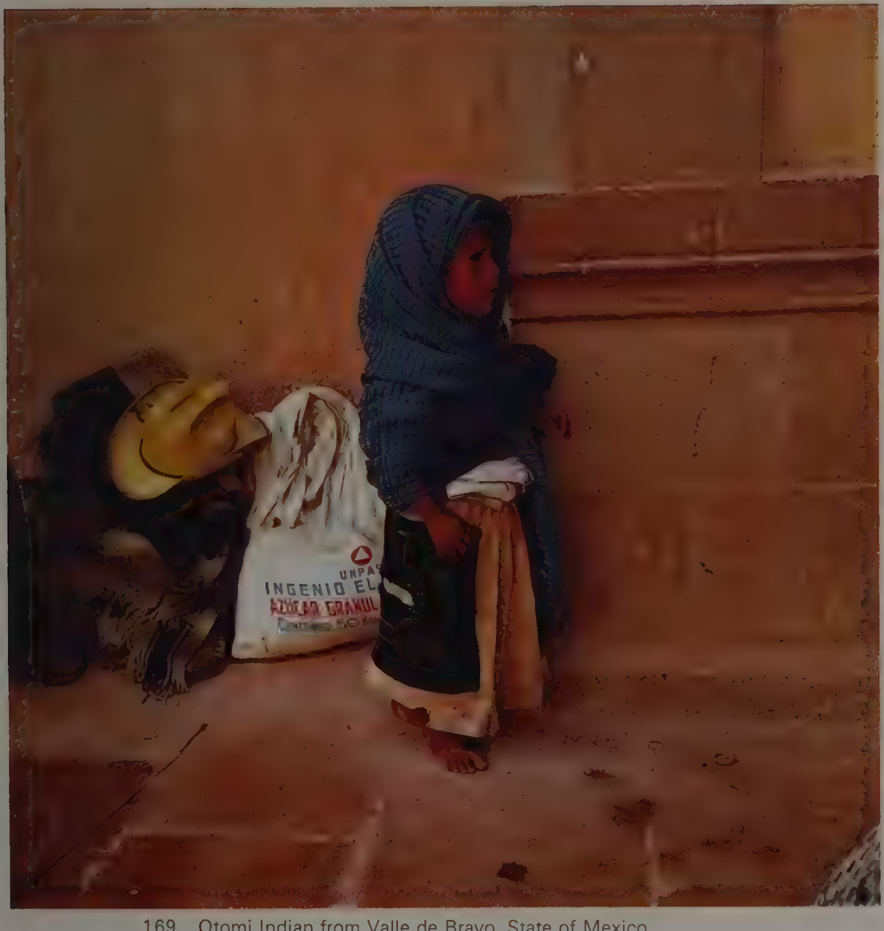
166. Mazahua from Valle de Bravo, State of Mexico.



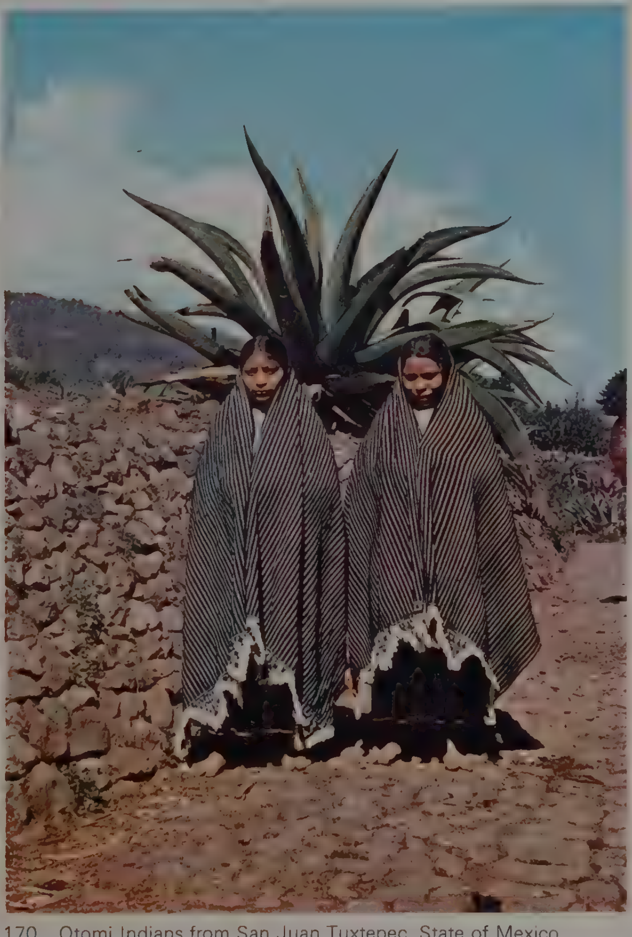
167. Otomi Indians from Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo.



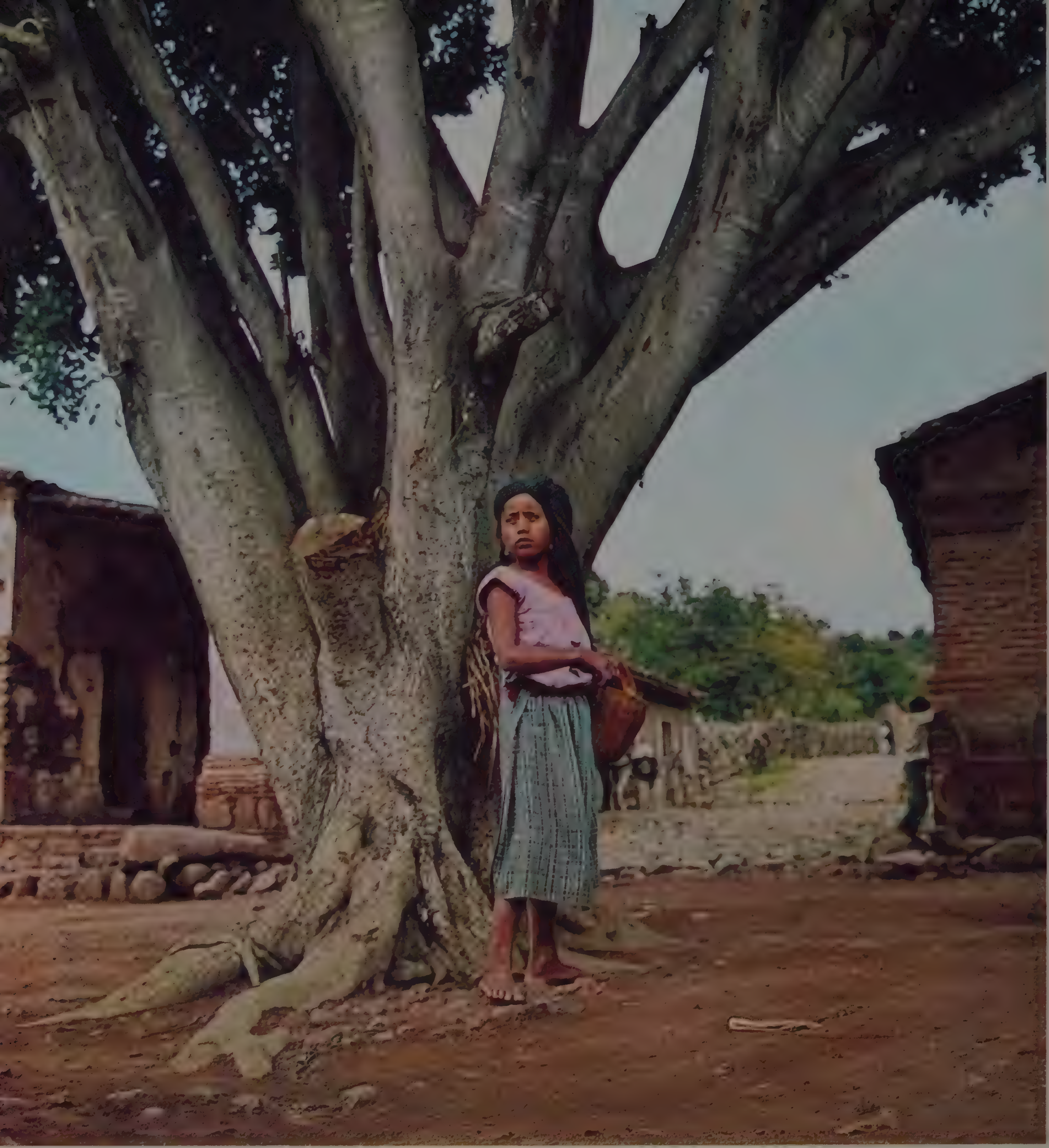
168. Maya Indians. Dzitbalche, Campeche.


UNPAS
INGENIO EL
AZUCAR GRANUL

169. Otomi Indian from Valle de Bravo, State of Mexico.



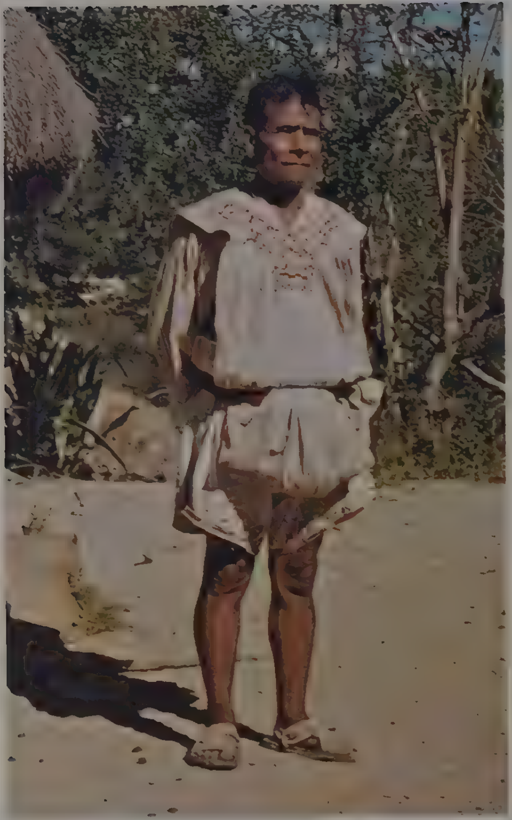
170. Otomi Indians from San Juan Tuxtepec, State of Mexico.



171. Zapotec from Teotitlan del Valle, Oaxaca.

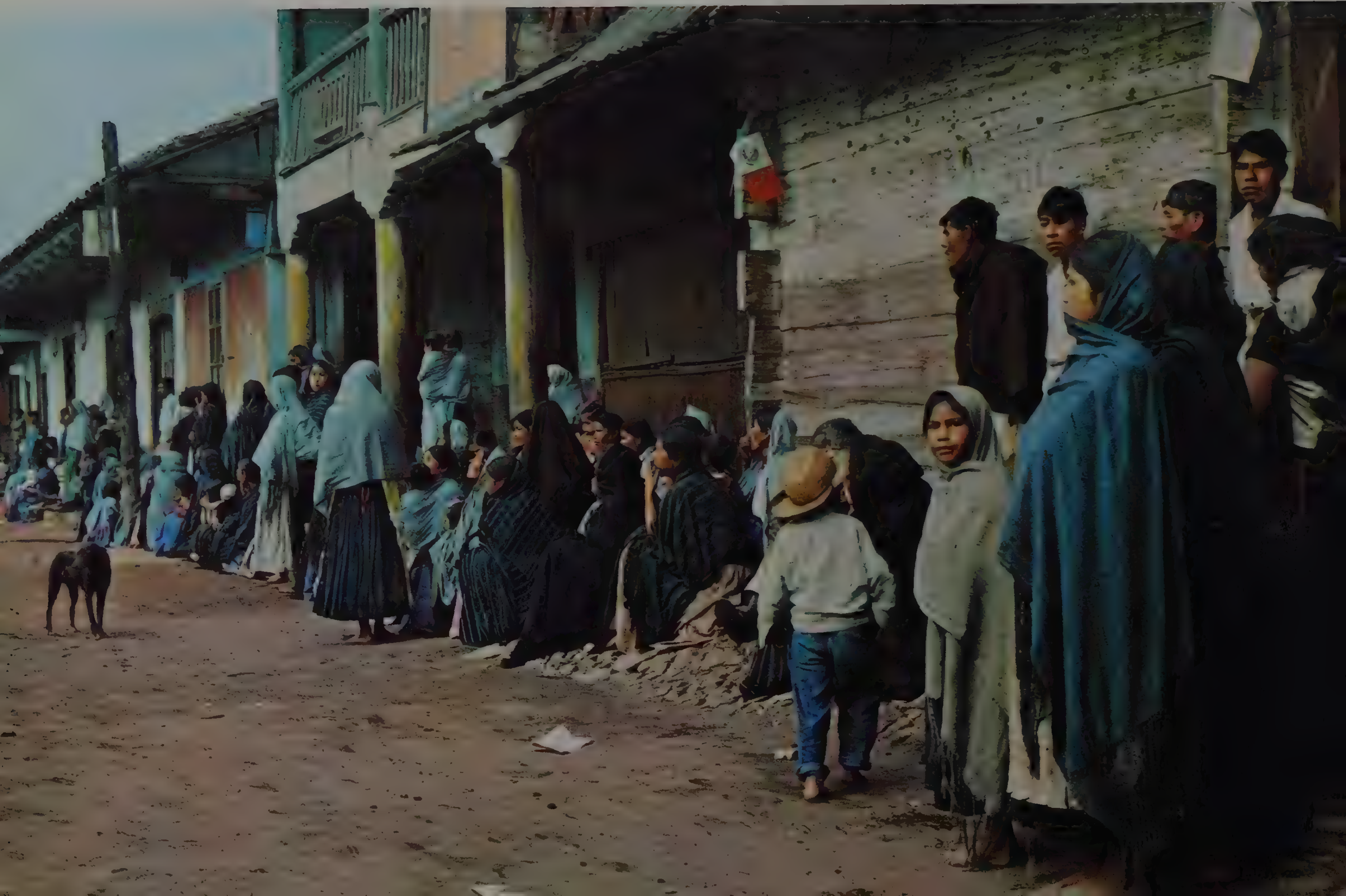
Dark faces framed in *rebozos*, which almost never weep because their piety is more lasting than tears, are like the sphinxes of a people which accumulated secrets, pains, and millenary conflicts. MARIANO PICÓN SALAS

172. Nahuas from Huamantla, Tlaxcala.



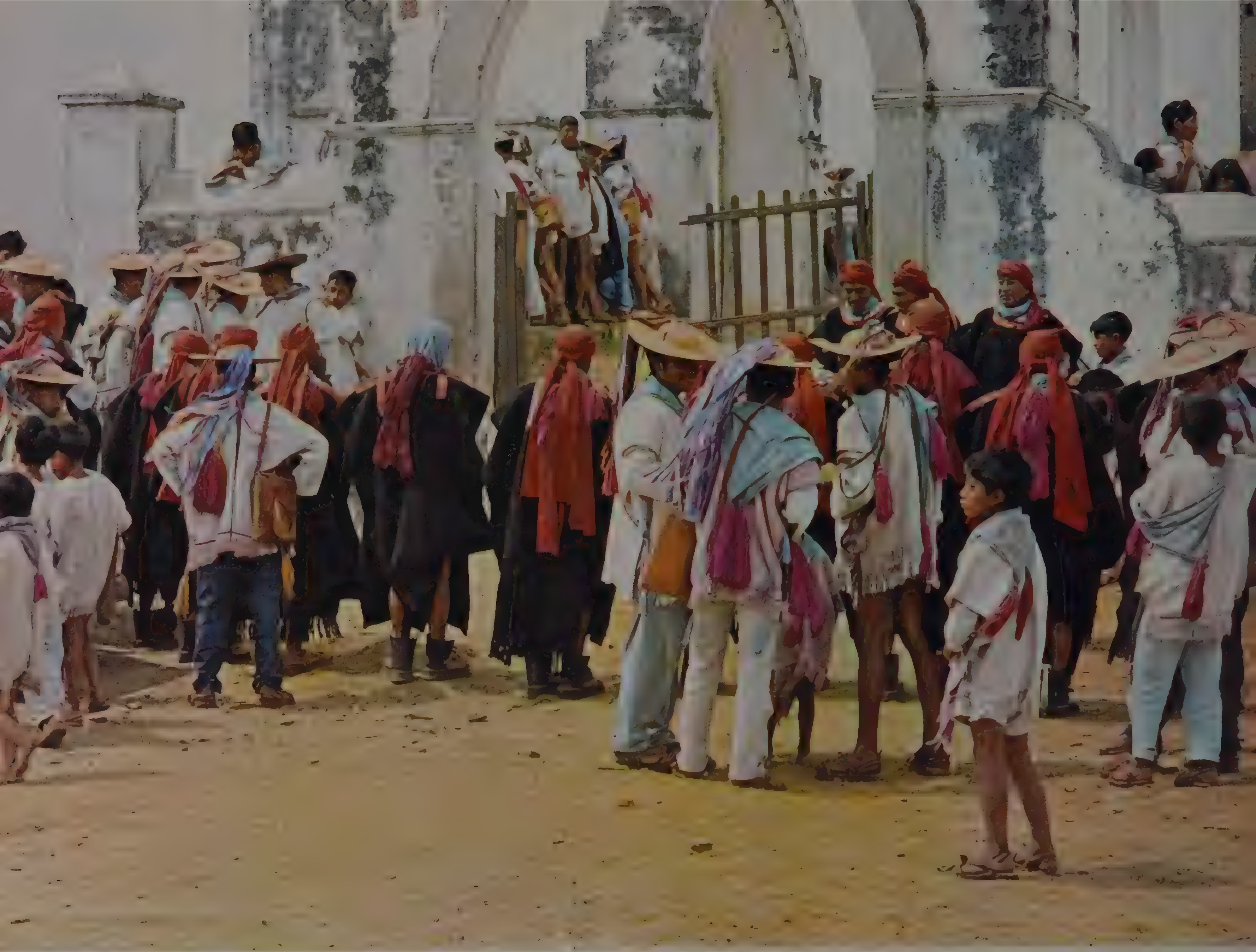
173. Mixtec from Zacatepec, Oaxaca

174. Tarascans from Angahuan, Michoacán.

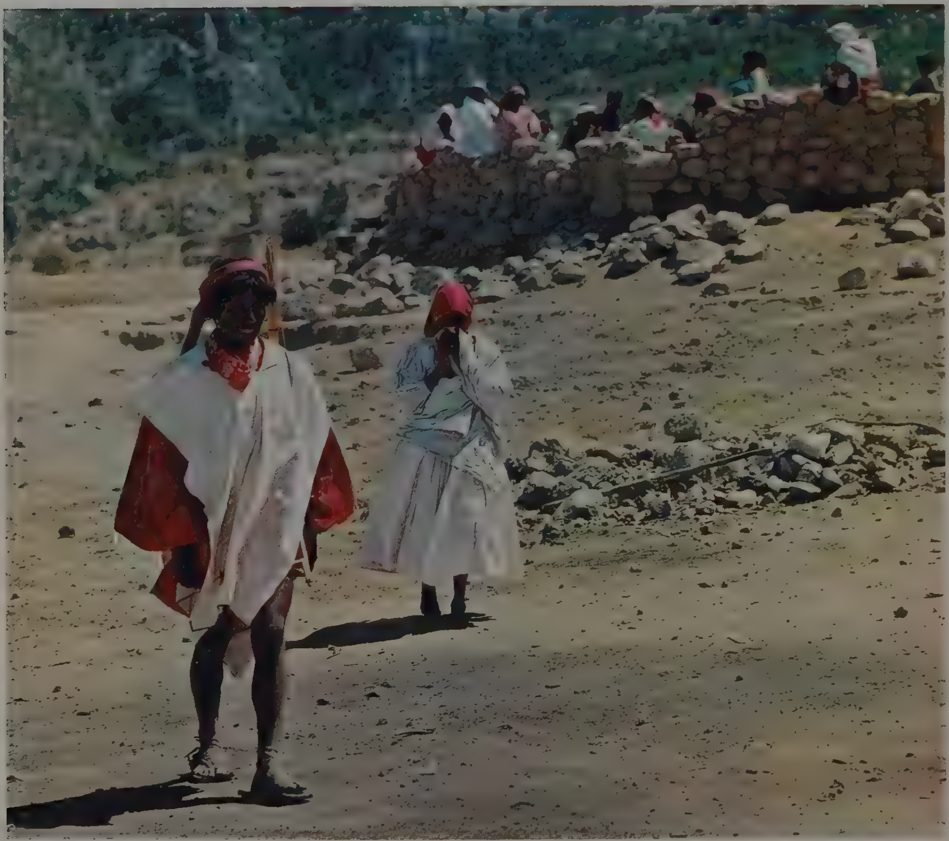


175. Tzeltal Indians. Tenejapa, Chiapas.

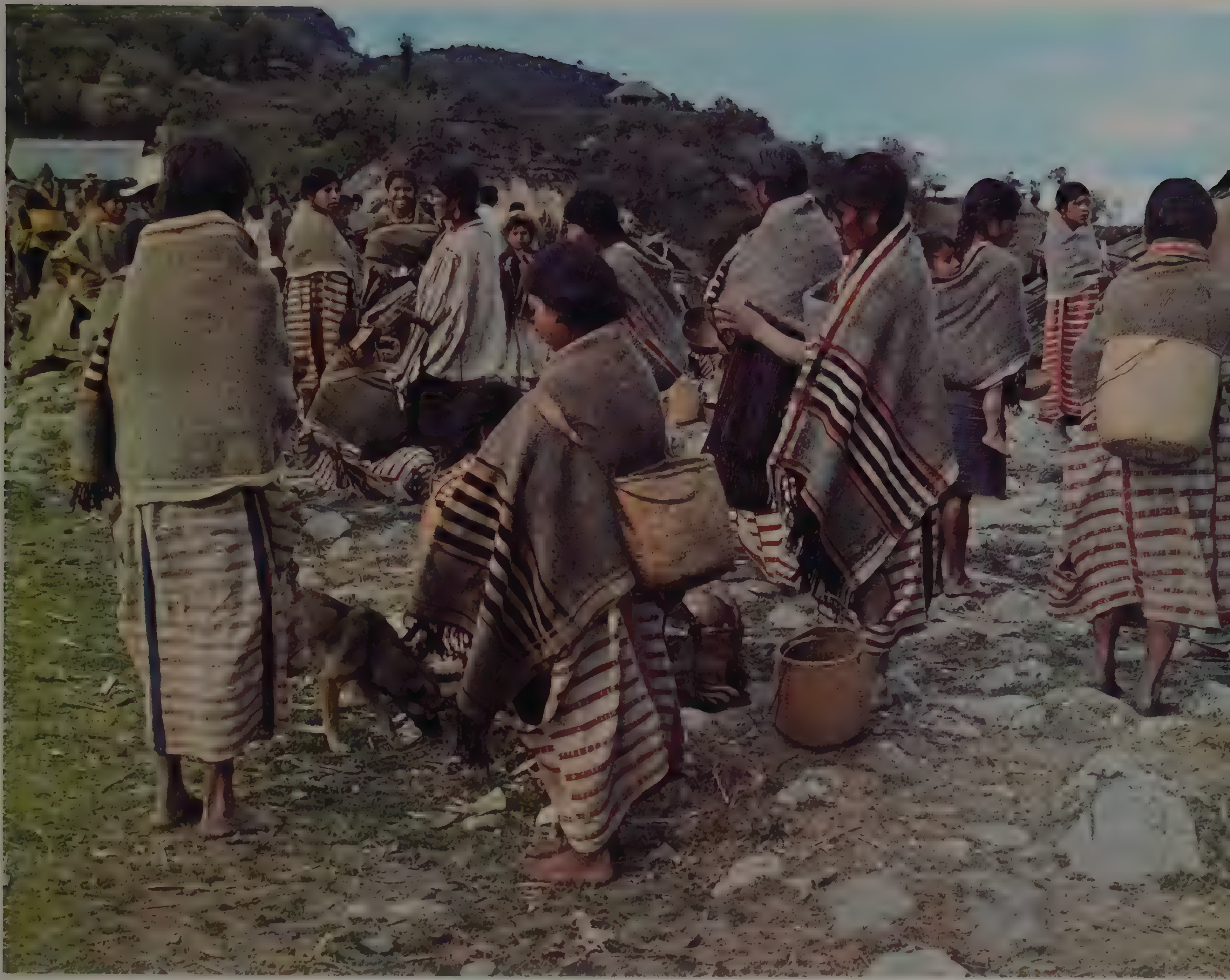
176. Tarascans from Angahuan, Michoacan



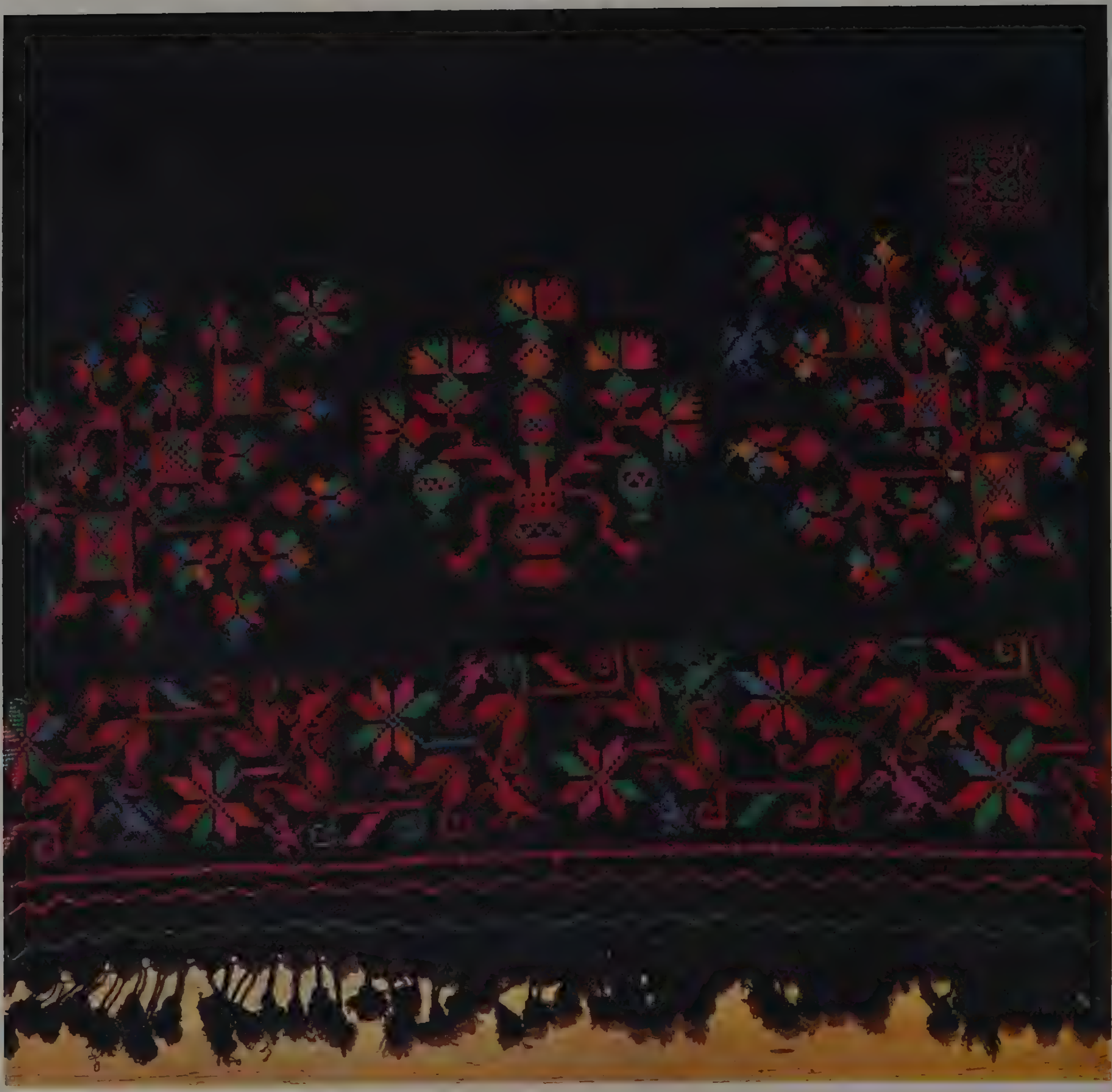
177. Tzotzil Indians from Zinacantan, Chiapas.



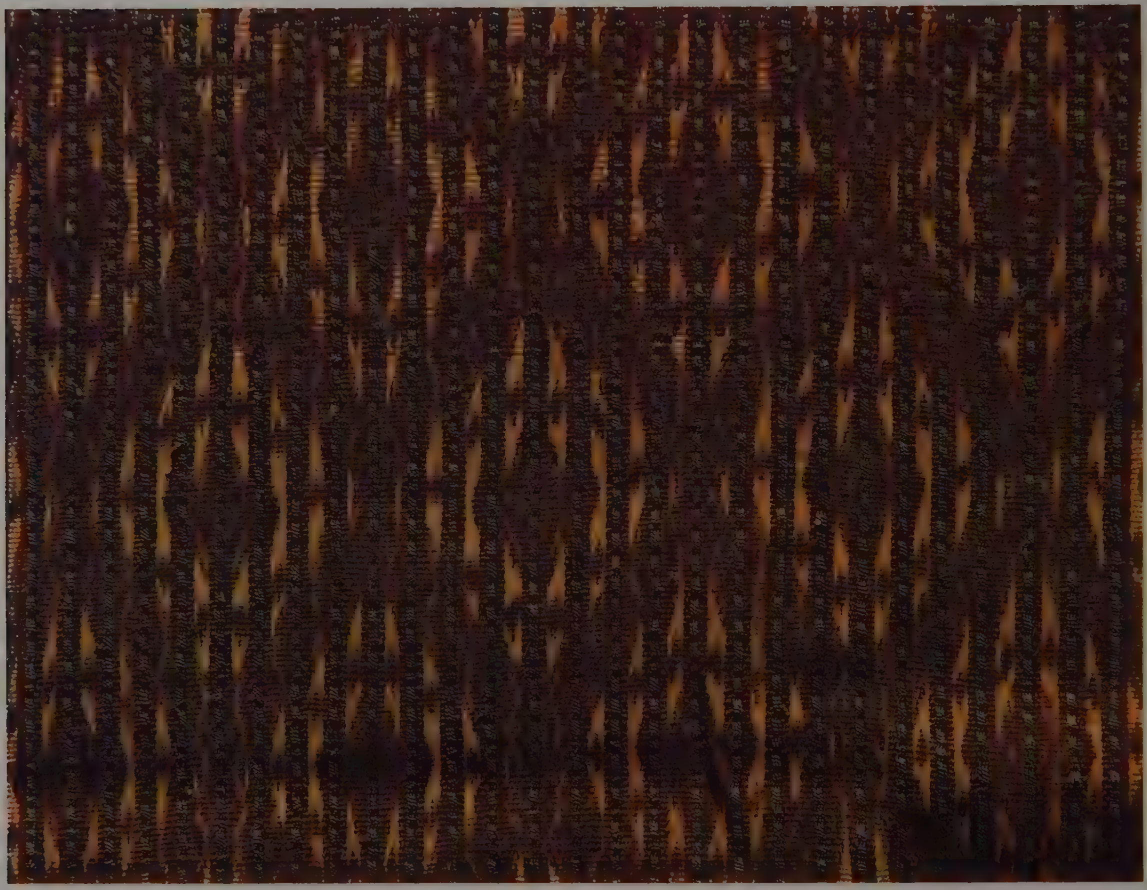
178. Tarahumara Indians from Tiguirichic, Chihuahua.



179. Trique Indians from San Andres Chicahuaxtla, Oaxaca.

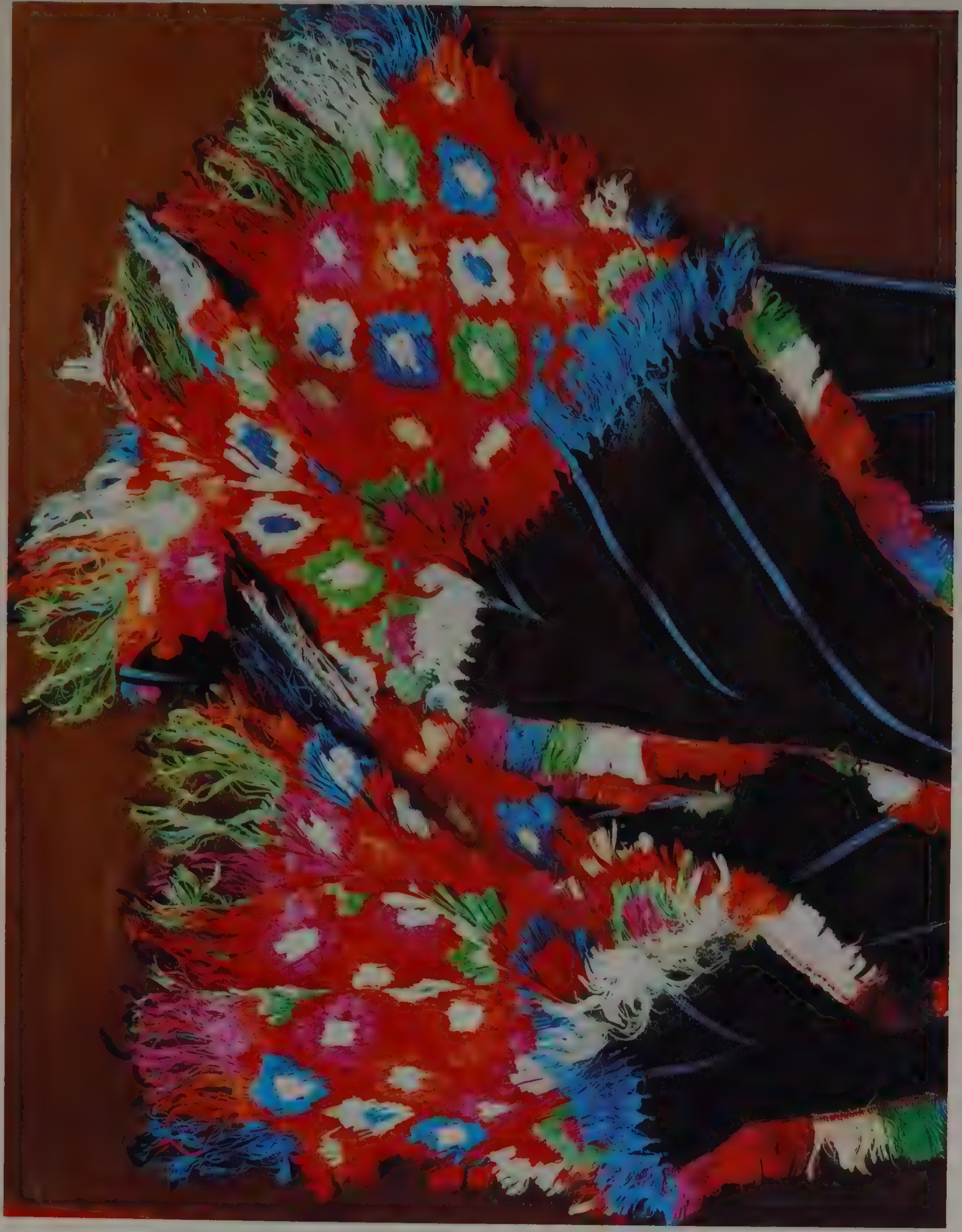


180. *Rebozo* (detail). Hueyapan, Puebla.

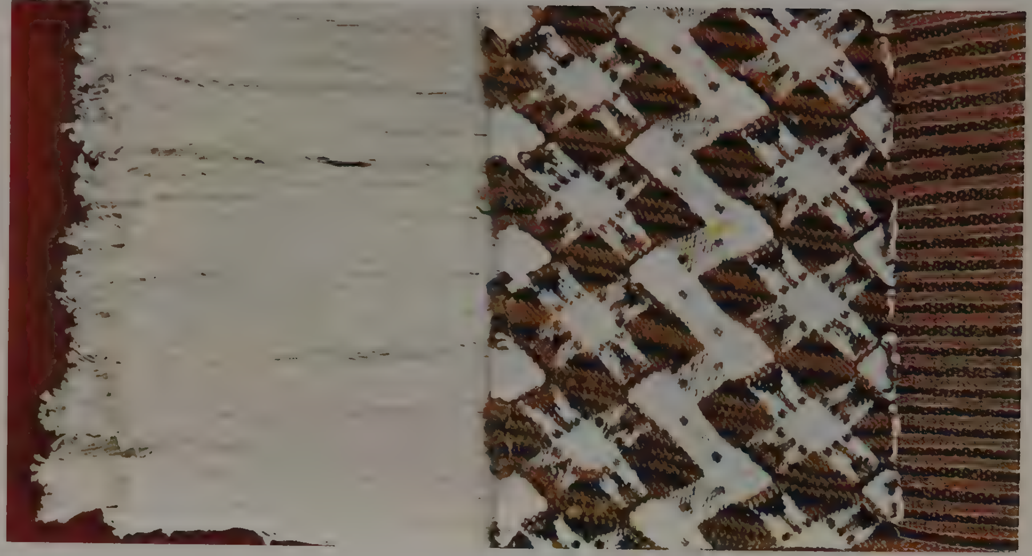


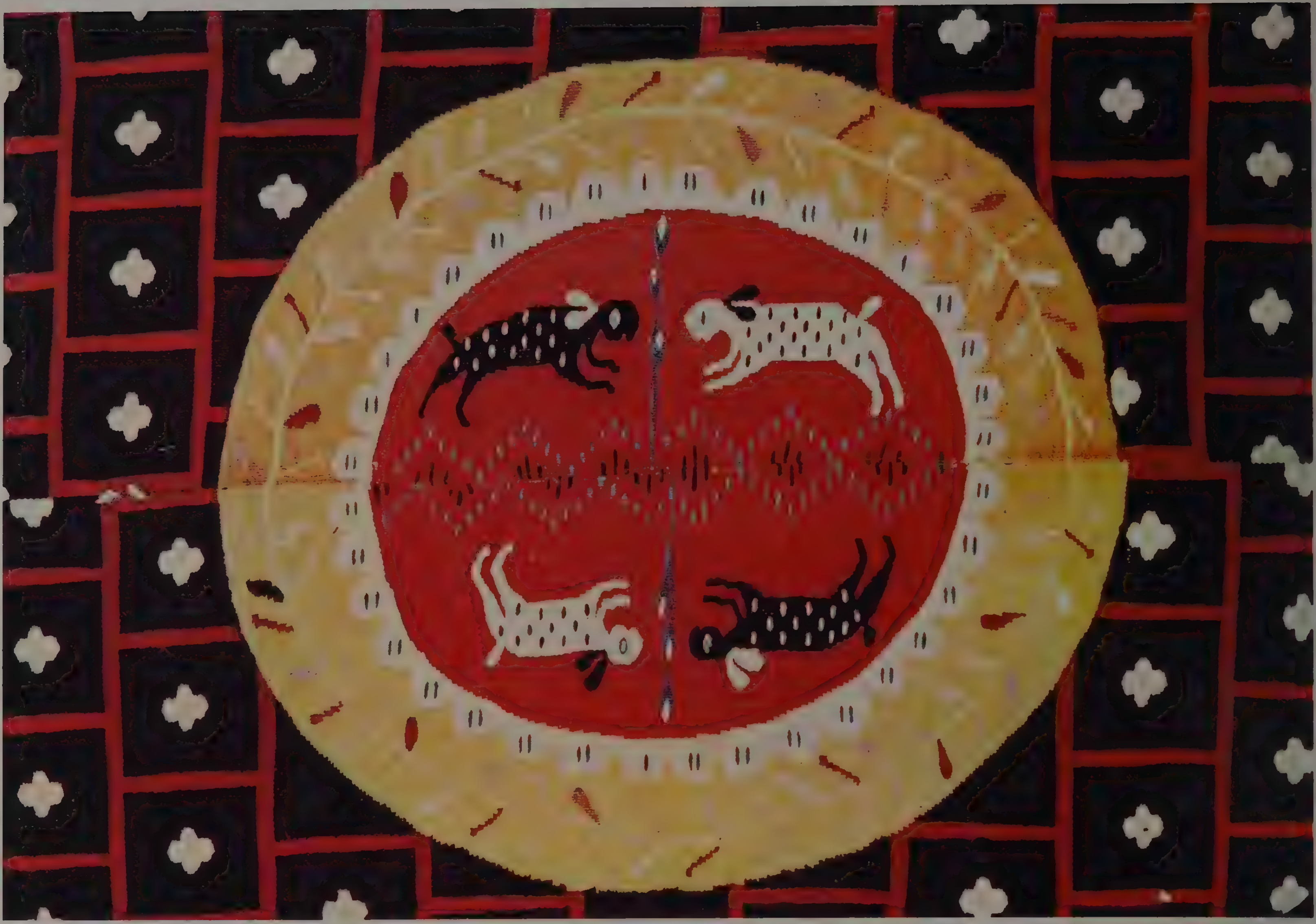
181. *Rebozo* (detail). Santa Maria del Rio, San Luis Potosi.

183. *Rebozo* (detail). Patzcuaro, Michoacan.

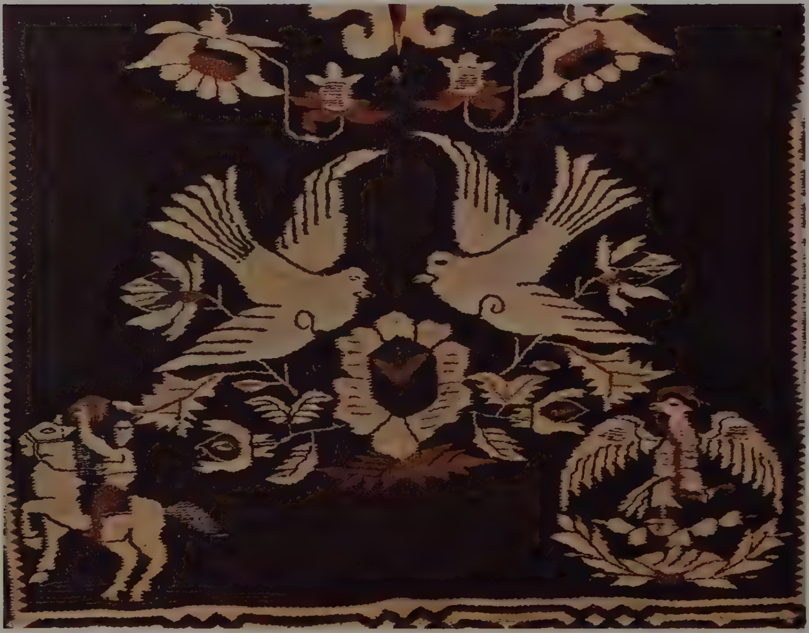


182 *Rebozo* (detail). Acaxochitlán, Hidalgo



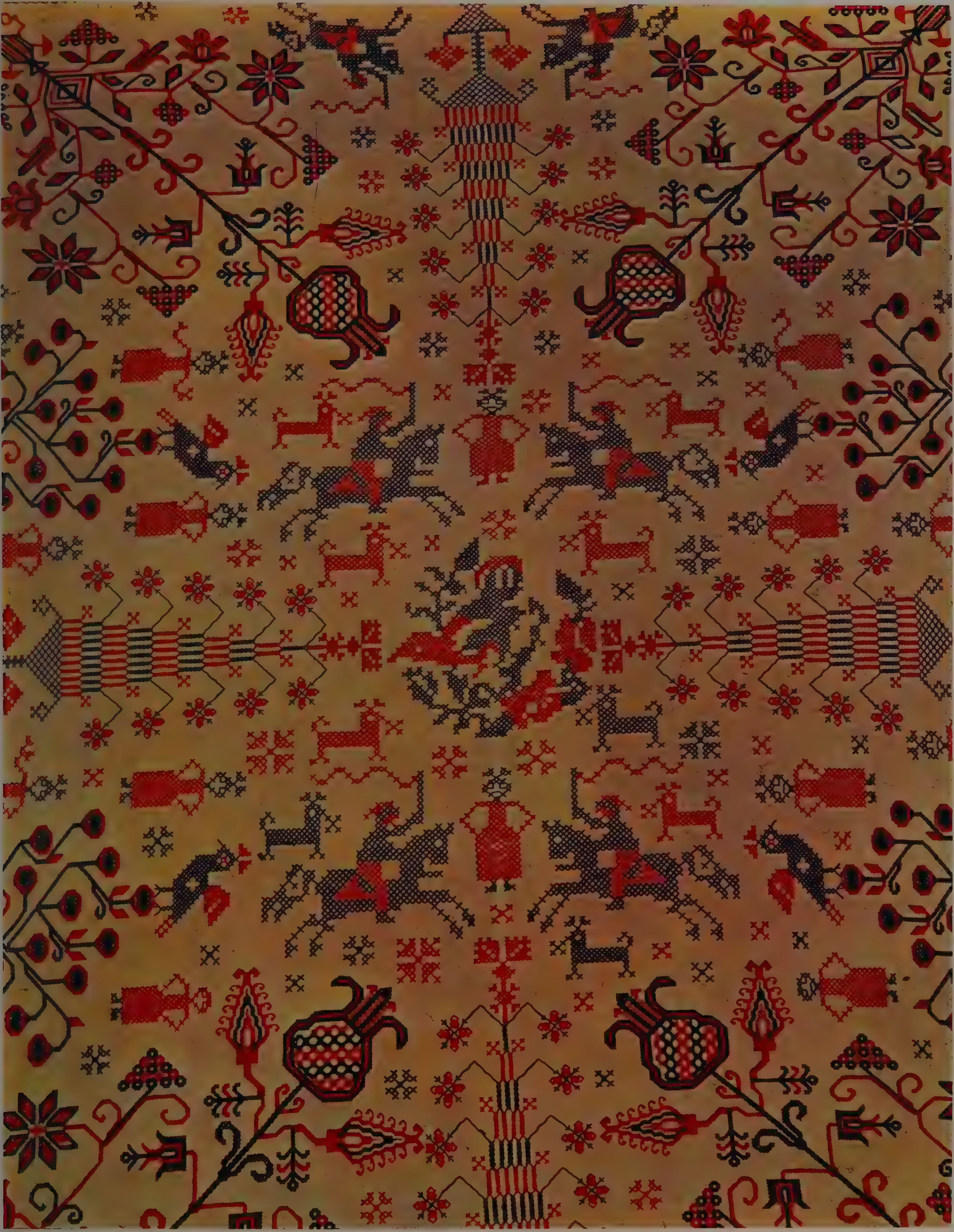


184. Serape (detail). City of Queretaro.

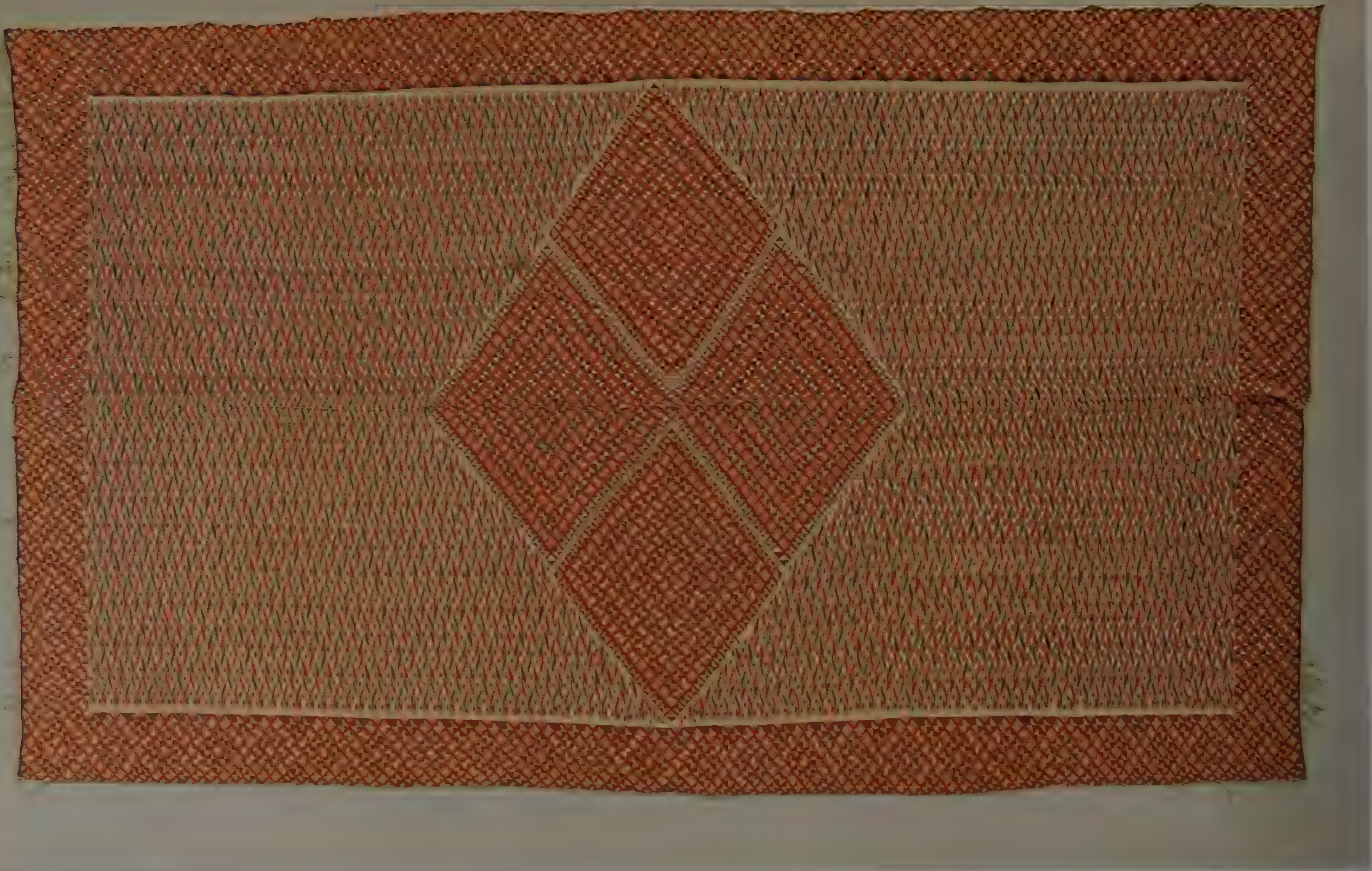


185. *Cotón* (detail). San Francisco Xonacatlan, State of Mexico.

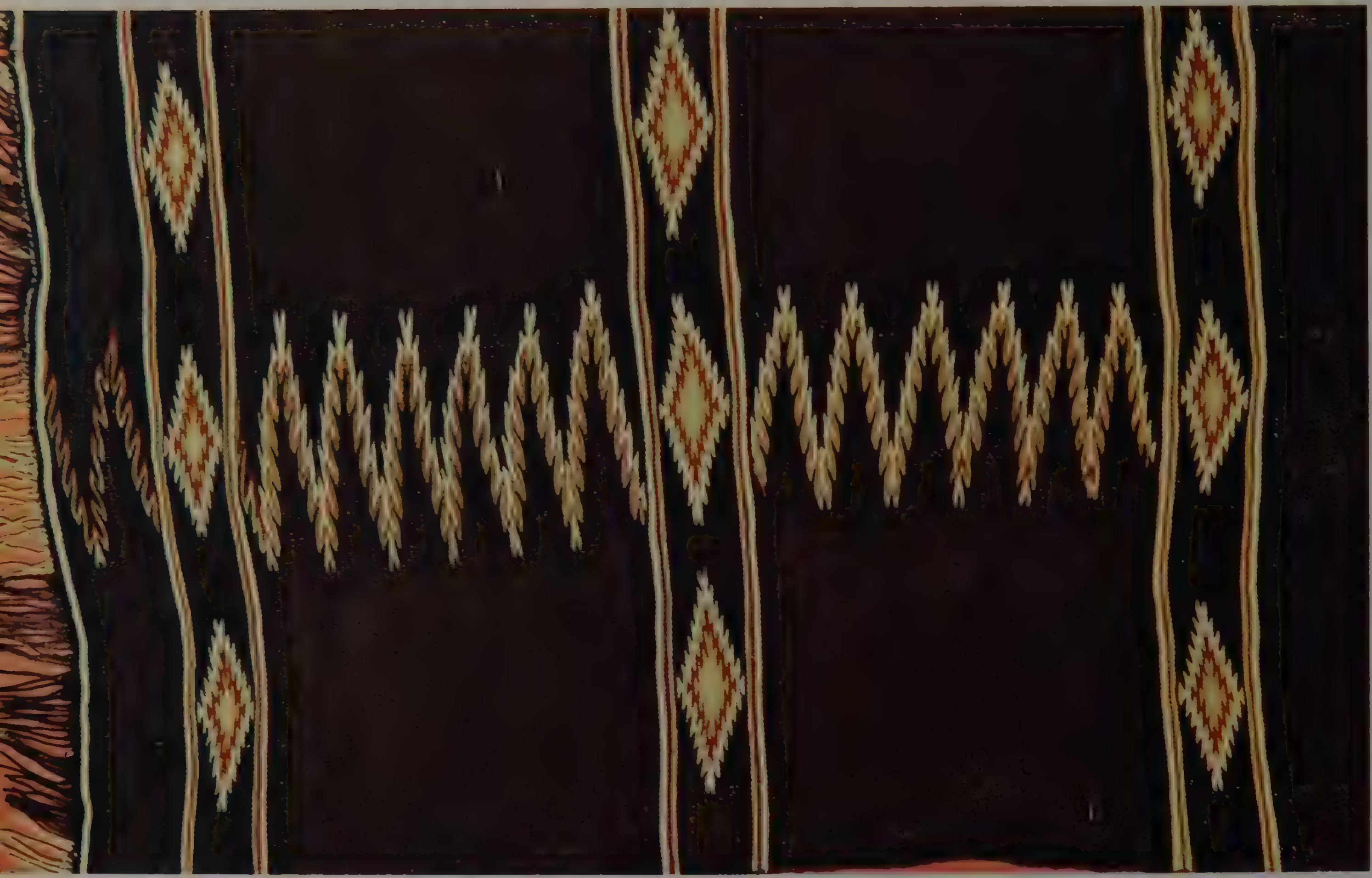
In severe Indian taste, his serapes displayed a splendid range of grays sharpened by a ground of velvet black shot with the lightning of white streaks. JEAN CHARLOT[1]



186. Spread (detail). Valley of Toluca, State of Mexico.

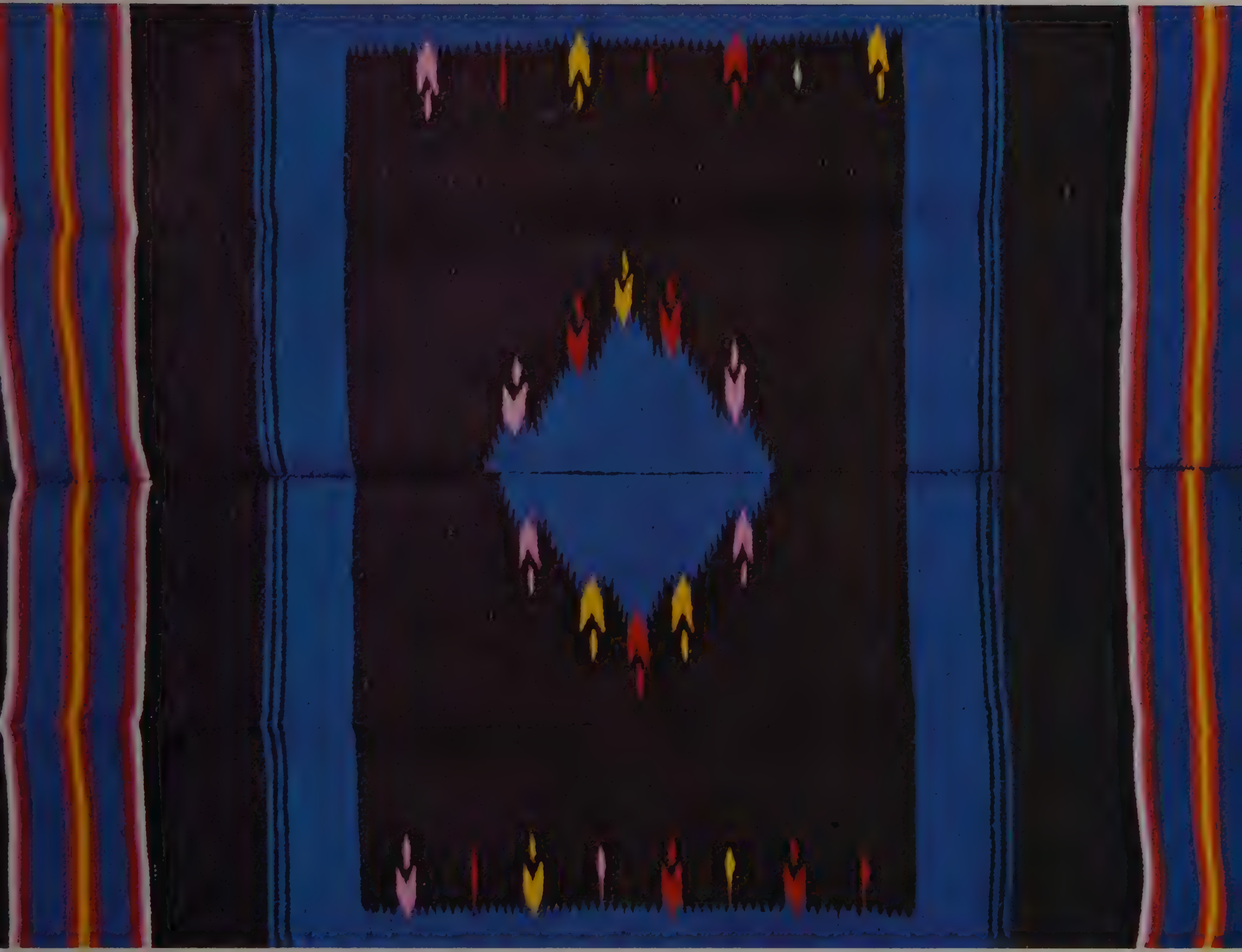


187. Serape. Saltillo, Coahuila.



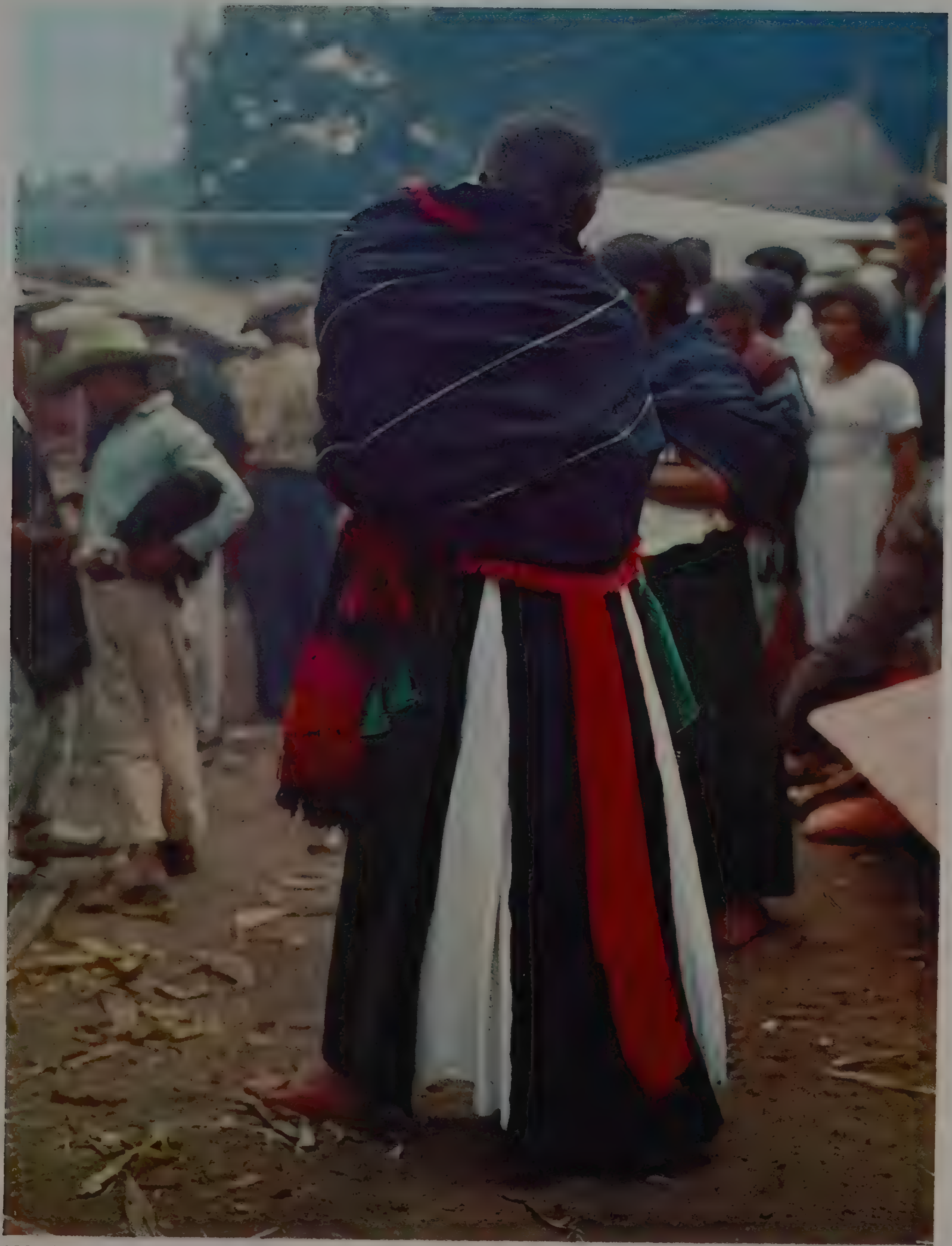
188. Serape. Sonora State.

Serapes, worn daily in Mexican folk life, their origin being the *tilmas* of the Indian and the Moorish-Spanish mantles, are still woven on primitive looms and show their typical Mexican colors.
ROBERTO MONTENEGRO

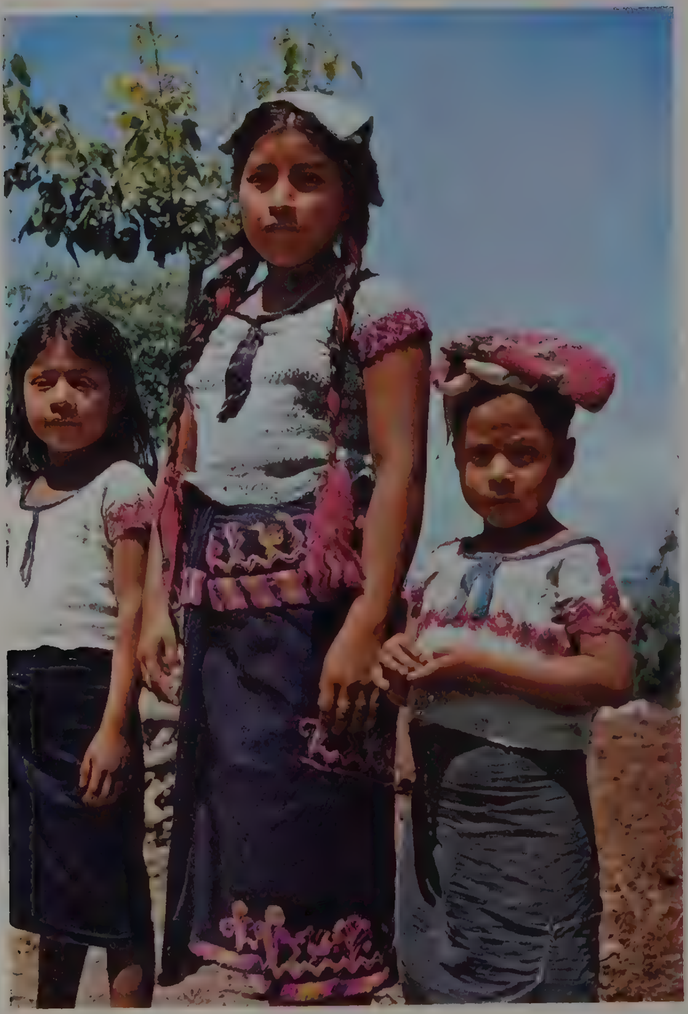


189. Serape. Paracho, Michoacan.

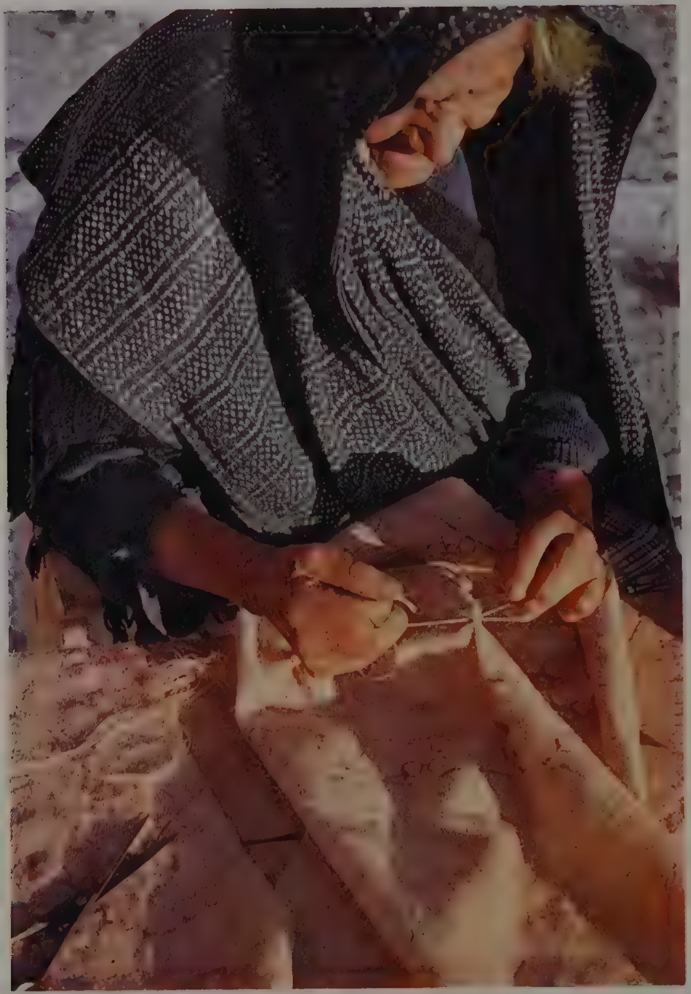
And they were all well dressed, and they wore ornaments, and beautiful skirts and blouses. Some of their skirts were decorated with hearts, others with a braided pattern like the bosoms of birds, others with the patterns of blankets, or with spirals or leaves; and others again were of plain cloth. They were bordered and fringed: they all had [embroidered] hems. As for their blouses, some had flowing brown designs, others [patterns representing] smoke, others black ribbons; others were decorated with houses, others with fishes... The collars were all broad and the [embroidered] edges were also wide and full. FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN[2]

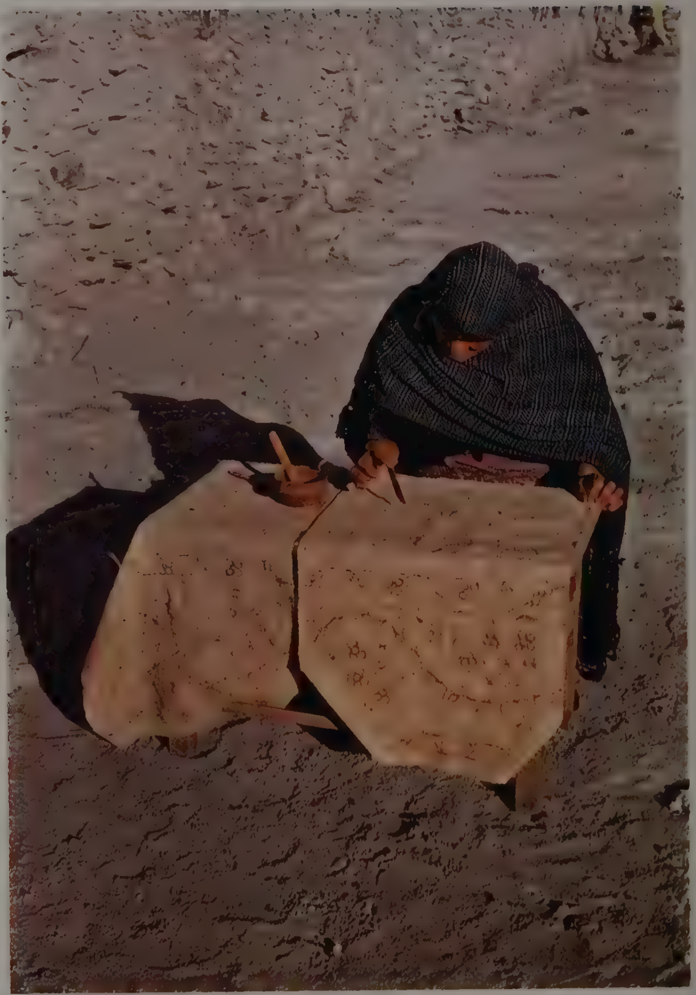


190. Tarascan woman from San Juan de las Colchas, Michoacan.

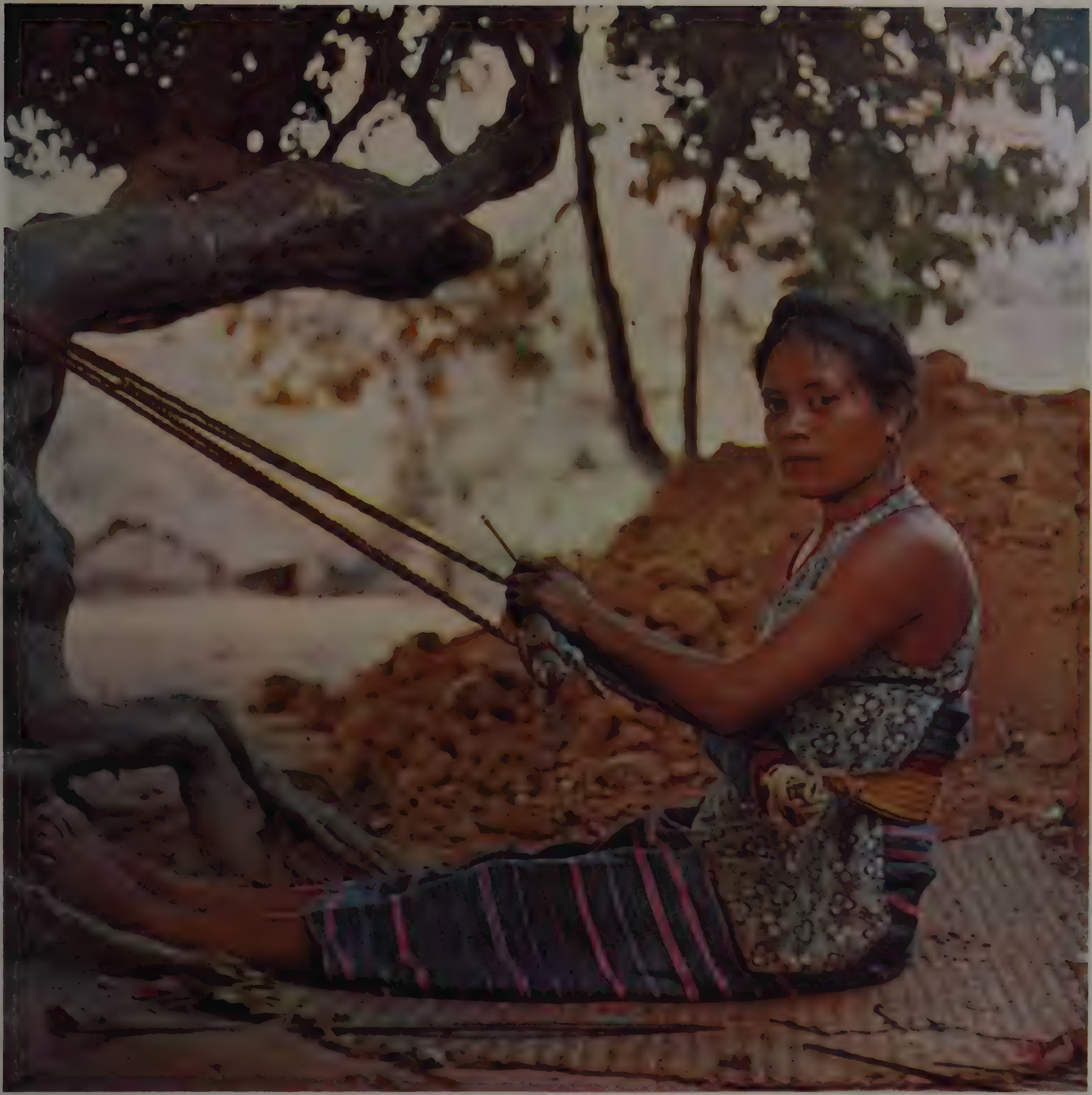


191 Tzotzils from San Bartolome de los Llanos, Chiapas.

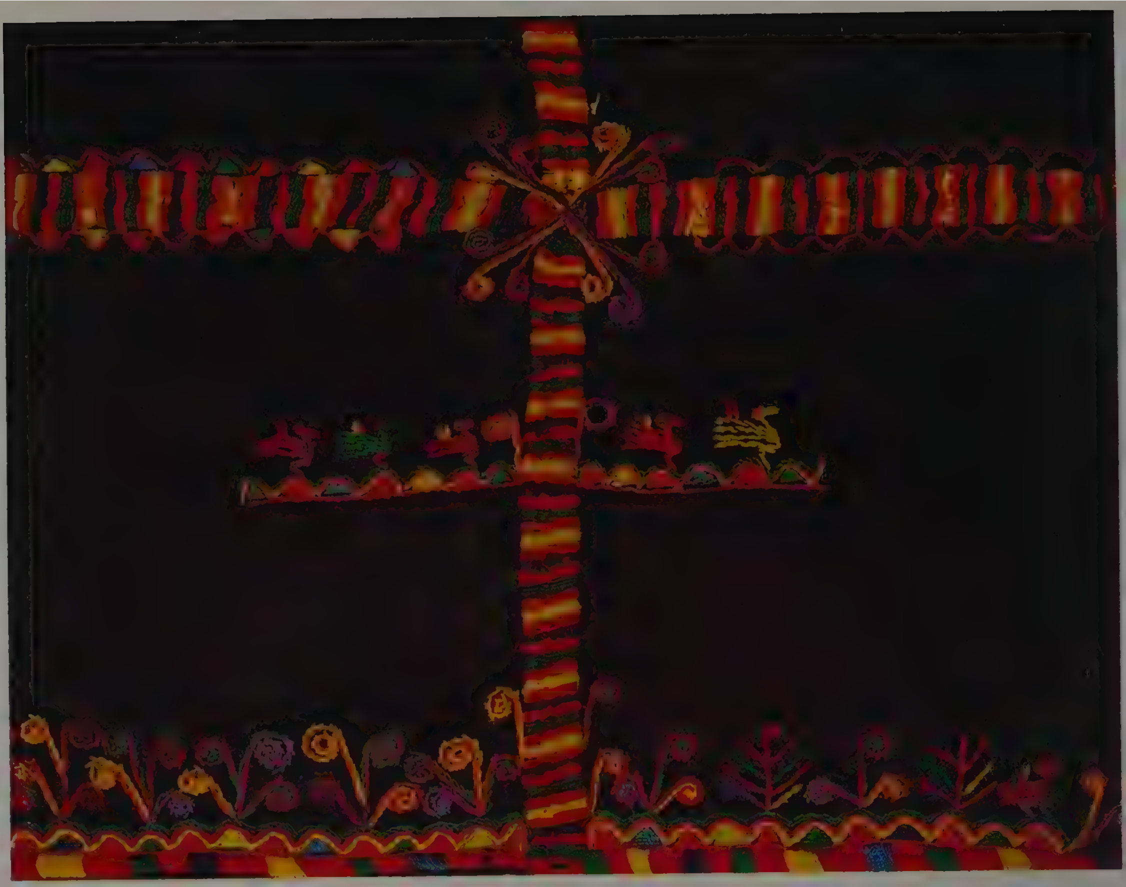




192 & 193. Otomi Indian. Vizarron, Queretaro.

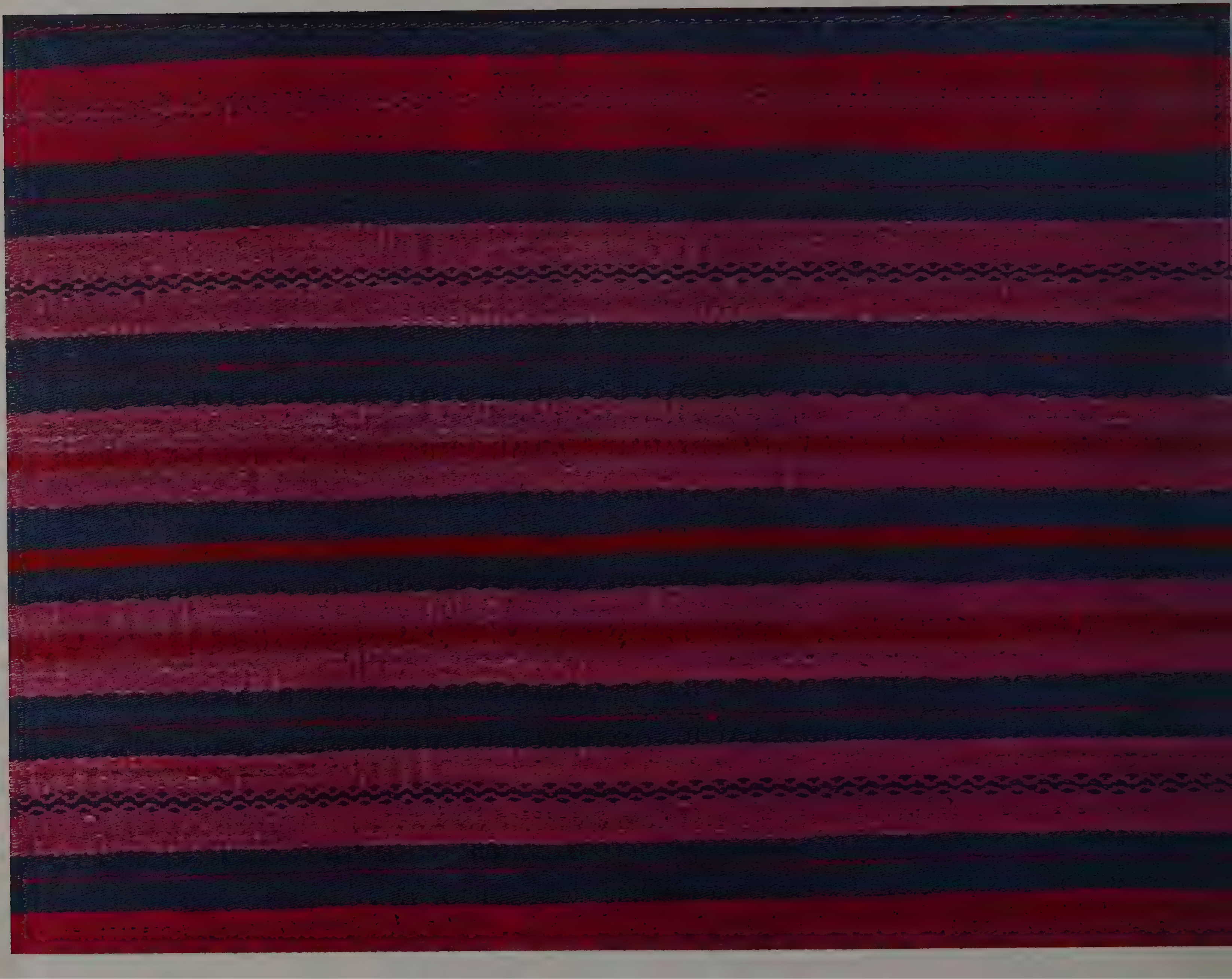


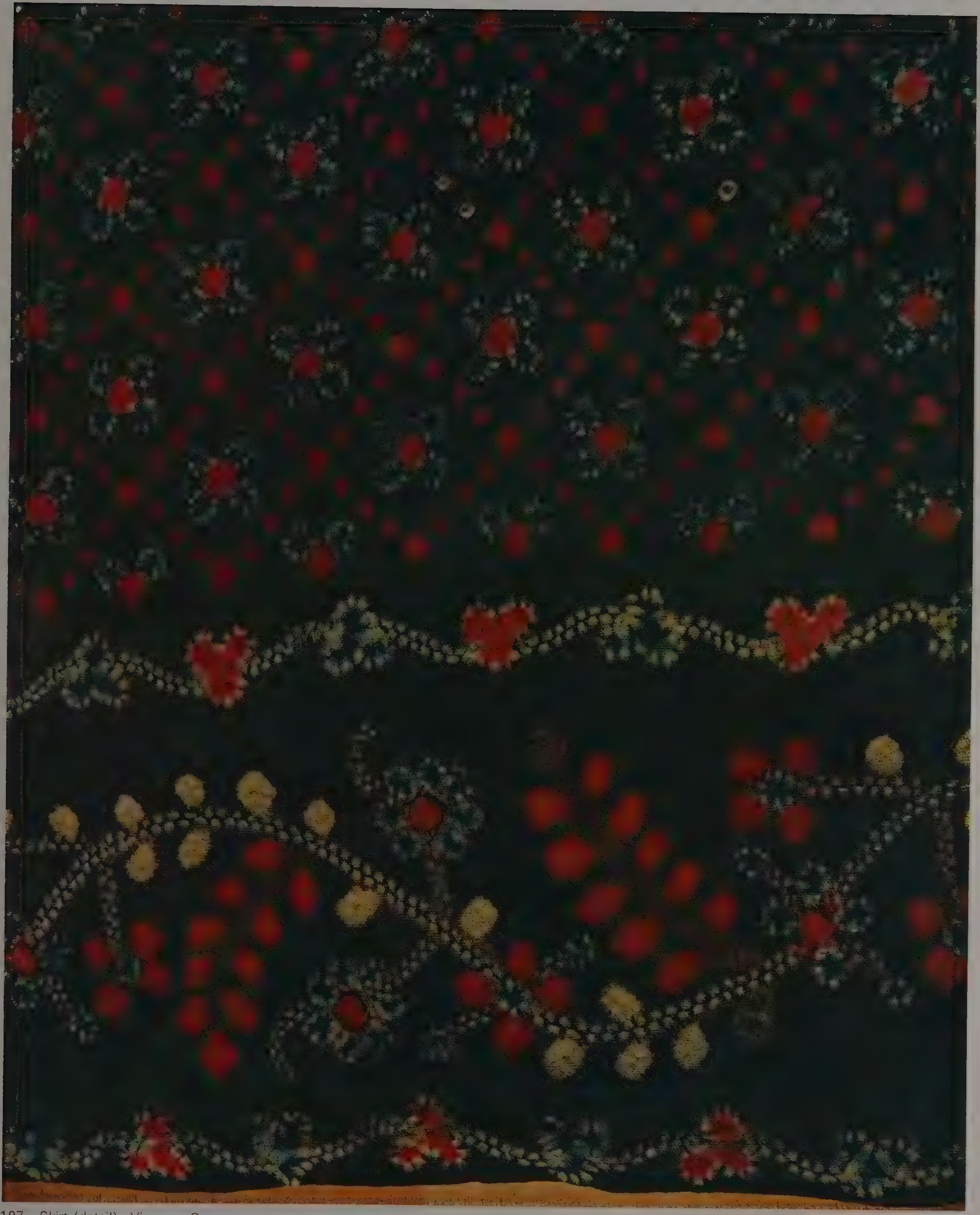
194. Mixtec woman from Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca.



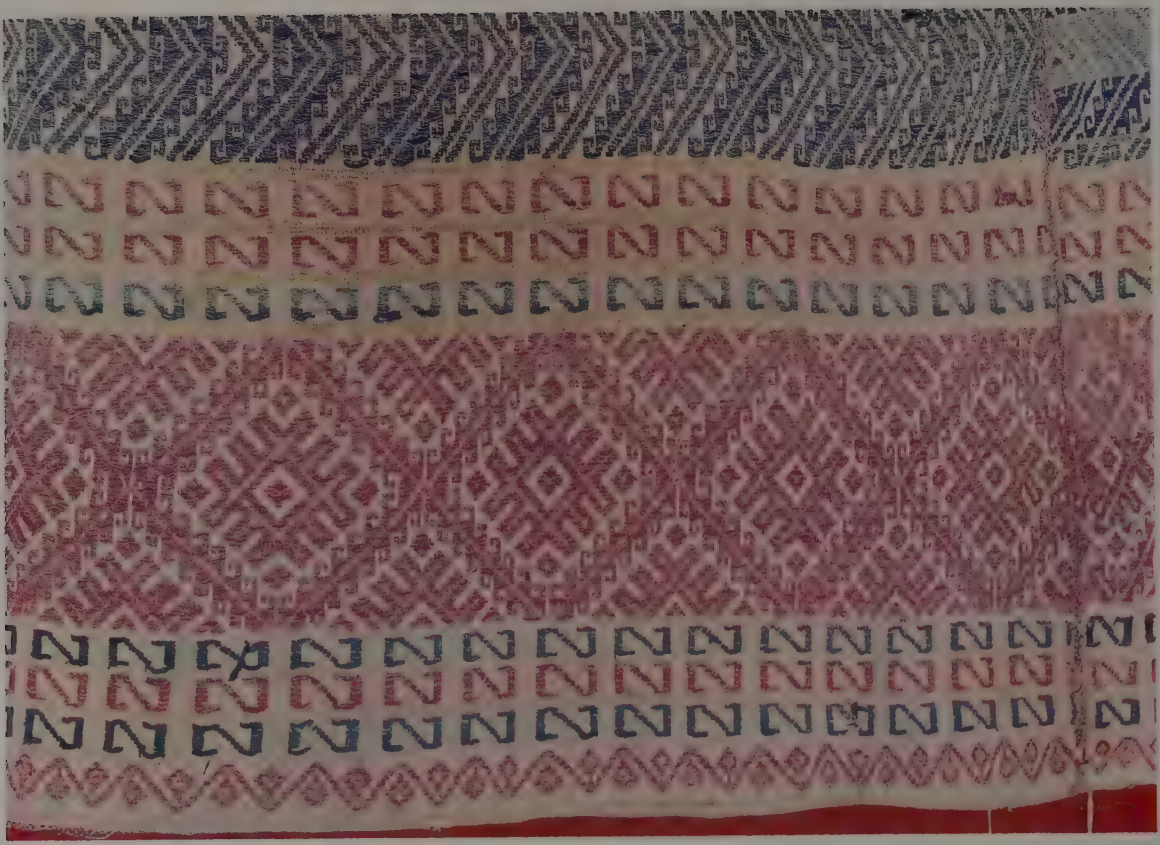
195. Wrap-around skirt (detail). San Bartolome de los Llanos, Chiapas.

196. *Pozahuanco* (detail). Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca.

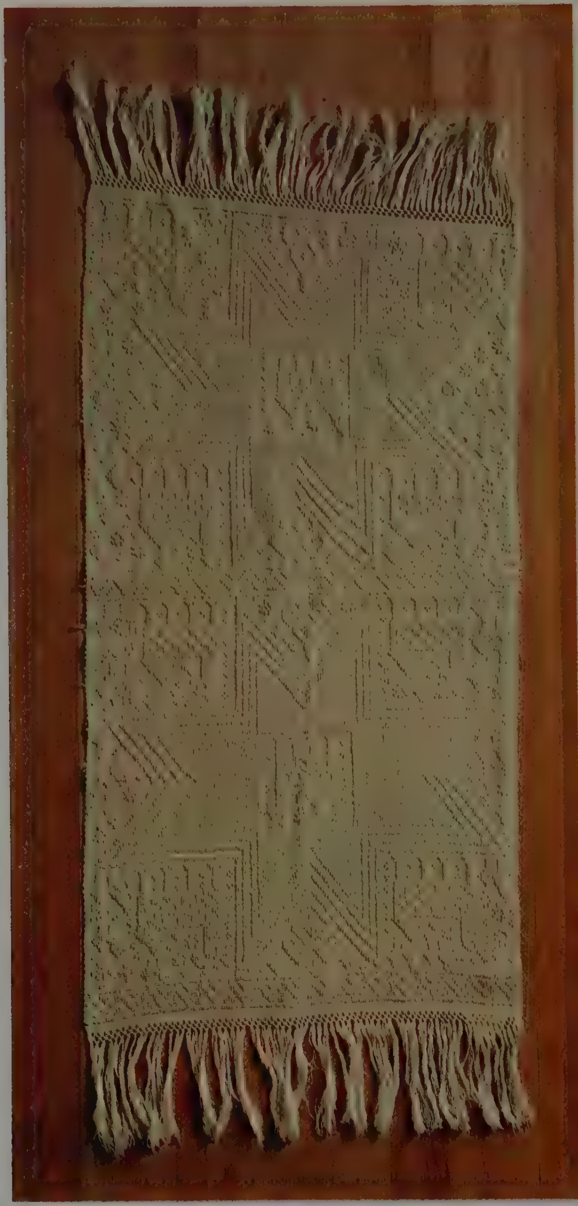




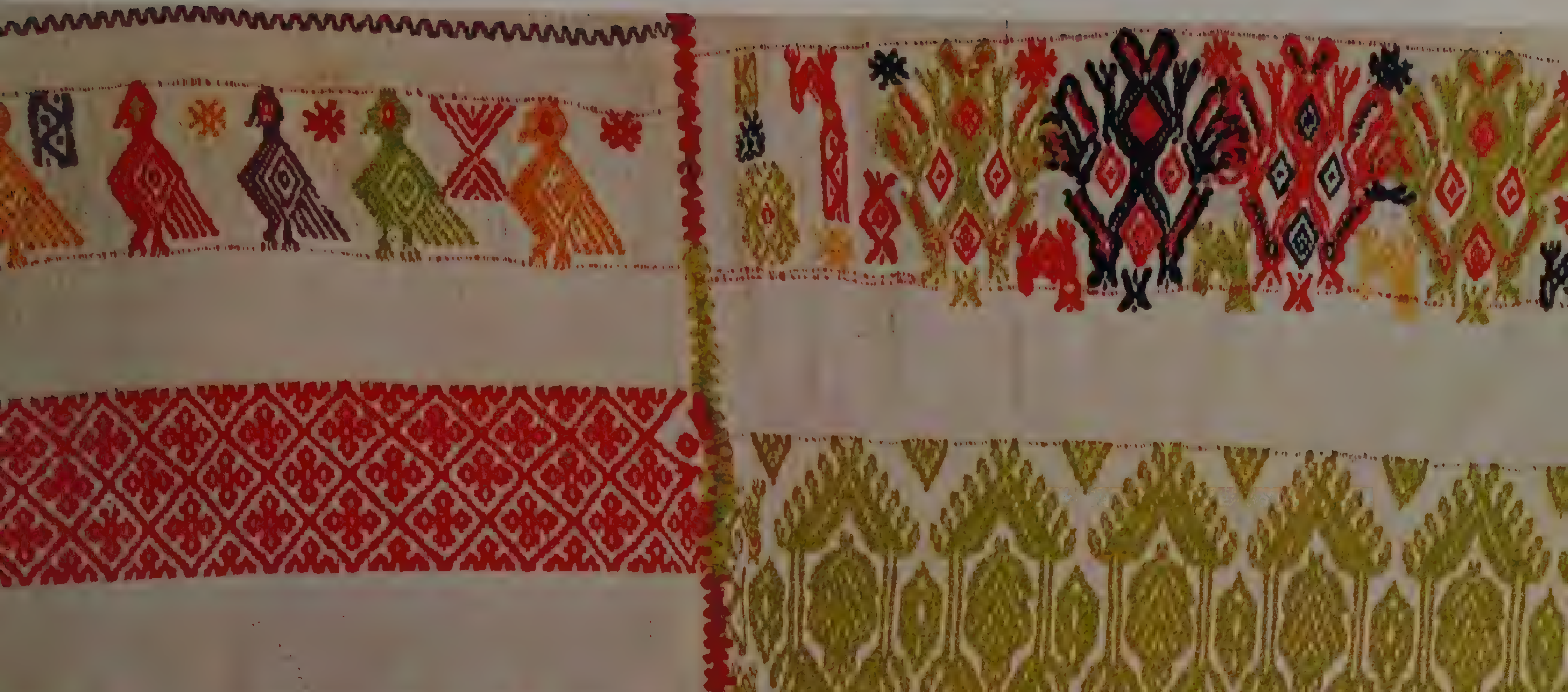
197. Skirt (detail). Vizarron, Queretaro.



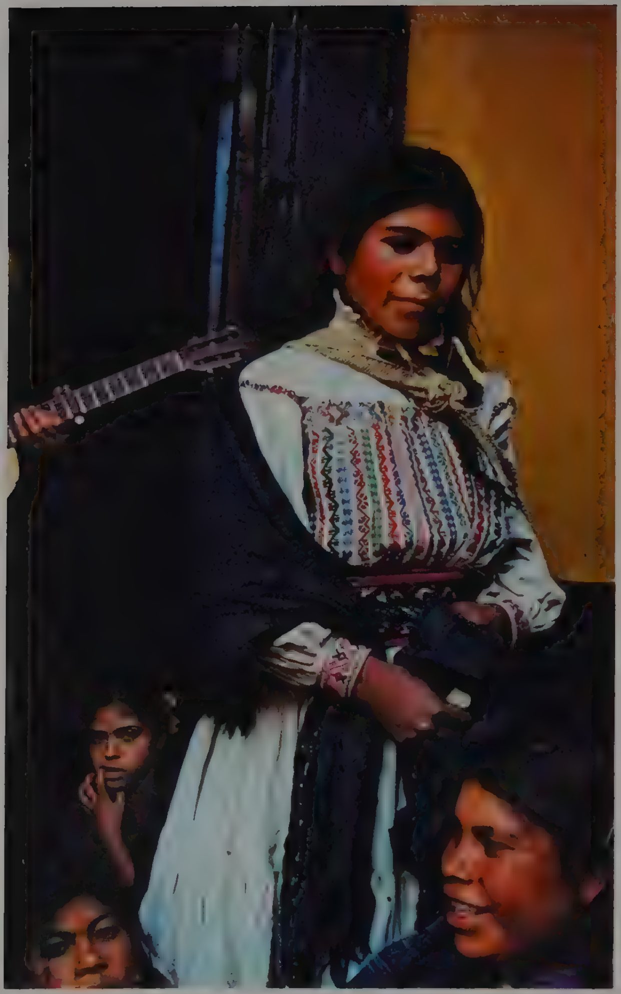
198. Table cloth (detail). Huamelula, Oaxaca.



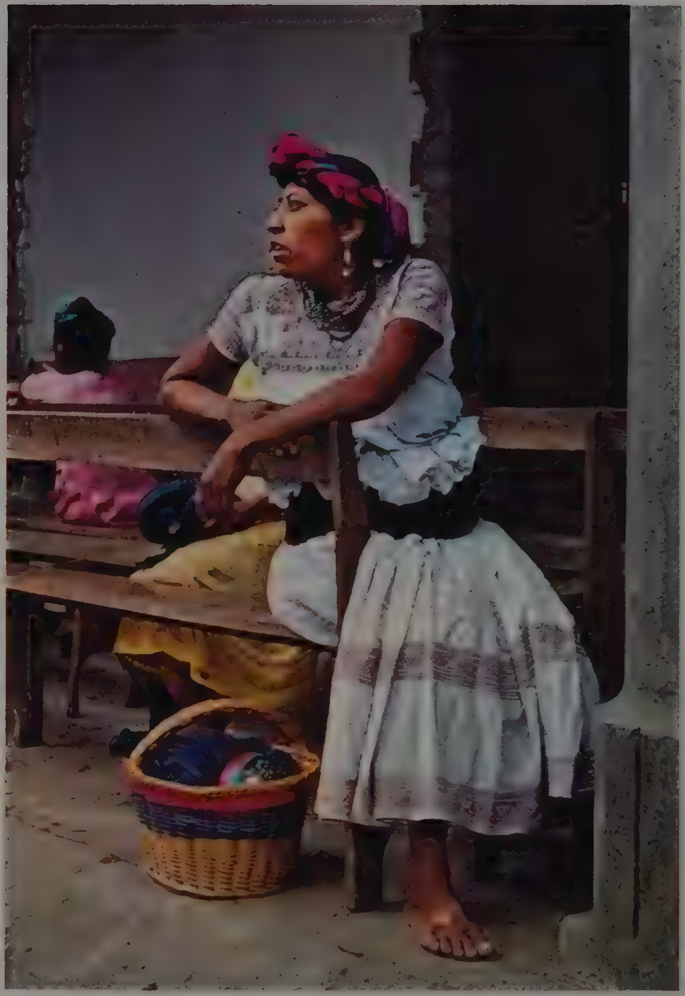
199. Cloth used for covering food. San Pablito, Puebla.



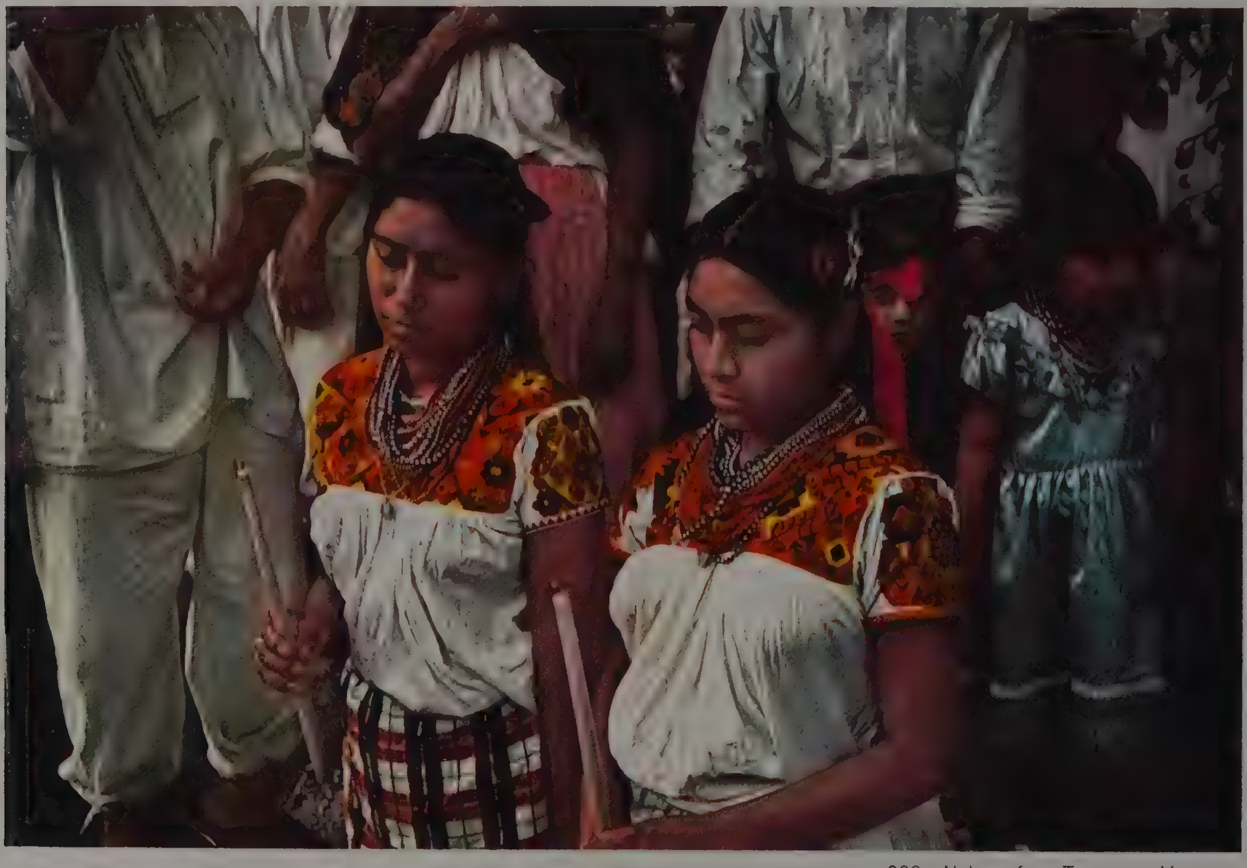
200. *Ayate* (detail). State of Mexico.



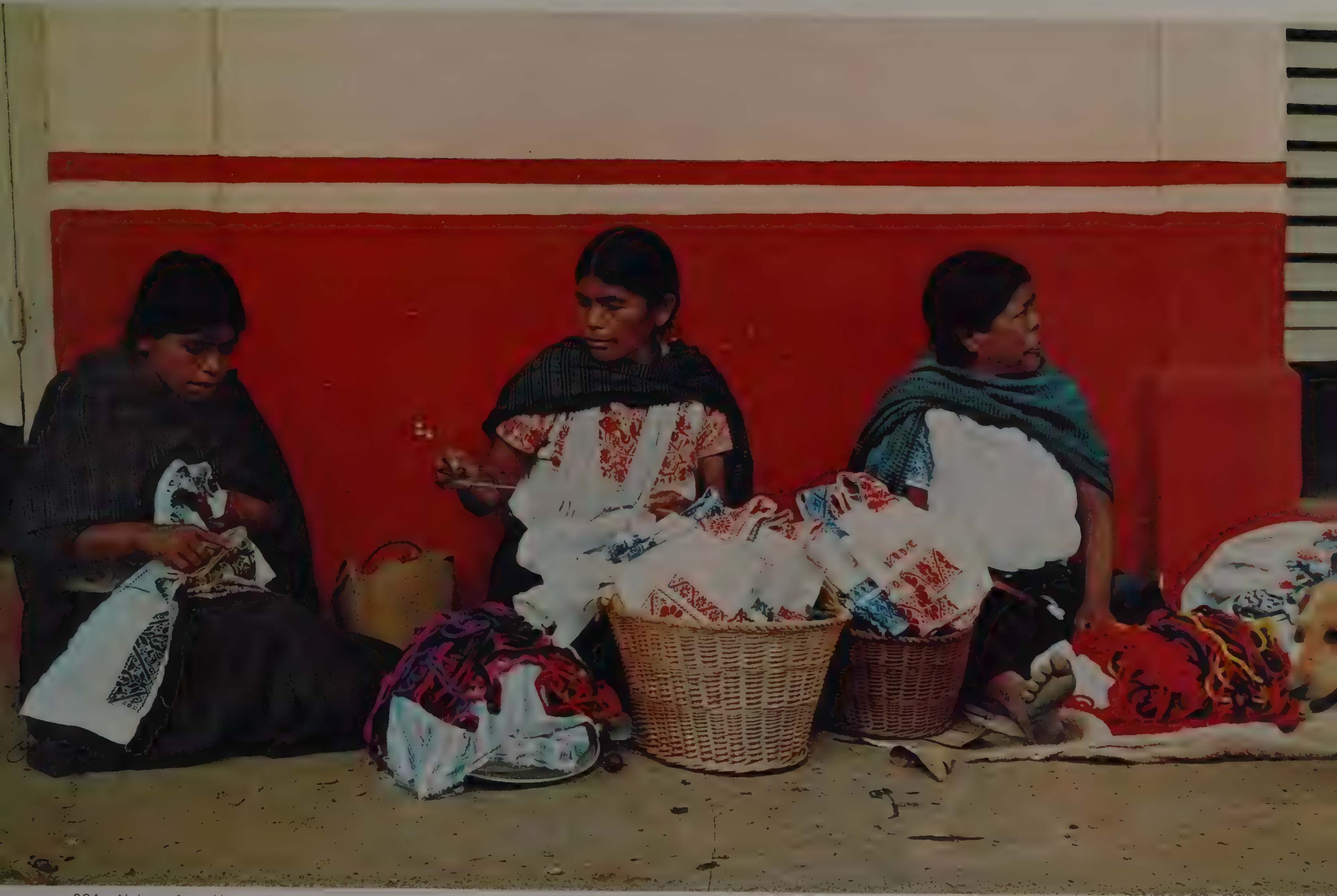
201. Mazahua from San Antonio Mixtepec, State of Mexico.



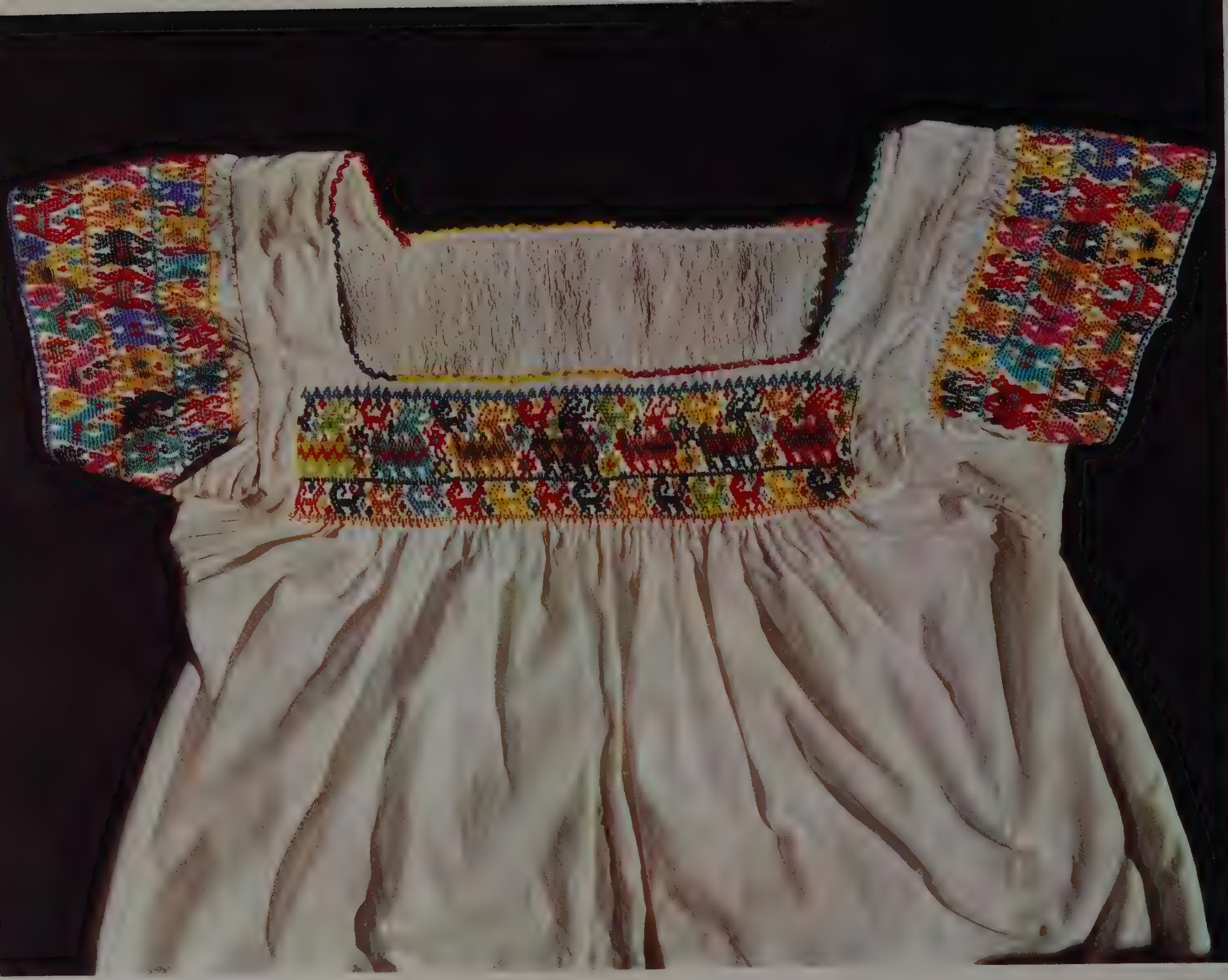
202. Otomi from Pantepec, Puebla.



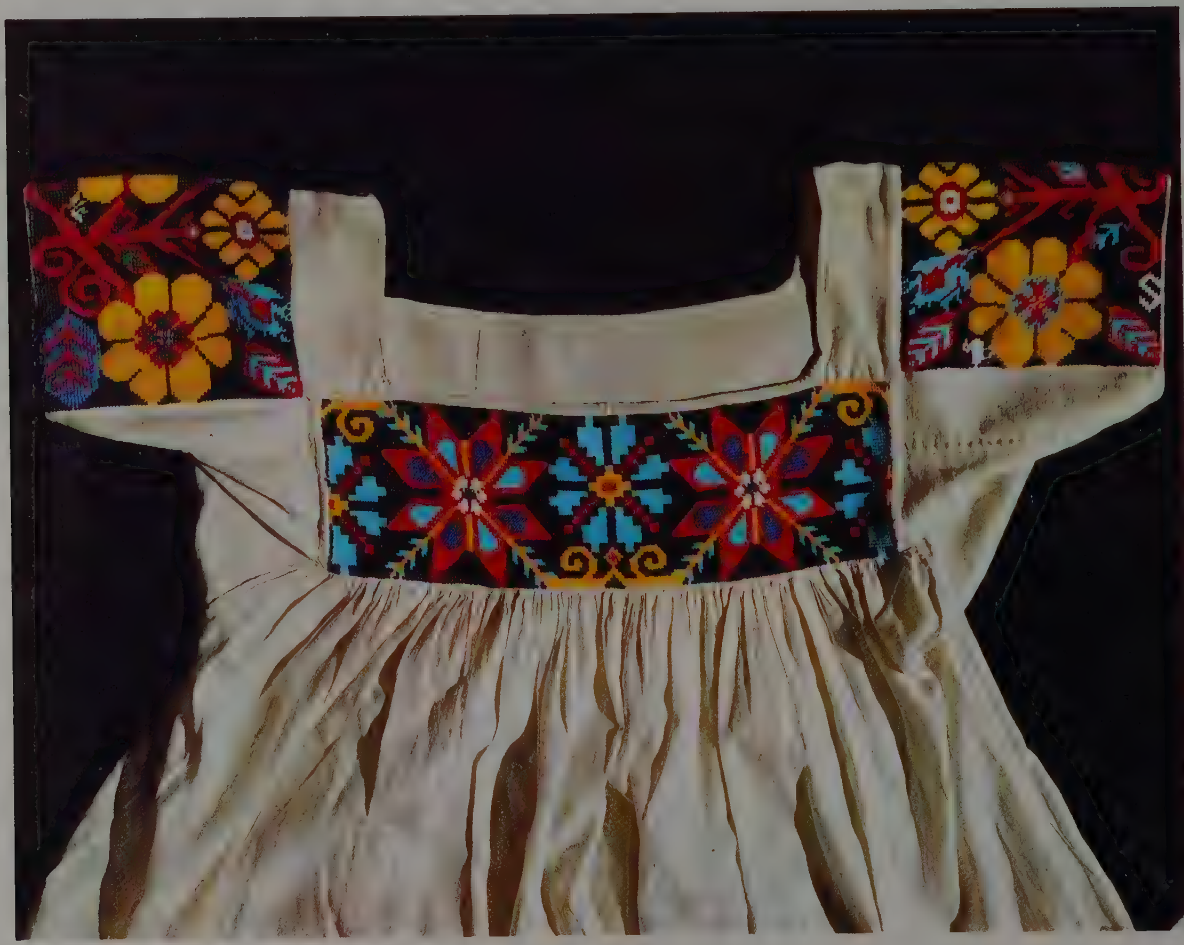
203. Nahuas from Tecomate, Veracruz.



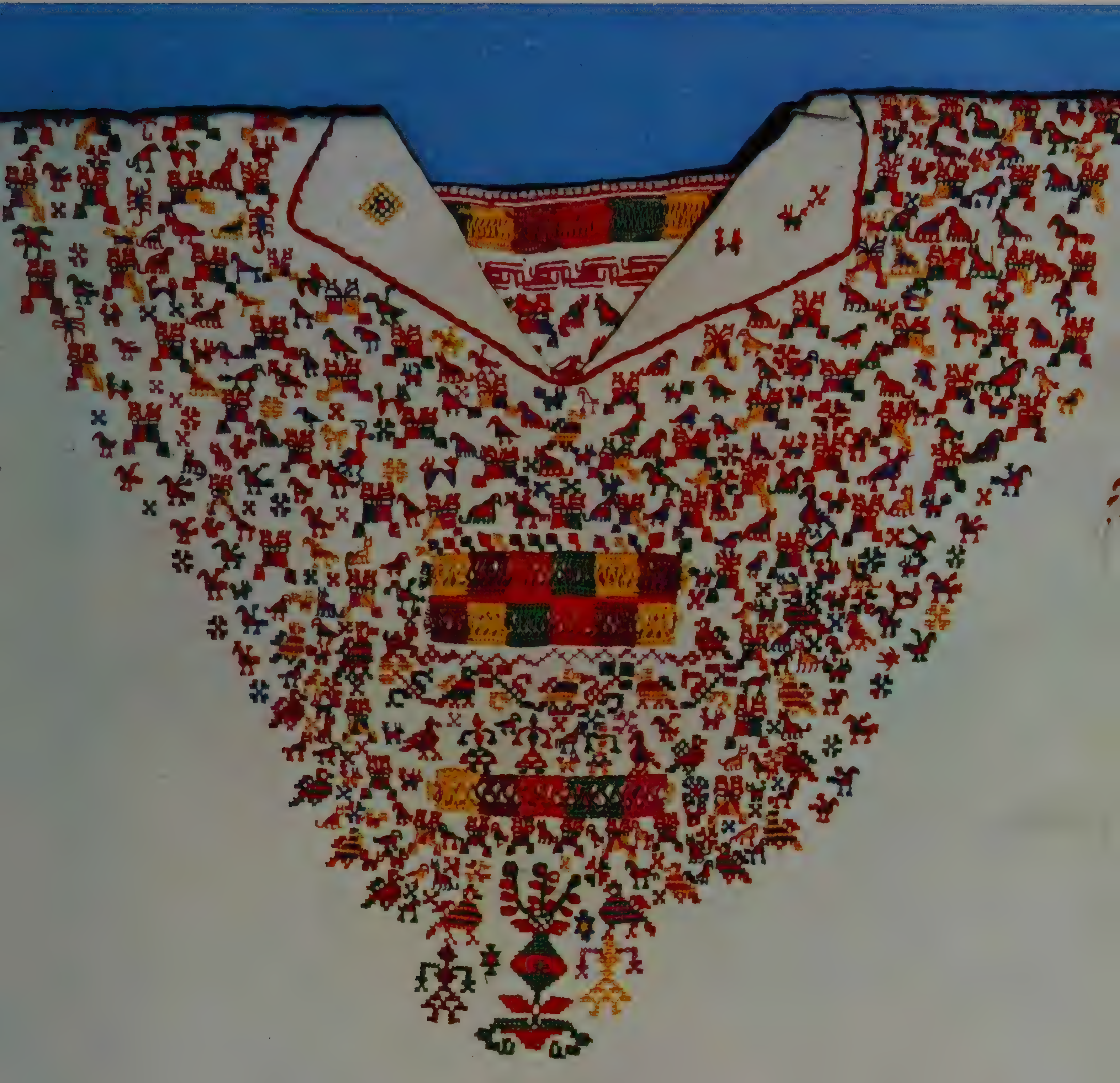
204. Nahuas from Huauchinango, Puebla.



205. Blouse. San Pablito, Puebla.



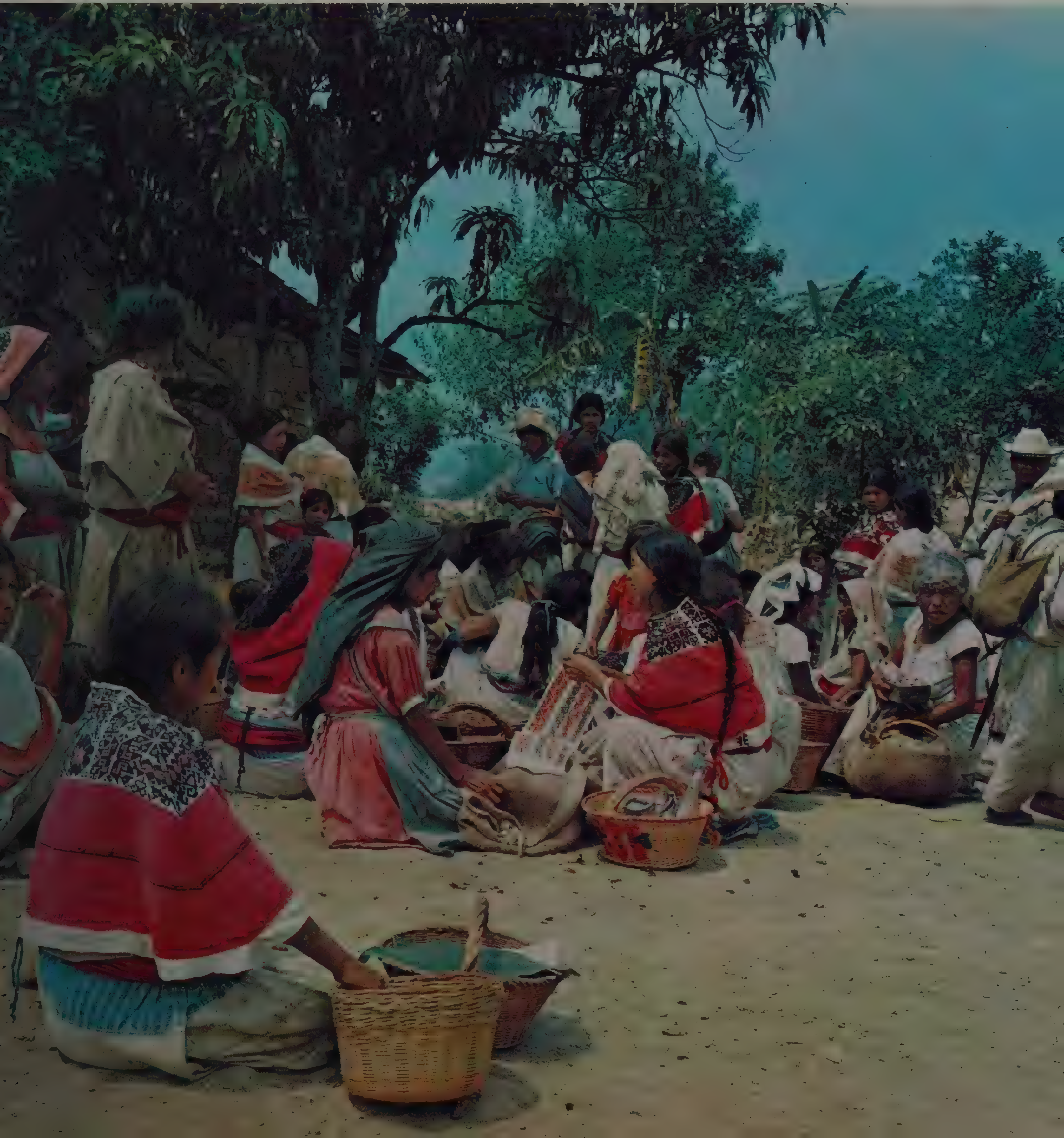
206. Blouse. Amatepec, Veracruz.

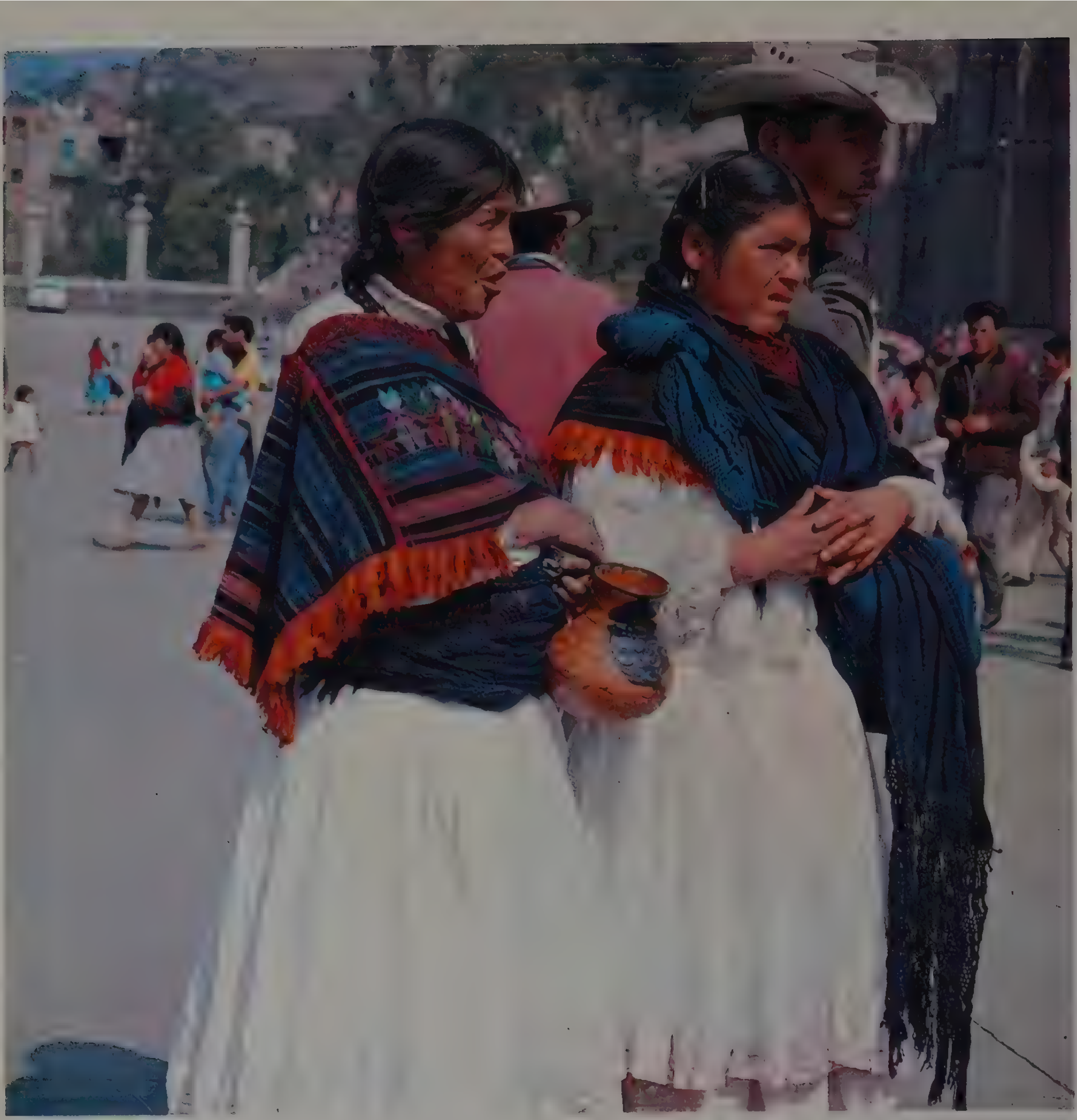


207. Man's shirt. Zacatepec, Oaxaca.

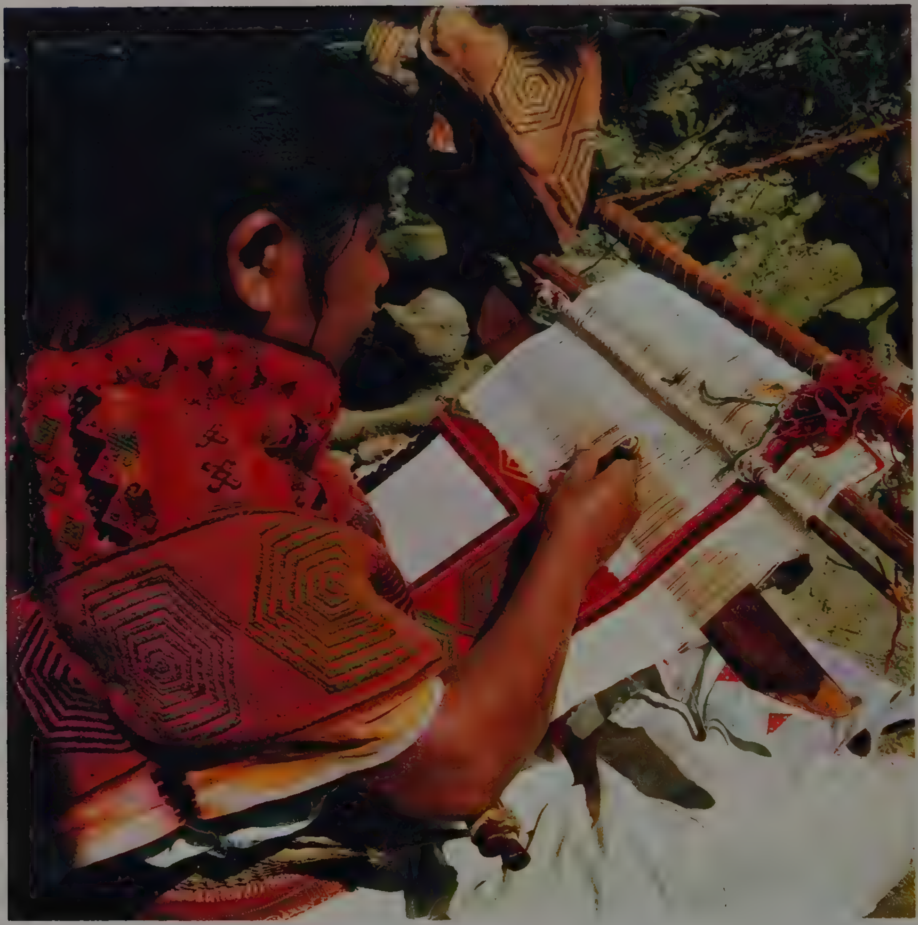
It was no doubt through them that the habit of wearing that typically eastern garment the *quechquemitl* was introduced into central Mexico: this was a graceful lozenge-shaped pelerine or mantle, richly decorated and embroidered. In the pre-cortesian era the many-coloured *quechquemitl* belonged particularly to the women of the Totonacs... JACQUES SOUSTELLE[1]

208. Otomis from San Pablito, Puebla.

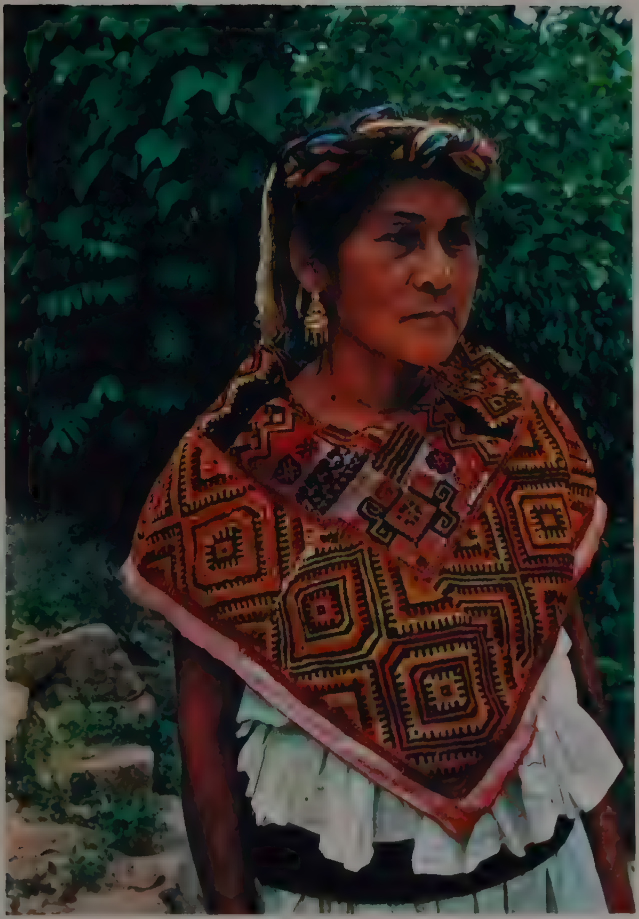




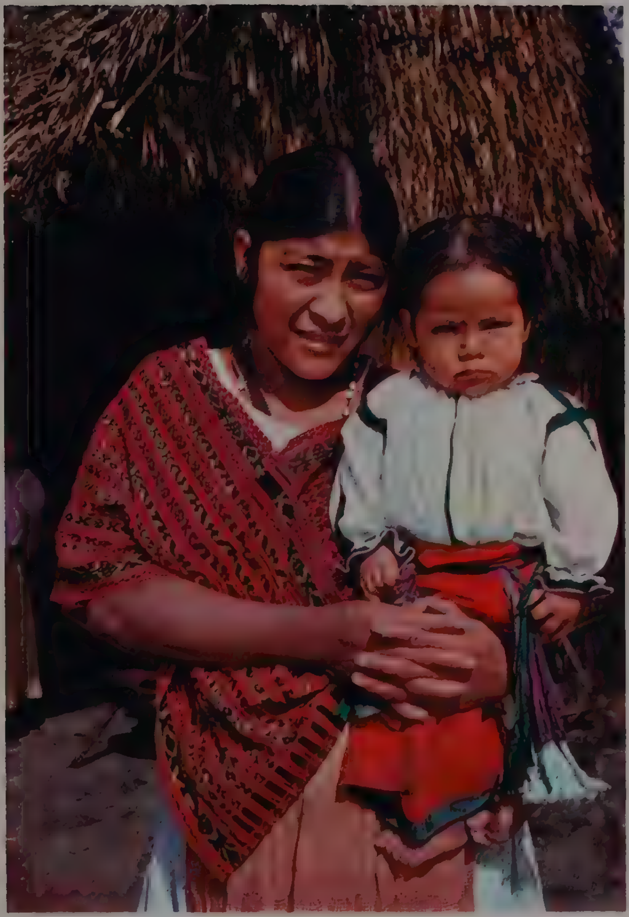
209. Mazahuas from Atlacomulco, State of Mexico.



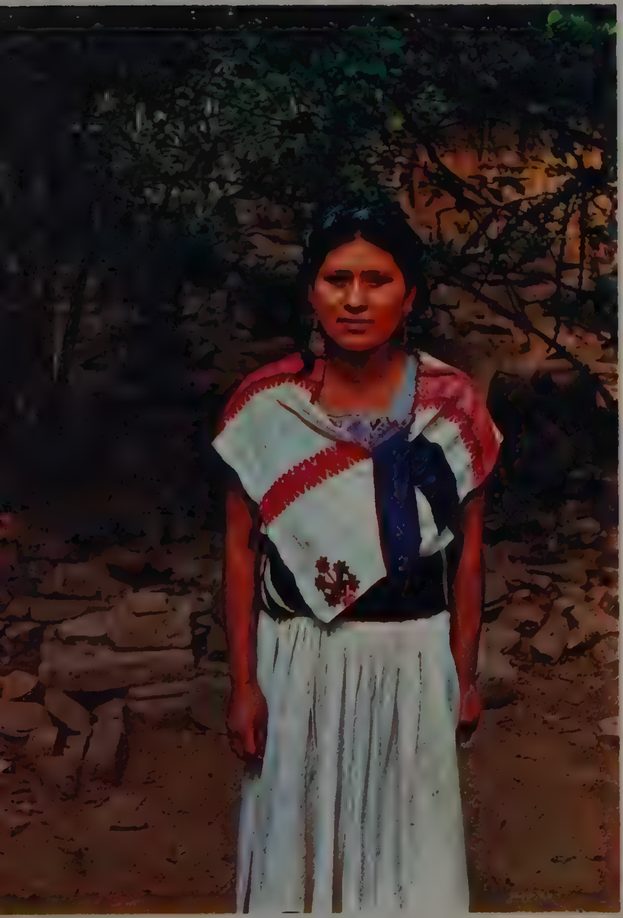
210. Totonac woman from Pantepec, Puebla.



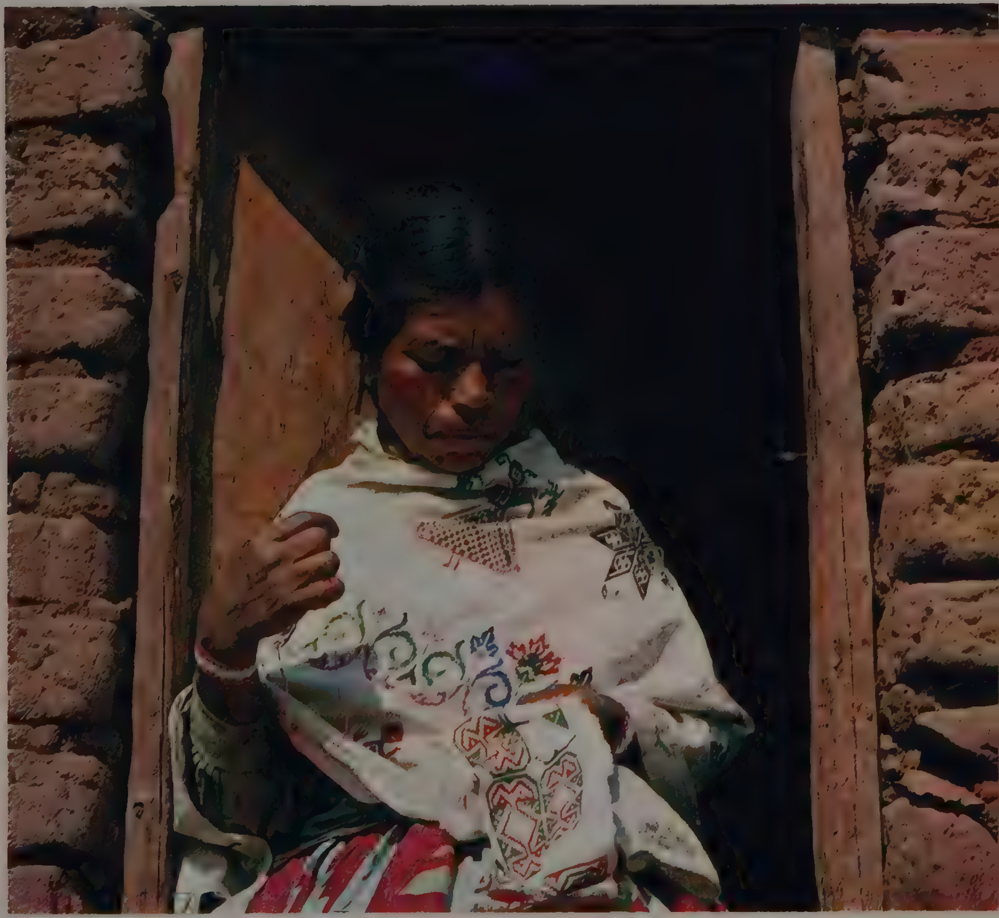
211. Otomi. Tenexco, Puebla.



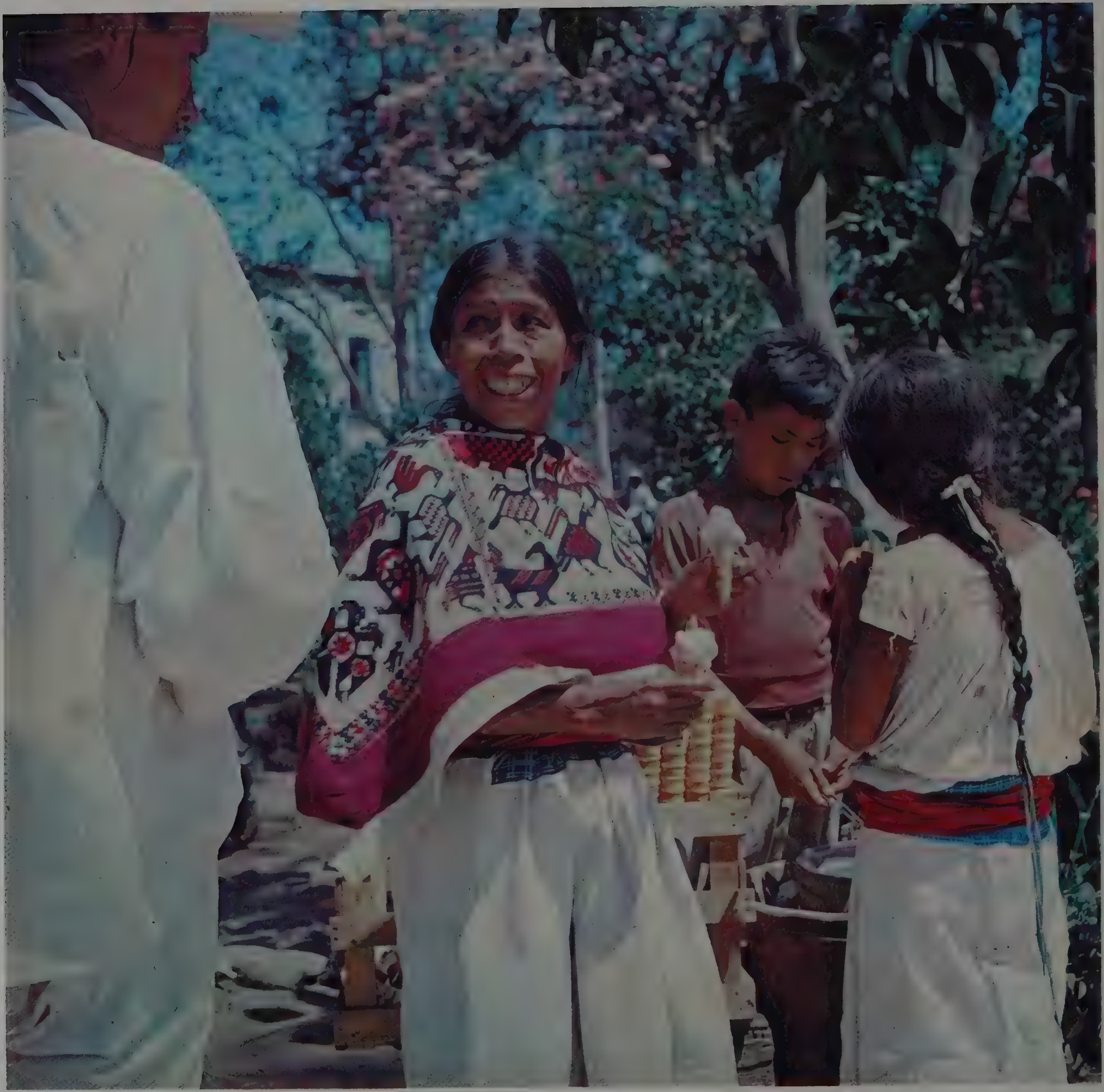
212. Otomis. San Miguel Toliman



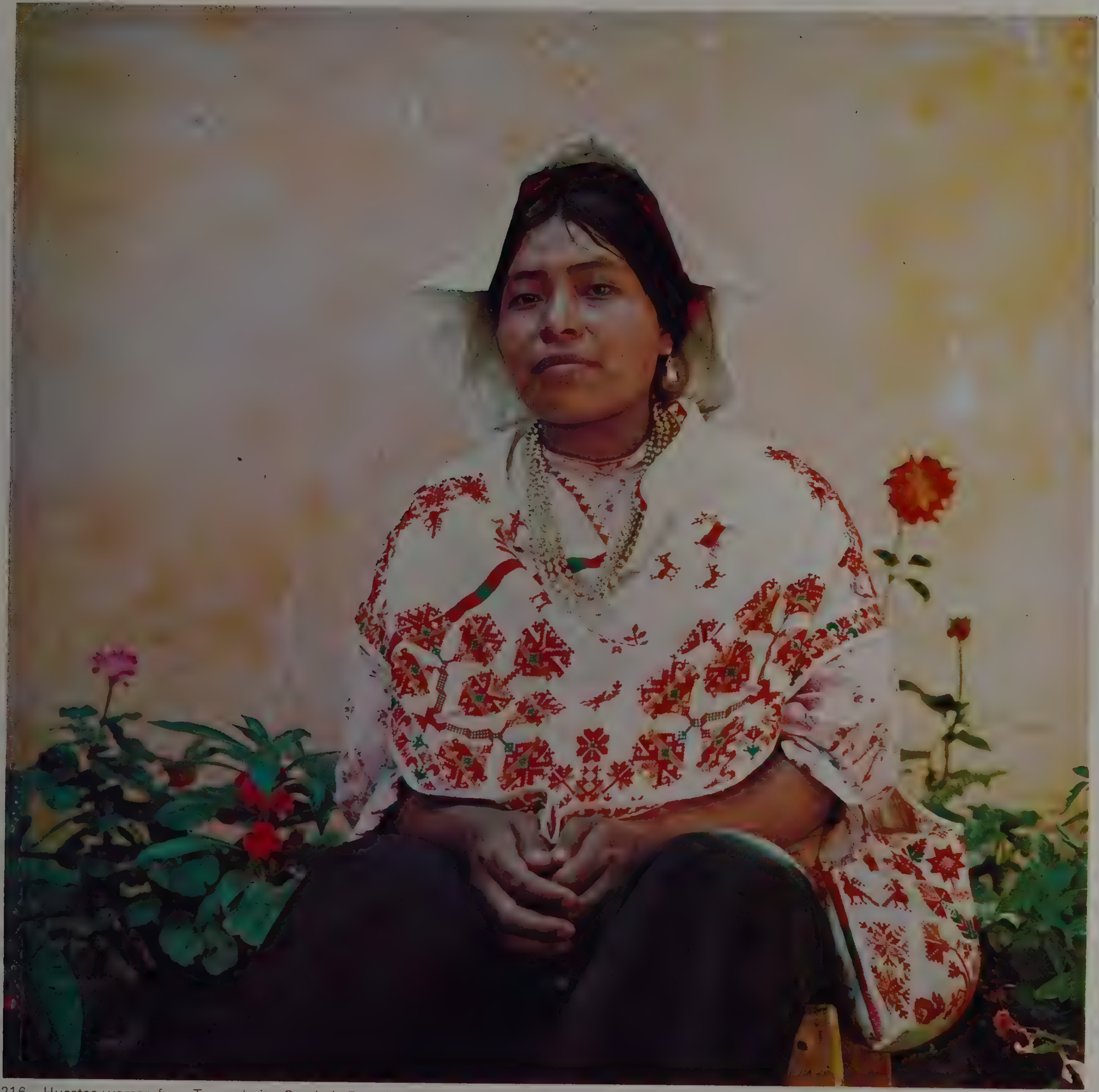
213. Tepehua from San Pedro Tziltzacuapan, Puebla.



214. Huichol woman. Rancho Saucillo, Jalisco.



215. Otomi from San Pablito, Puebla.

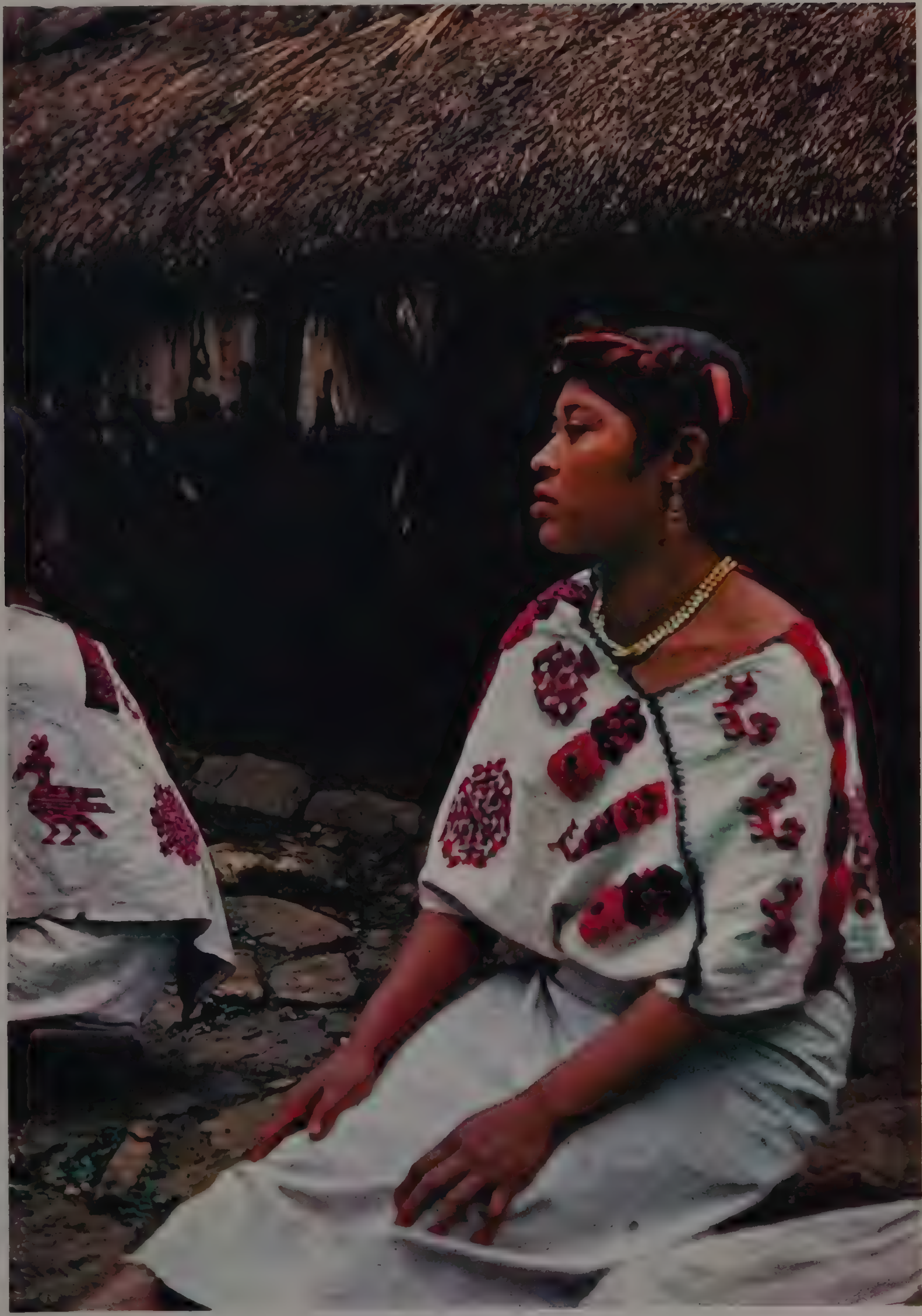


216. Huastec woman from Tancanhuitz, San Luis Potosi.

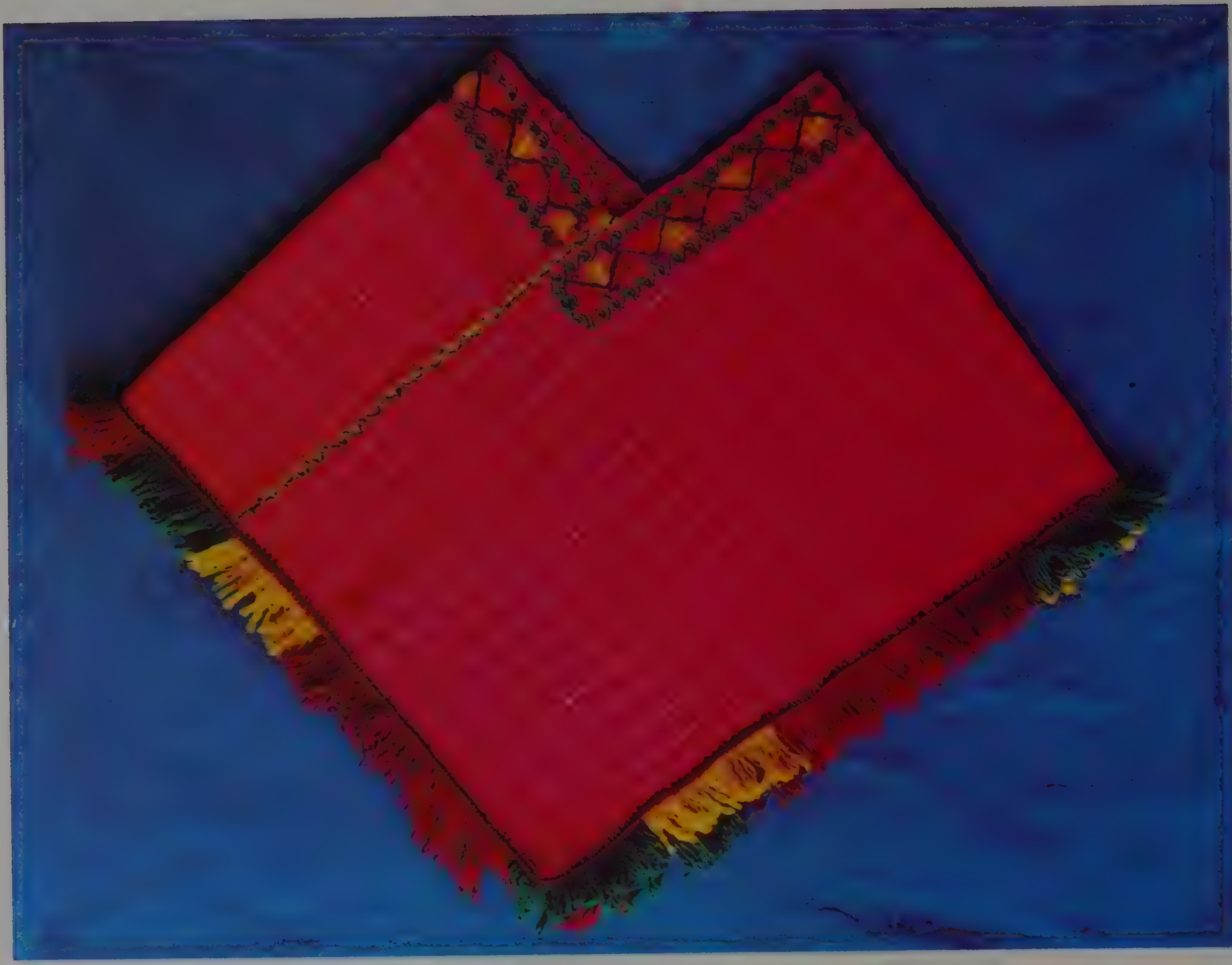
As far back as Aztec times it was recognized that the most beautiful weaving and the embroidery work of brilliant colors came from the land of the Totonacs and the Huastecs. They were carried to the city of Mexico by the thousands of loads, as tribute, gorgeous mantles, loinclothes and skirts woven in the Eastern provinces, Tochpan, Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, Tochtepec. In the Capital itself, the women who wove were under the special patronage of Xochiquetzal, goddess of flowers, of youth and love. It was said that women born under the sign *Ce Xochitl* ('one flower'), were to be skilled weavers and at the same time prodigal in their favors.

JACQUES SOUSTELLE[1]

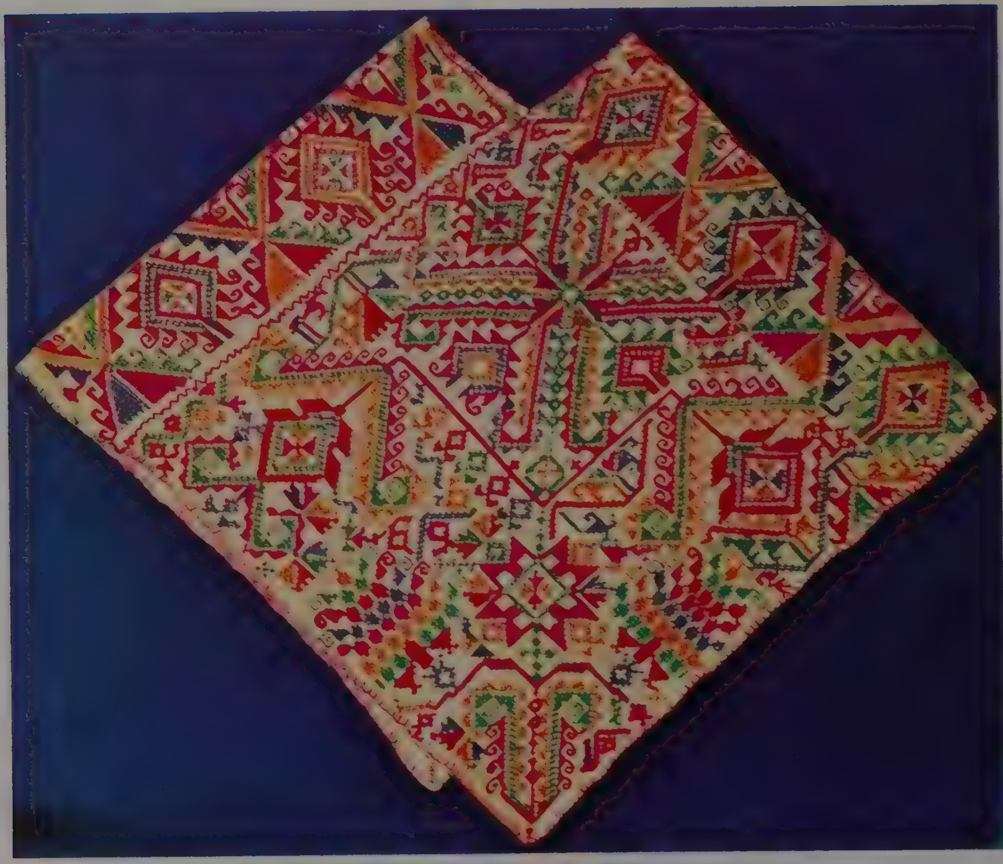
On page 254:
217. Nahuas from Cuatlamayan, San Luis Potosi.



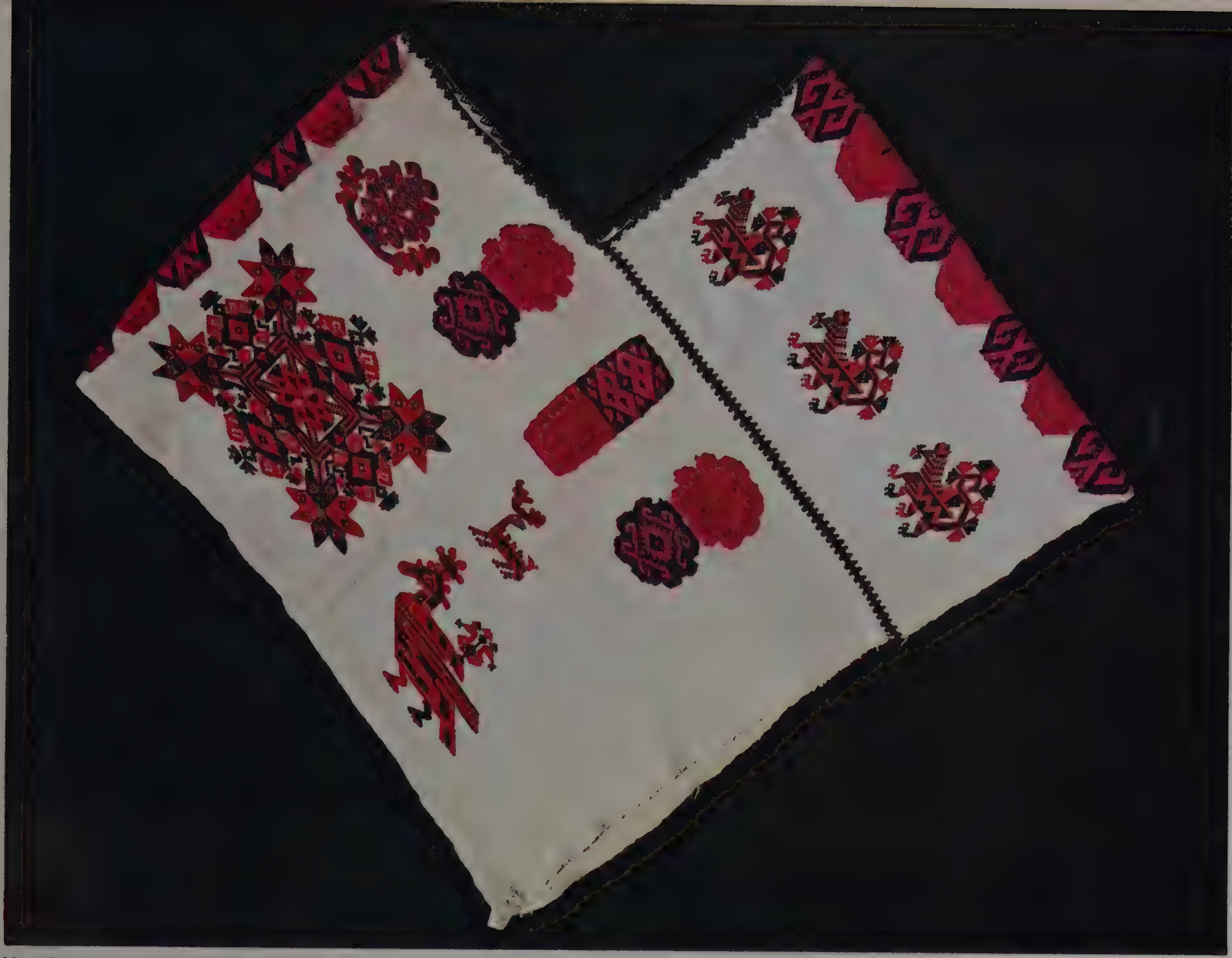
218. Nahua from Coyutla, Veracruz.



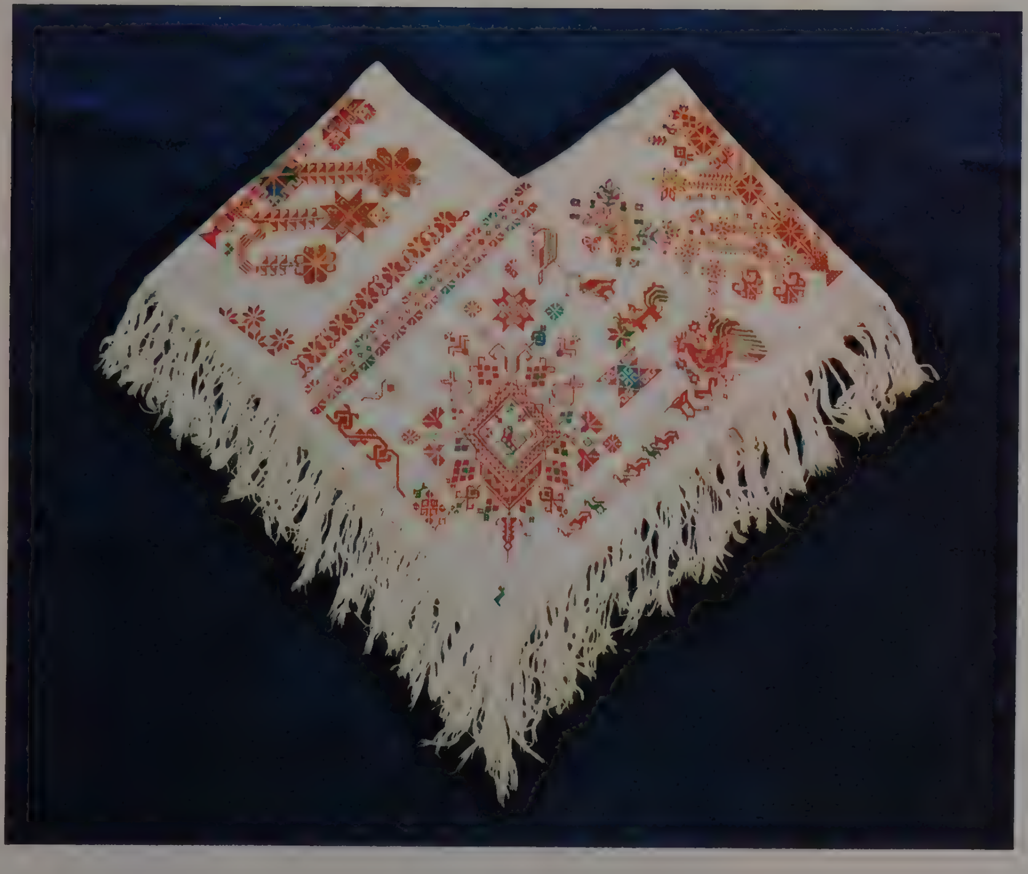
219. *Quechquemitl.* San Felipe del Progreso, State of Mexico.



220. *Quechquemitl.* Acaxochitlan, Hidalgo

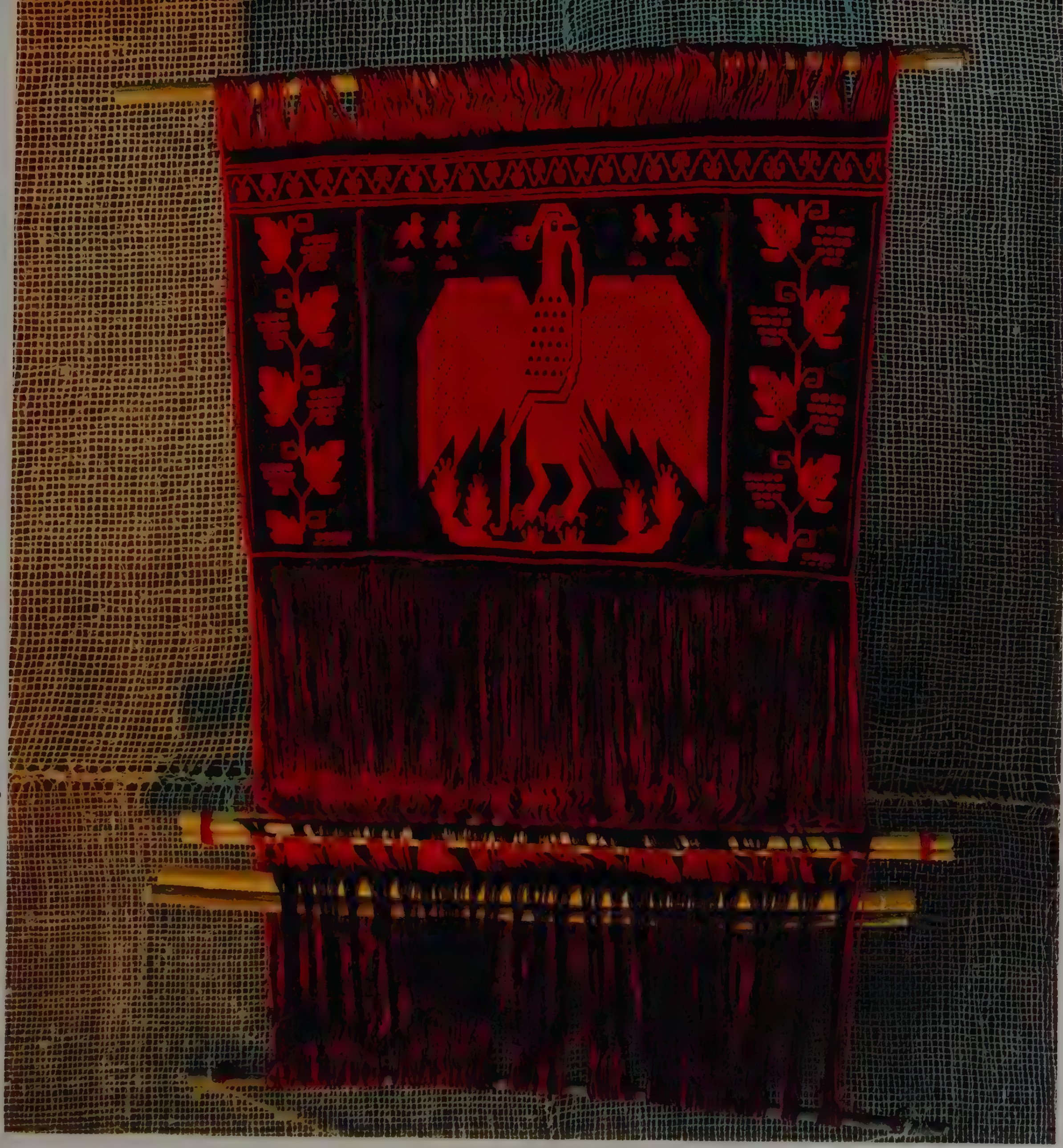


221. *Quechquemitl.* Coyutla, Veracruz

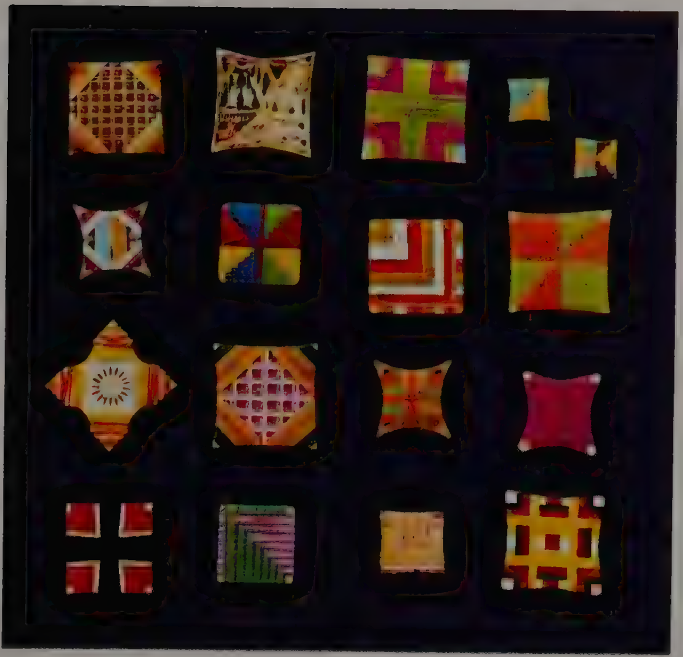


222. *Quechquemitl.* Santa Catarina, Puebla.

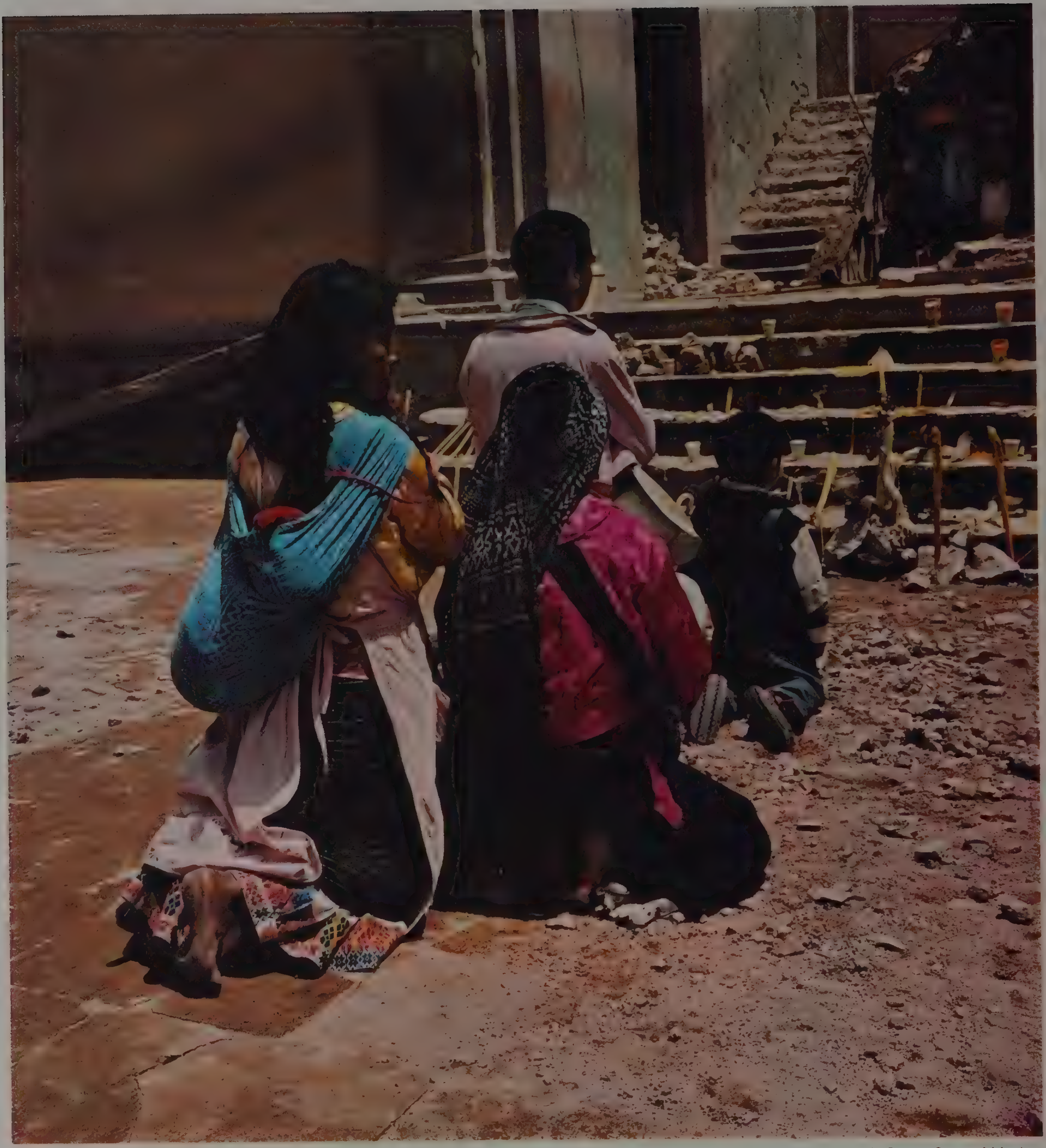
Native women embroider shirts, blouses, skirts, bed-covers, napkins, bags; in fact, anything and everything that lends itself to such adornment, often combining embroidery with inwoven designs in solid or cross-stitch patterns, using floral, bird, animal or other motifs, such as objects used in the church —a candelabra, the tree of life, even a horned devil. Whether they copy their designs from samplers or do them from imagination, women and girls work them without tracing, selecting their own colors. Some of the results are very beautiful. FRANCES TOOR[1]



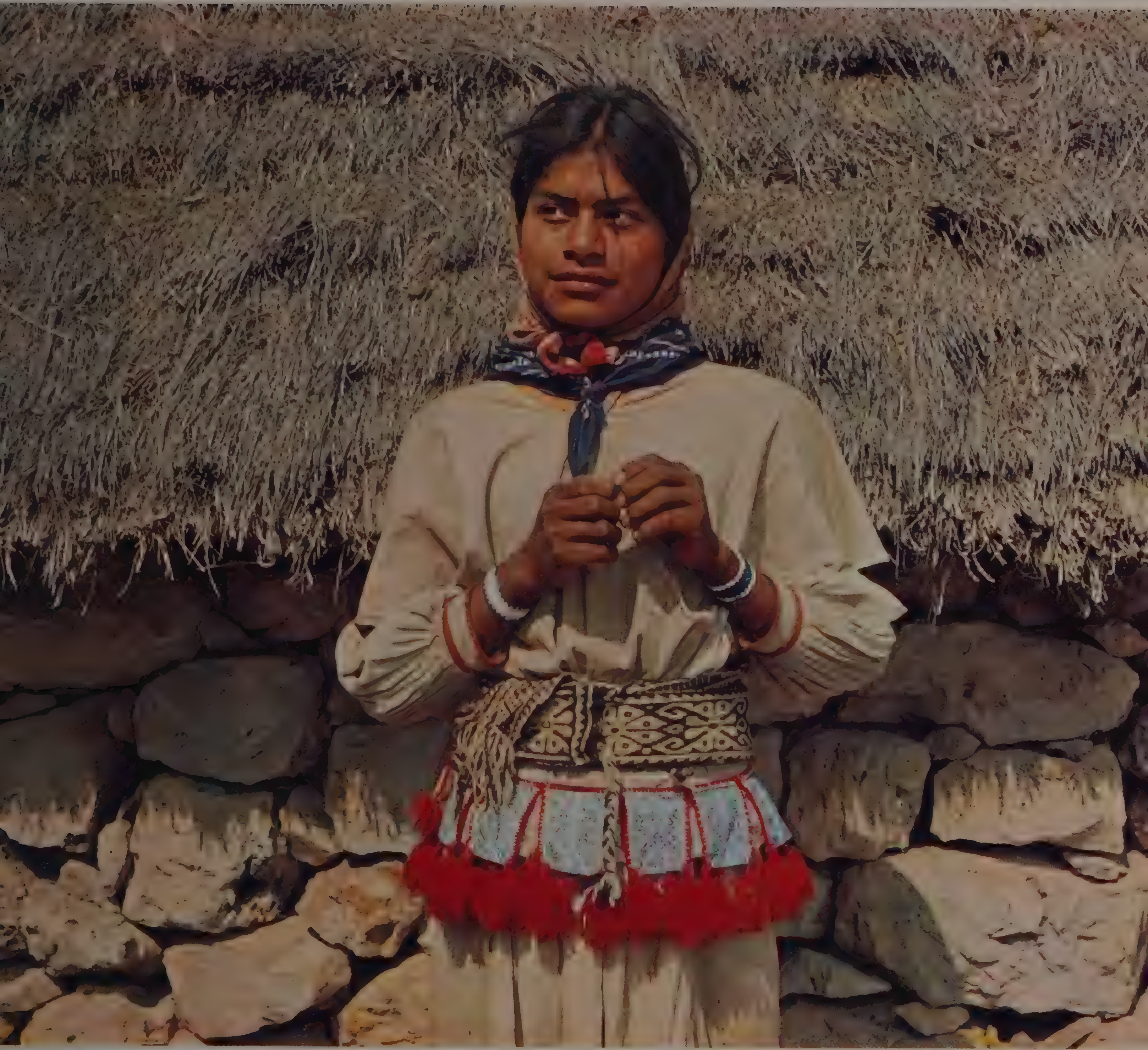
223. Back-strap loom. El Progreso. Hidalgo.



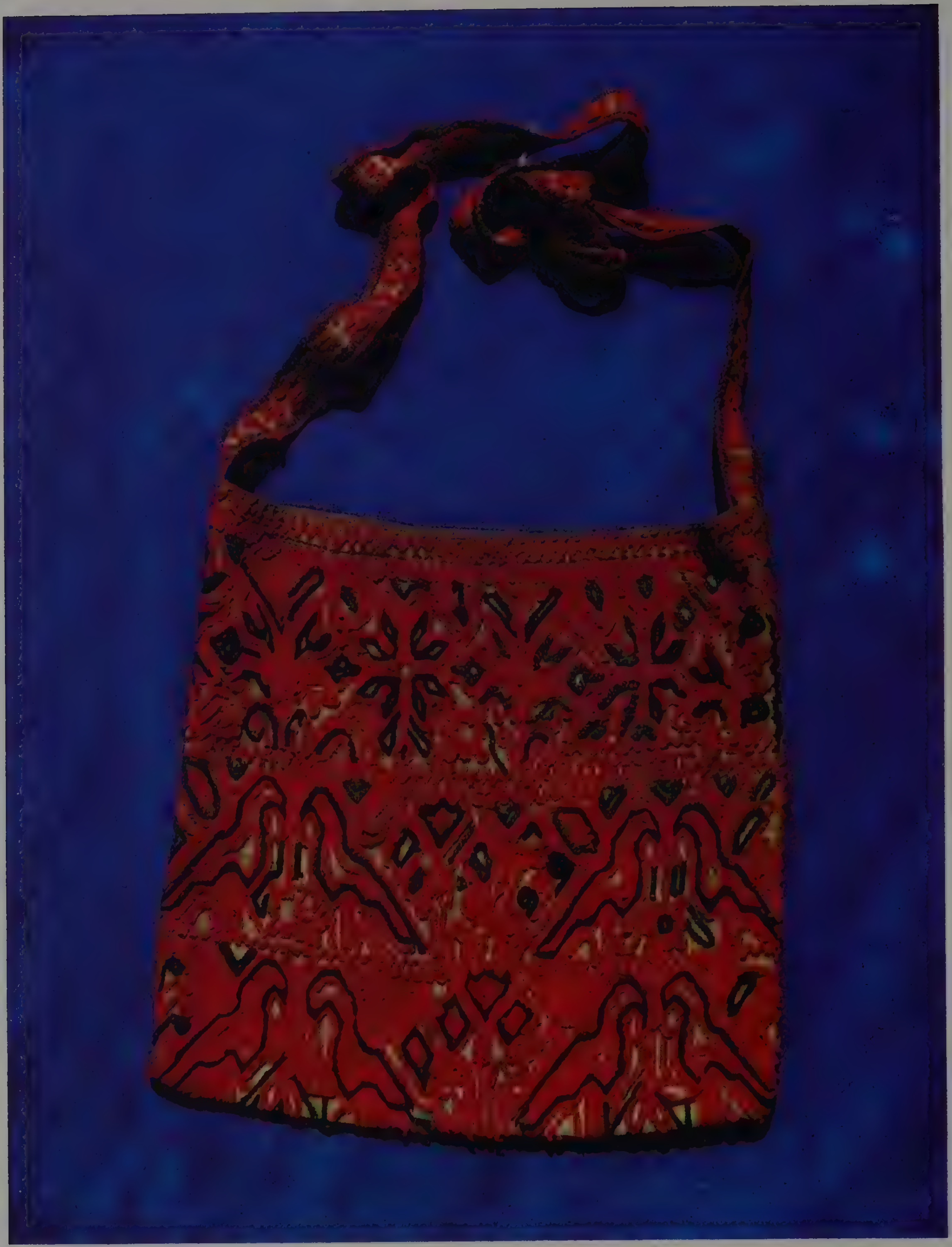
224. Thread cases. Mexico and Puebla.



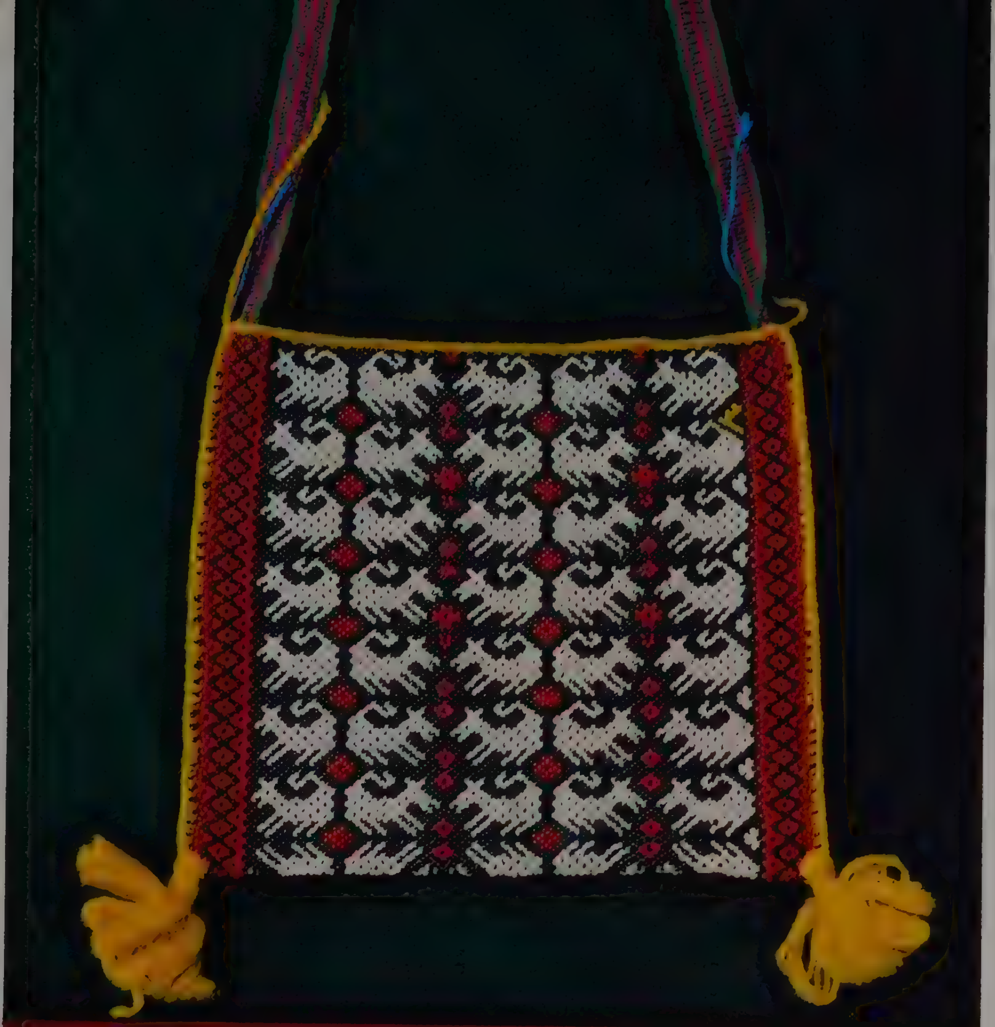
225. Mazahuas from Valle de Bravo, State of Mexico.



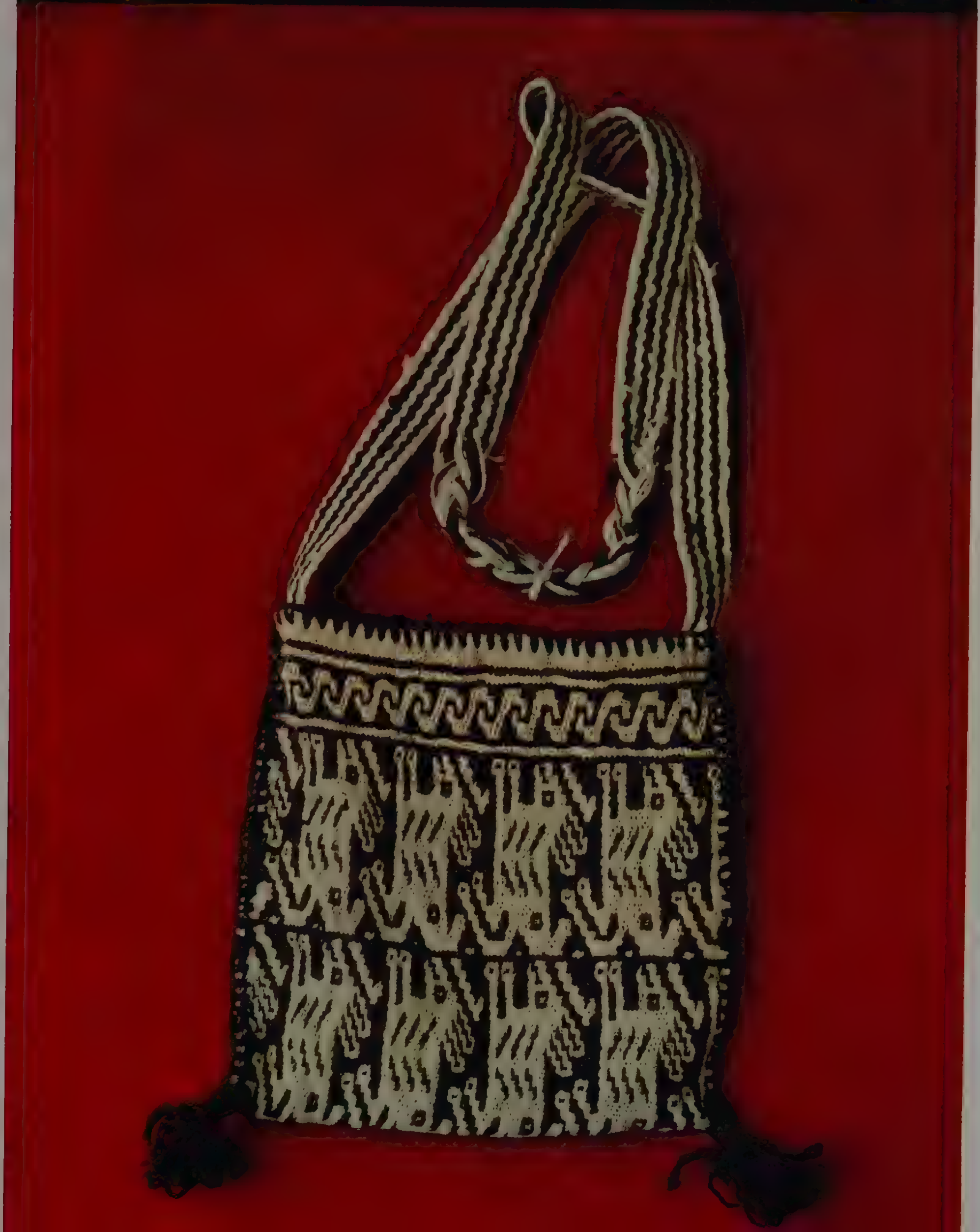
226. Huichol from San Sebastian, Jalisco.



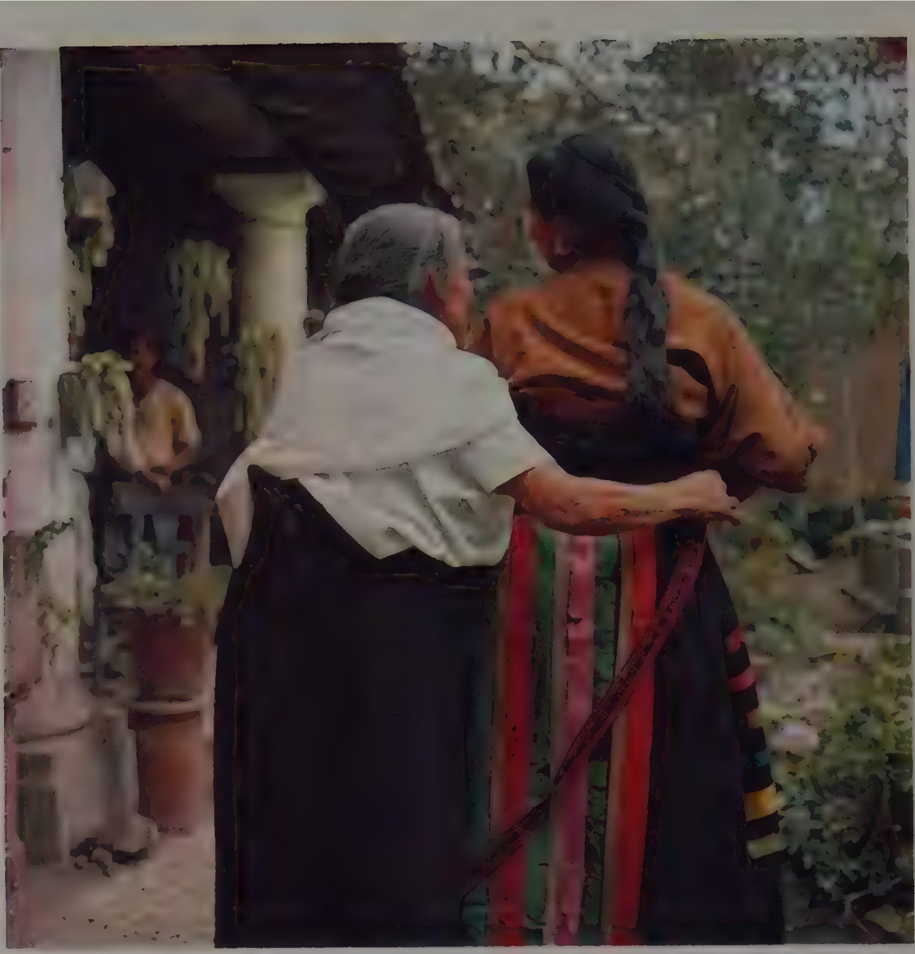
227. *Morral.* Region of Zitacuaro, Michoacan.



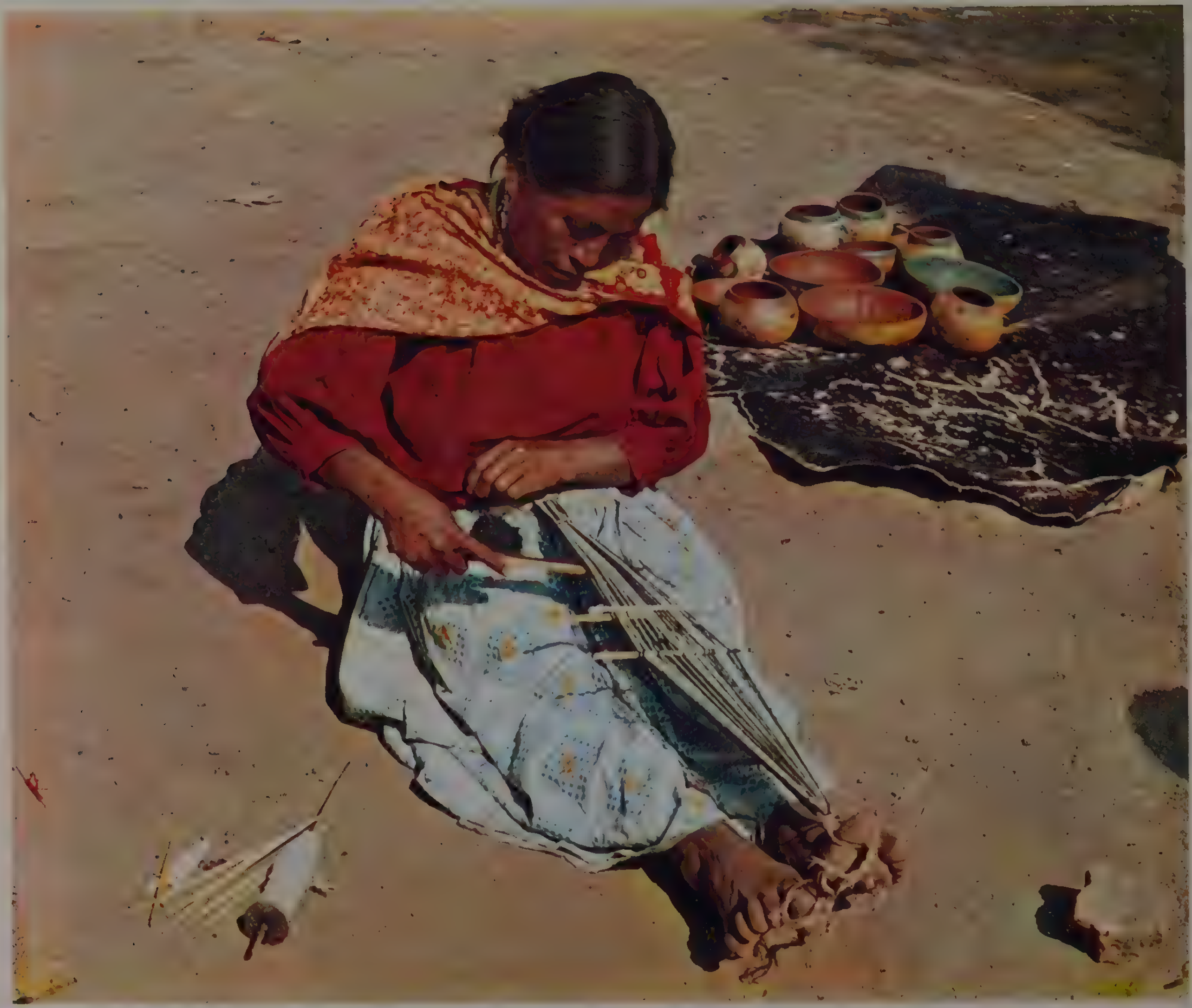
228. *Morral.* San Sebastian, Jalisco.



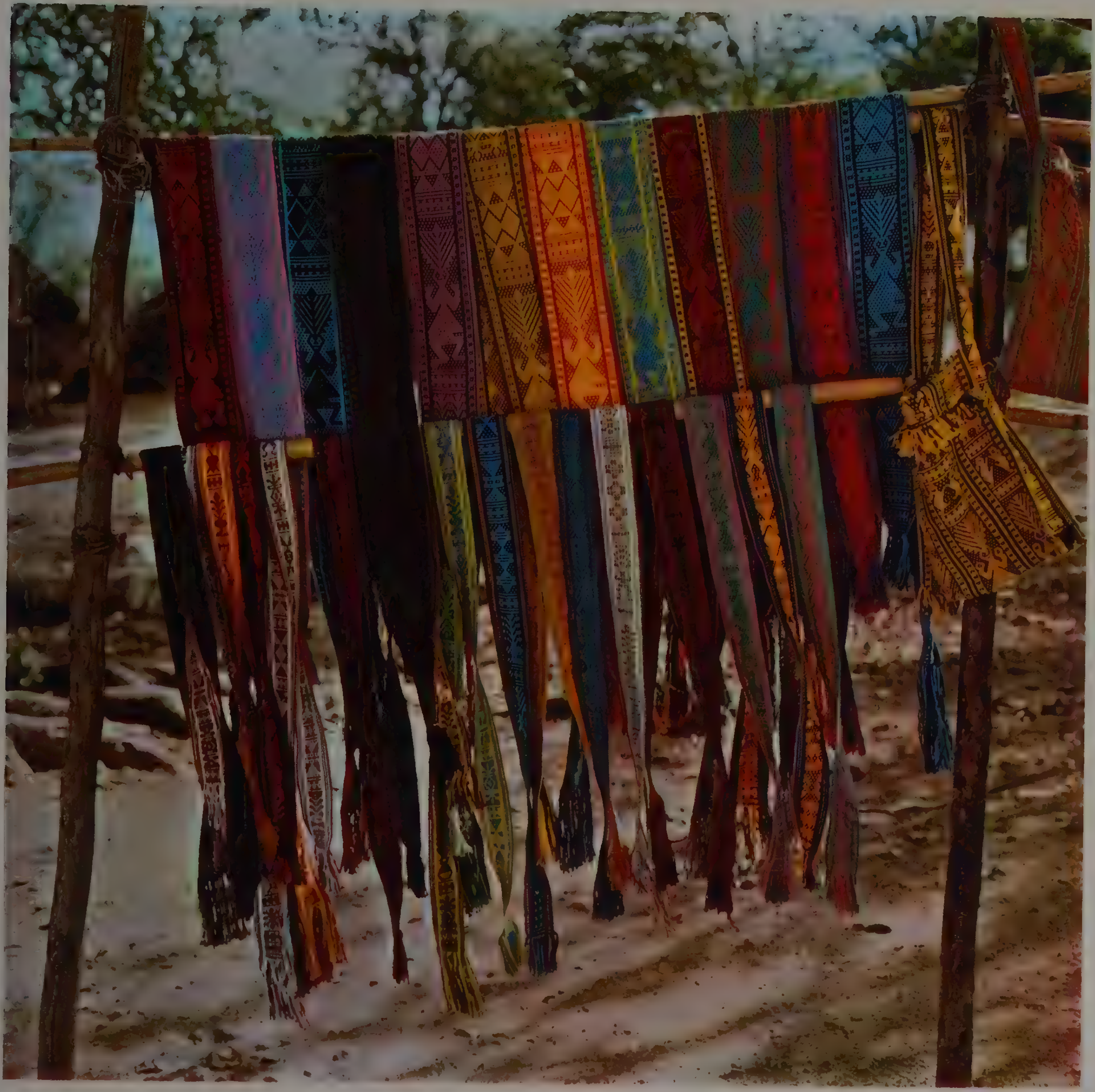
229. *Morral.* Santa Catarina, Jalisco.



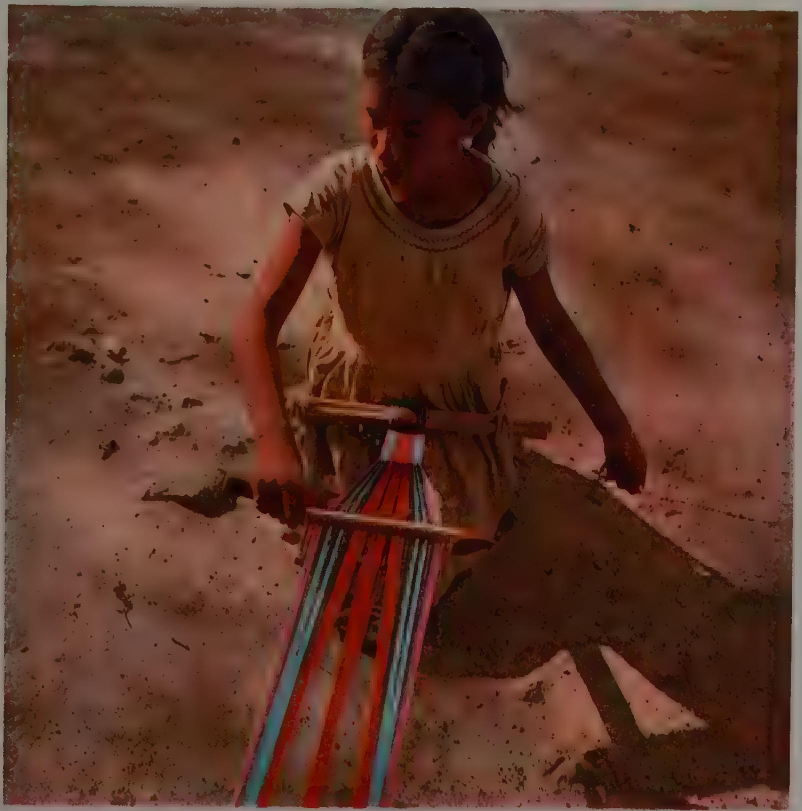
230. Nahuas from Tuxpan, Jalisco.



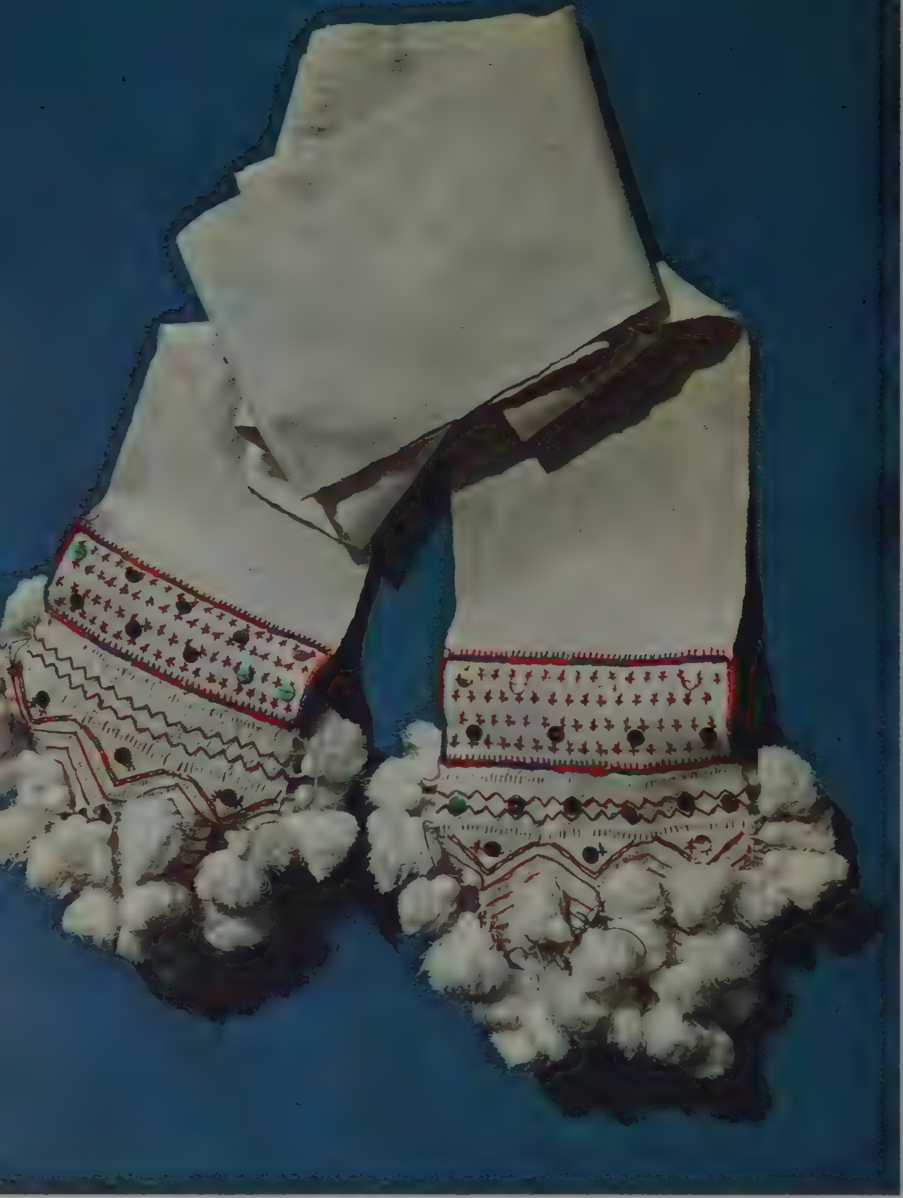
231. Huichol woman from Rancho Saucillo, Jalisco.



232. Belts. Jalieza, Oaxaca.

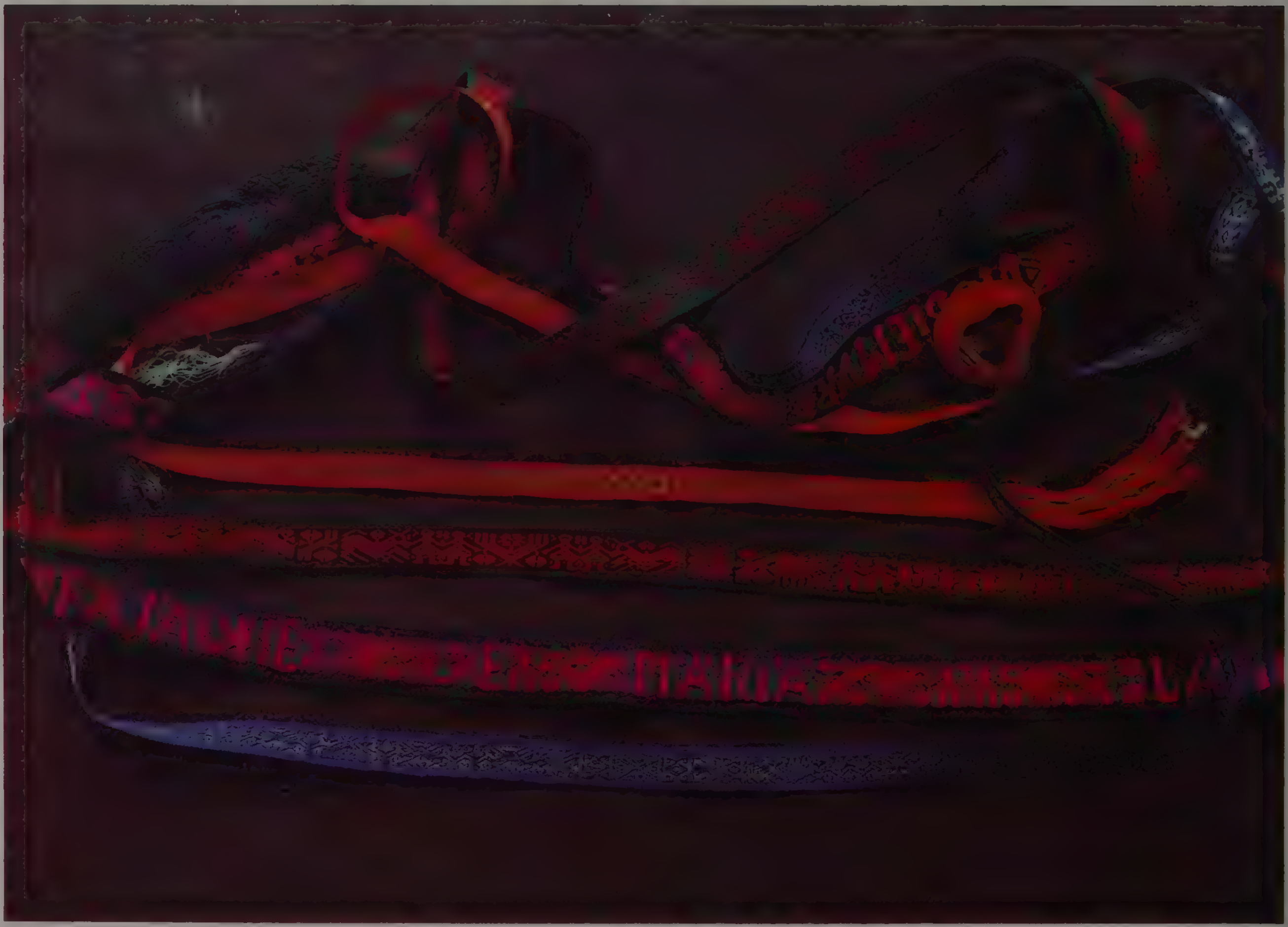


233. Zapotec woman from Jalieza, Oaxaca.



234. Belt. Cuetzalan, Puebla.

On page 267:
236. Belt. Cuetzalan, Puebla.



235. Belts. Capacuaro, Michoacan.

MEXICAN FOLK TOYS

By Gabriel Fernández Ledesma

When they are very young children amuse themselves with elementary toys, any little thing which differs from the small world they know. The forms they eagerly touch, the objects that move before their eyes, or the sounds that are repeated with a primitive rhythm, form revelations for the awakening of their senses, until they discover the organized world of nature. The infantile imagination is kept active and creative: it ascribes properties to objects which they do not possess; it invents its own mythology and transforms things into ideal beings —marvelous, without a parallel in real life.

The fugitive period of abstract toys (any ball of paper or tangle of threads) soon ends and, when the child's curiosity demands the objects which he now identifies with the outside world and which he wishes to possess, the adult gives him miniature representations —adapted to his size— of humans, of plants and animals, of an infinite variety of artifacts made in the home, made by artisans since time immemorial; now —in the industrial age— manufactured in quantity with the most modern techniques and materials.

When we have enjoyed the simple charm found in toys of folk manufacture and then we face their antipodes —those created by machinery— we are overcome by the desire to establish comparisons and thus explain to ourselves the difference between them.

To begin with, there are differences of technical resources: diversity of the environment of the small towns in which the artisans usually settle, in relation to great manufacturing centers, and, therefore, disparity in that which refers to the influence exercised by these environments on the individual.

Thus it is true that the art of handicrafts takes advantage of the materials at hand which are then applied or transformed by rudimentary traditional knowledge, while mechanized industry is benefited by using an incomparably more developed technique. Many folk products today are similar in their preparation to the most ancient industries, unlike everything that is produced by the great factories thanks to progress and to the development of industry. In regard to the worker in a great factory, usually located in the city, his existence is complicated by a thousand anxieties and the individual becomes a simple element (at times a minimal one) in the gears of an enormous machine that never stops. He is obssessed by his own struggle, worried by the reality he tries to conquer, smothered by routine to the point that he is no longer needled by ambition, and, as a result, the concentration of his thoughts becomes impossible.

The difference between this laborer and the inhabitant of small towns or country places is amazing. In rural areas there always seems to be more time and even hard work appears to be less tiring. This is because problems seem to diminish while people enjoy nature with calm and tranquility, which leads them to a contemplative attitude; this implies a sharper capacity for observation.

Getting back to toys, the machine vomits millions of objects which are simple replicas of the original model. But these are pieces that cannot breathe; they have no life. What is important in the machine process is the ingenuity of the designer who invents the type to be copied, which is frequently attached to a mechanism that makes it move. The machine is blind and routine-bound; it substitutes ability and muscular strength but it will never be able to invade the field of the spirit. As a result, the worker who watches over the machine is limited to taking care of this machine; he is not asked to make any contribution associated with his personal taste, his faculty of judgment, or his feeling of interpretation. He is simply a hireling, easily substituted by someone else.

Toys made by hand —even though they copy an original type used as a model— differ from one another since in each one there remains the hidden trace of its maker's sensitivity which dictates subtlety of execution to the creative hand. Folk toys reflect this involuntary charm left by the hand of man as an appeal which attracts us and seduces us. These are creative works which frequently captivate us by their close ties to our lives but mainly due to their aesthetic value which often surpasses the boundary of folk art and reaches the level of a masterpiece.

In this book we present toys that are representative of many parts of Mexico. Indian groups produce a type of ceramics which conserve a primitive aspect, not only because of its rudimentary techniques but also due to certain distinctive character traits. Thus, in Coyotepec, Oaxaca, objects are still made of silvery black clay whose most famous examples are bells, mermaids, owls, monkeys, and numerous other animal forms: strange beings, products of the most fertile imagination. In Ameyaltepec and in Toliman, towns in the state of Guerrero, are found representations of humans and animals made of light ochre clay decorated in earth red (fig 261). Related to these in form and fabrication are clay toys from Tantoyuca, Veracruz (fig 256), Chililco, Hidalgo, Tehuantepec, Oaxaca, and Amatenango, Chiapas.

Different from these are toys from Tonala, Jalisco, made of 'fragrant clay,' whose typical piece is the piggy bank (fig 51). In these is seen a copy of the most refined ancestral technique that was later applied —since the nineteenth century— to pieces which were marvelously decorated and burnished: bottles, *tecomates* or fat neckless jars, pitchers, water jugs, etc. Today this technique is alive in new objects which reflect good taste: birds, doves, turtles, owls.

Skill in weaving and creating forms of wicker or palm fiber is also proof of an ancient heritage. The same can be said of the scorpions made of vanilla in Papantla, Veracruz, or the extraordinary equestrian figures from Ihuatzio, Michoacan, which, woven of reeds and of the same size, have been created one for the other —that is, to be arranged in such a way that the dynamic relationship between the riders is well establised: one aggressive, the other injured to the point that he is seen falling from his horse (fig 282).

On the other hand, the application of transparent glazes found on certain toys made in Santa Maria Atzompa, Oaxaca (fig 258), or in Metepec, state of Mexico (figs 238-239), is of

Spanish origin. Also of Spanish provenience is the method of melting the glass with which are formed delicate, precious figures, vases, bird cages, etc. (figs. 270-271).

Another technique originated in Spain is that of bead embroidery and other beadwork. This reached a great peak during the Colonial period and its culmination during the nineteenth century. It was used especially to adorn feminine garments of the middle class and of well-to-do families, although bead rings, bracelets, garters, and necklaces were made also. The piece reproduced here is unusual: a French poodle half dressed in her coat of white curls, the other half nude, giving a glimpse of her pink flesh in an exhibition of coquetry (fig. 272).

It is obvious that creative work is not influenced exclusively by imported techniques nor by these which we have inherited, but also by religious ideas and ritual celebrations which originate allegories that range anywhere between the birth of Jesus to Death allegories.

Before Christmas day the *nacimientos* or crèches are set up, with their humble abode, the Christ child in the manger, and Saint Joseph and the Virgin surrounded by the Three Wise Men. A multitude of figures of angels, devils, saints, and hermits mix with the Indians and herdsmen who lead their flocks. They all seem to be distributed capriciously over a conventional landscape embellished by all kinds of houses, trees, and plants, glittering with frost. A wide variety of animals completes the fantasy; and delightful swans floating on lakes of mirrors surrounded by moss. During this season in which *posadas* —traditional Mexican Christmas parties— are celebrated, *piñatas* (clay pots filled with goodies and covered with colored paper in the form of animals, stars, etc.) are adorned and hung up. The struggle to break them brings joy and merriment to children.

On the day of Corpus Christi little mules made of corn husks appear, carrying crates stuffed with radishes and flowers. Holy Saturday is celebrated merrily with the burning of the *Judas,* fantastic cardboard figures in the form of devils and other beings; and for November first and second (All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day) numerous toys, symbols of Death, are produced. It should be mentioned here that these two personages, the Devil and Death, are well rooted in the popular tradition. Twisted about the images of the former is a kind of venous or arterial system of tubes of powder leading the flame to the firecrackers which destroy the piece as a symbolic punishment for Judas' betrayal.

It should be emphasized that Mexico is the only country in the world where a dialogue is carried on with Death without fear or worry. On the contrary, such familiarity, stemming from ancient belief, reaches the masses who treat Death on an intimate and even on a joking basis. Children find in this many of the most extraordinary and attractive toys. Paradoxically, in this case Death becomes an amusing object, full of life and appealing charm. The Mexican image of Death is made of many materials in various sizes. It is garbed in practically any type of dress and is always jesting. A thousand worldly occupations are performed by these "Death" figures; they may be seen galloping on a horse or riding a bicycle. At times Death is exalted in a triumphal chariot but at other times it is blown up like a "Judas" on Holy Saturday.

Aside from these more or less concrete representations, the popular —and especially the Indian —mind is prone to superimpose upon reality a number of myth-ideas which are then transposed, without worrying about logic, into sculptured forms. Strange anthro-zoomorphic beings are the result of this process —unique toys that have enormous appeal for us and fascinate us with their surrealistic manner of expression.

At times a toy says exactly what it wants to say. It can interpret with eloquence the heart of a proverb, the meaning or irony of a phrase; for example: "It is necessary to be a devil to tame a bull." As an illustration of this in sculpture we have a toy from Ocumichu, Michoacan, a red devil, who —with a boastful and mocking expression— rides a bull which has already been tamed (fig. 251).

The Mexicans also possess the very lively skill of penetrating the psychology and physical character of each personage represented. Legendary types attract them strongly: the hero, the highwayman, the revolutionary and, of course, the *charro* or Mexican cowboy. Sometimes we find papier maché figures interpreted in a caricaturesque manner; these are from Guanajuato (fig 302), and also in the figures from Juchitan, Oaxaca, where matriarchy is suggested through the insignificance of the male victim in contrast to his robust mate who wears the pompous wedding dress of the Isthmus.

The rag doll is the diversion of poor little girls who play at being mothers. The doll's figure is always that of a young woman who looks somewhere between citified and country-bred; she is dressed in gay colors. Unlike the elegant French dolls which, while winking their blue eyes, cry softly, our rag dolls are dumb, but they know how to listen to the cooing of their little owners, who lavish motherly love upon them (fig. 310).

All ideas of life and movement can be obtained from the most humble materials. Clay and colors give the impression of magnificent richness, as in the Moorish dancer from Ocumichu, Michoacan, spirited rider of the rearing beast (fig 252).

Among the toys called "curious" may be included innumerable cupboards. An elegant example, reproduced here, is one of three sections, made of the typically Mexican *pochote* or silk-cotton tree, which is inlaid with pieces of carved bone and is enriched with fragments of mirror and gilt (fig 269).

Folk toys —made by the people— are for the same people, whose economy is still very poor. Limited funds pay for these toys. Labor is worth almost as little as material, therefore the intrinsic value of the toys is very low. Their richness, however, is found in their great plastic value. In many cases this is superior to that of works by so many artists who roam the world making their way by dint of publicity and by elbowing, until they manage to open the door of fame and sell their wares for fabulous sums.

Another phenomenon, a migratory one, is just as curious: the folk toy which gladdens the life of Mexican children and influences their good taste (although no one considers this very important) is exported to other countries and because of this act alone it acquires prestige. It becomes and object of great value when its possessors place it in a privileged position over the fireplace of their mansion.

The evolution of man does not exclude the fantasy which constitutes the world of children; on the contrary, it enriches it. Activity of the past now bears fruit in the form of knowledge and experience. We are no longer dealing with the toy in its function as an amusement. Here is another, completely different one from the toy whose social motive implies a game between comrades. It is now and object of cult, subjective, ideal.

We can see, therefore, that it is not at all easy to define the essence of the toy as such, since —at times— it can be taken for a bibelot because of its glitter and because it lends itself as an adornment. He who has it always enjoys its pleasant company. It is a delight not only for the child but in many cases for the adult also. It charms the child, interests the adult, and even seduces old people who see in it what they call "reminders of the past."

Many toys known by us in former times do not now exist. So many are no longer made! But it does not matter; these have been substituted for a new, ample production which preserves the same qualities.

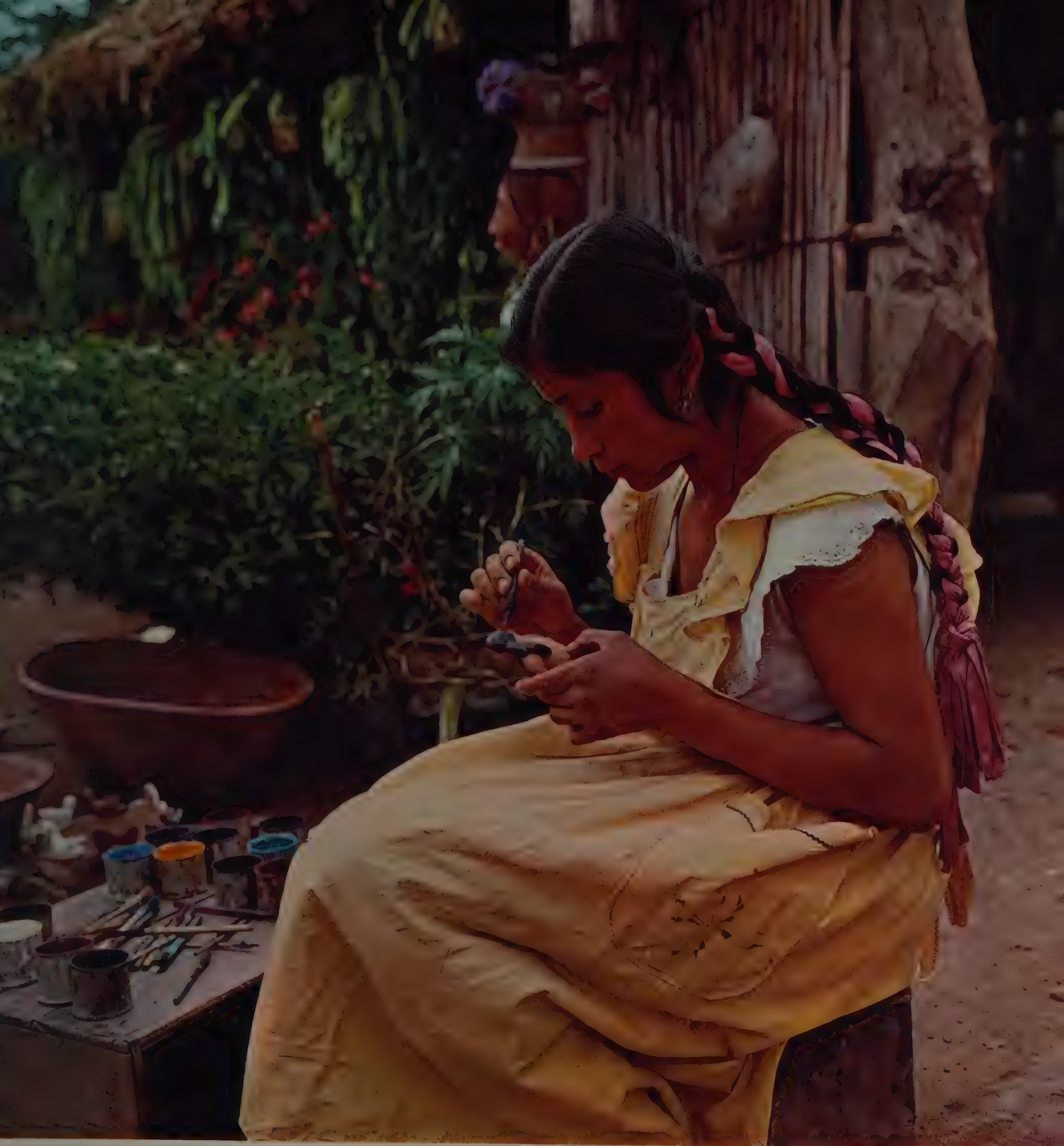
In view of this, a vast study would be necessary in order just to give an idea of the enormous variety of toys that exist in Mexico, and in the making of which different materials are used: clay, papier maché, wood, palm fiber, rushes, corn husks, cotton, tin, gourds, horn, wax, chicle, glass, bone, feathers, thread, wire, paper, etc. Space does not permit the reproduction of such a wide variety.

At times the toy is combined with another interest, another peculiarity, for there are bank-toys, vessel-toys, toys with elementary movements (wrestlers, circus performers, acrobats, Indians manipulated by strings, cockfights, flying birds, pinwheels and others). There are sound-making toys, too, such as water whistles, other whistles, bugles, drums, rattles, *matracas* and *carracas* —gourd rattles whose names are onomatopaeic.

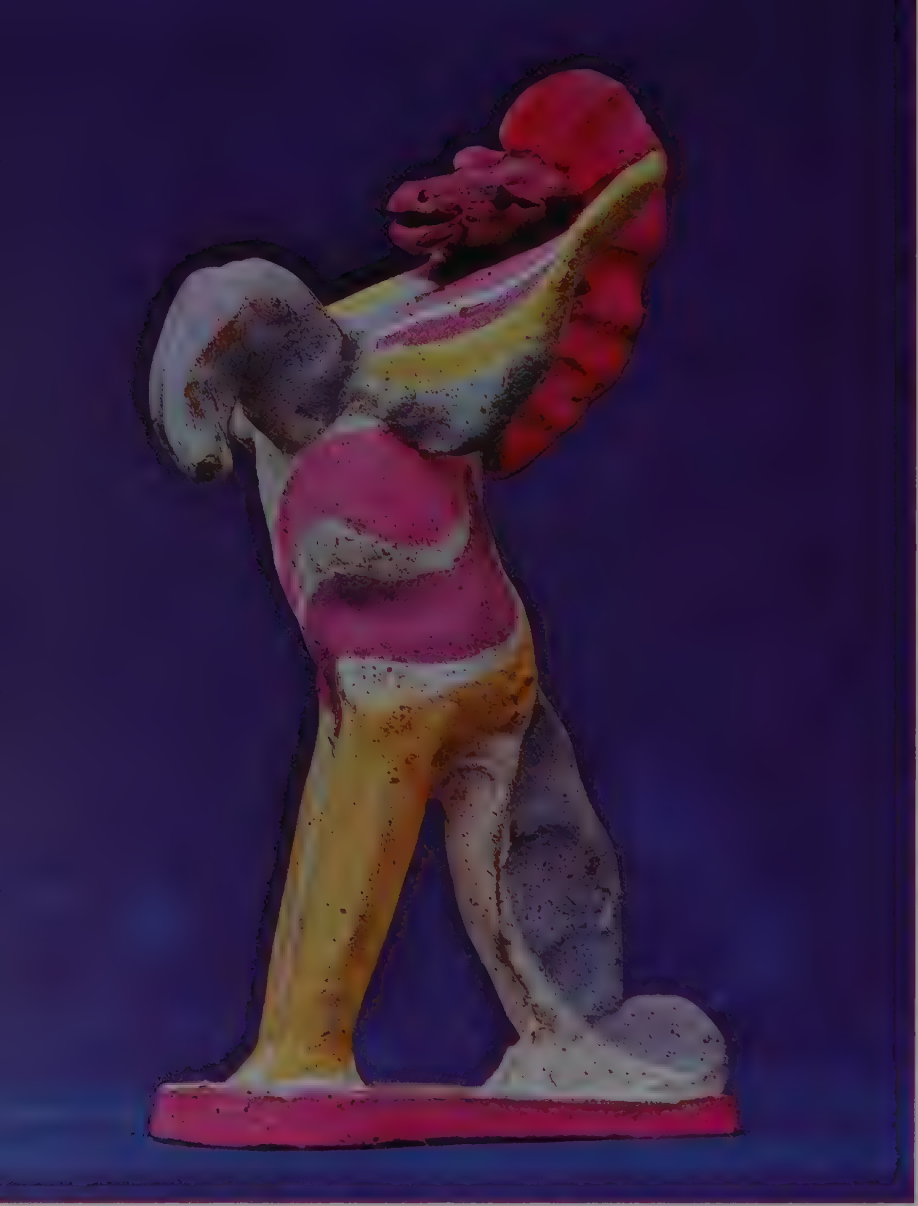
But in general terms a difference may be established between toys that make a child wish to do physical exercise (kites, *baleros*, balls, yo-yos, and tops) and others that are purely static and whose interest resides in their aesthetic value or in their decorative charm.

Finally, let us reconsider what we have already mentioned: the toy carries out its purpose along a route parallel to the life cycle of the human, for it is born when the life of the child begins and it ends with the death of man.

The Mexican toy world is full of delightfully fantastic objects and peopled with fanciful animals. It is paradoxical but true that although native children become adults at the age of eight or sooner, dressing like their parents and working with them, they never outgrow their childish pleasure in the simple, amusing things. Thus the craftsmen who make the toys, do so *con cariño* or with affection. . . FRANCES TOOR[1]

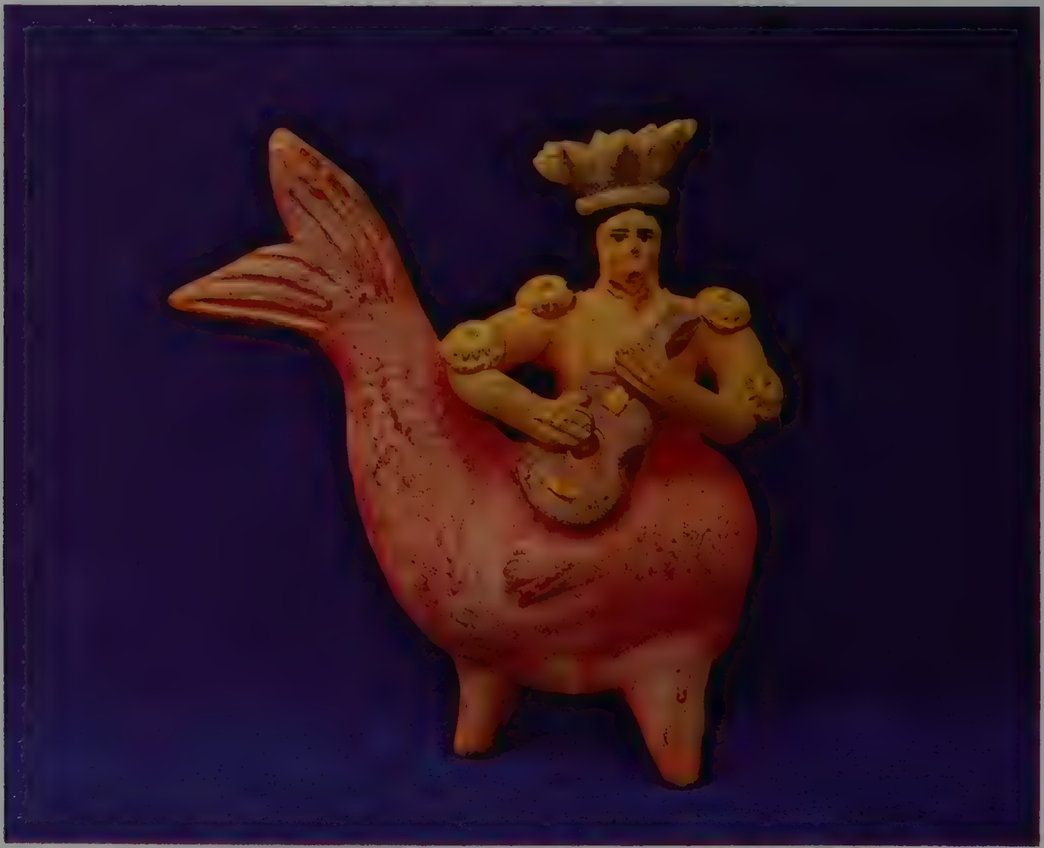


237. Woman decorating toys. Ocotlan, Oaxaca.

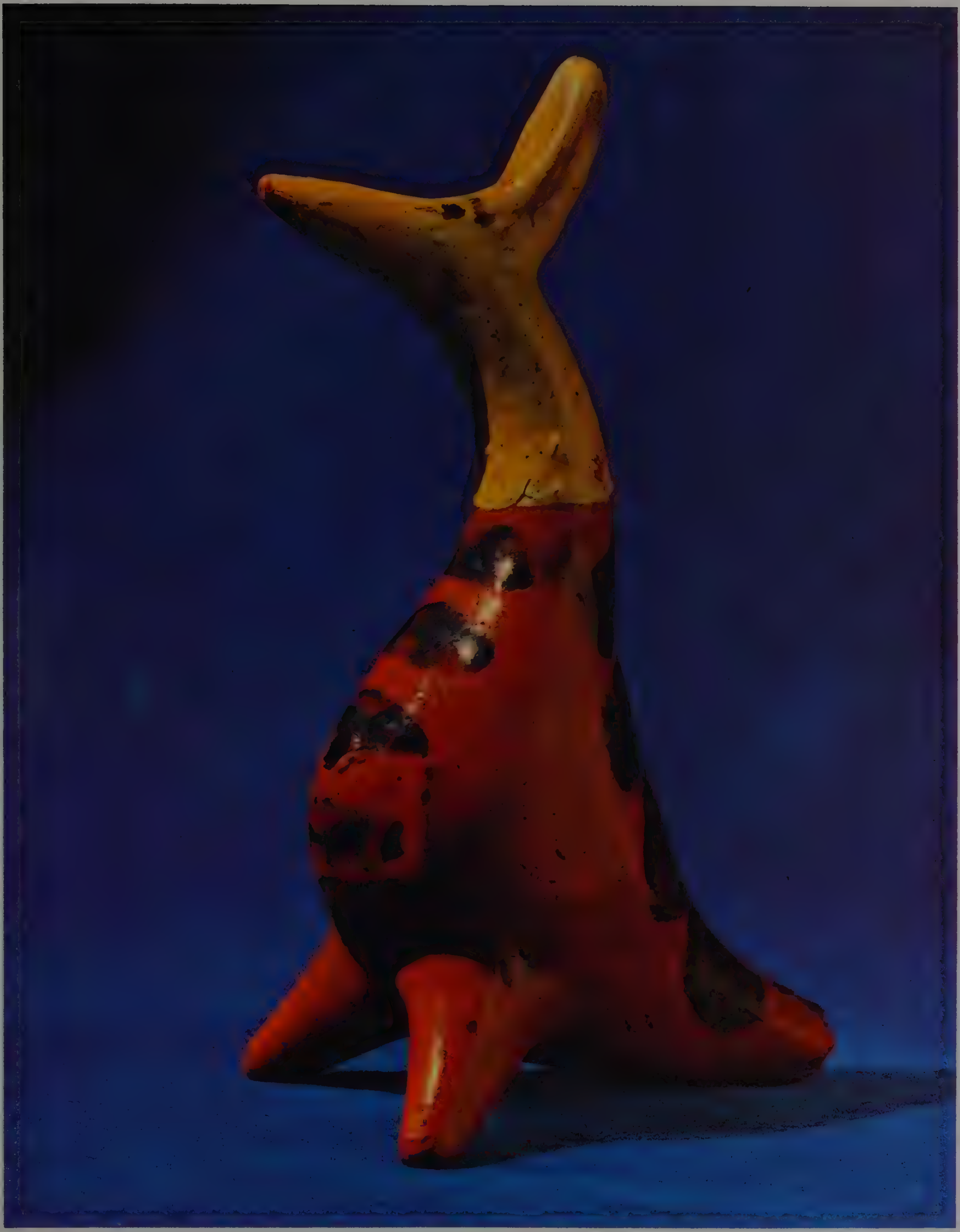


238. Toy. Metepec, State of Mexico.

It is a pleasure to see the joy with which the potters of Metepec work, when they paint dancing horses in magenta, gold, and blue. Their Saint Isidore figures and their Three Wise Men are always dressed differently; the mermaid is clothed in terribly bold colors, according to the mood of the artisan. The potters of Metepec have no inhibitions. They combine the clay pieces, in part taken from old molds, according to whim, then they paint them without following preestablished norms. They work in their simple huts, seated on straw mats. GUTIERRE TIBÓN

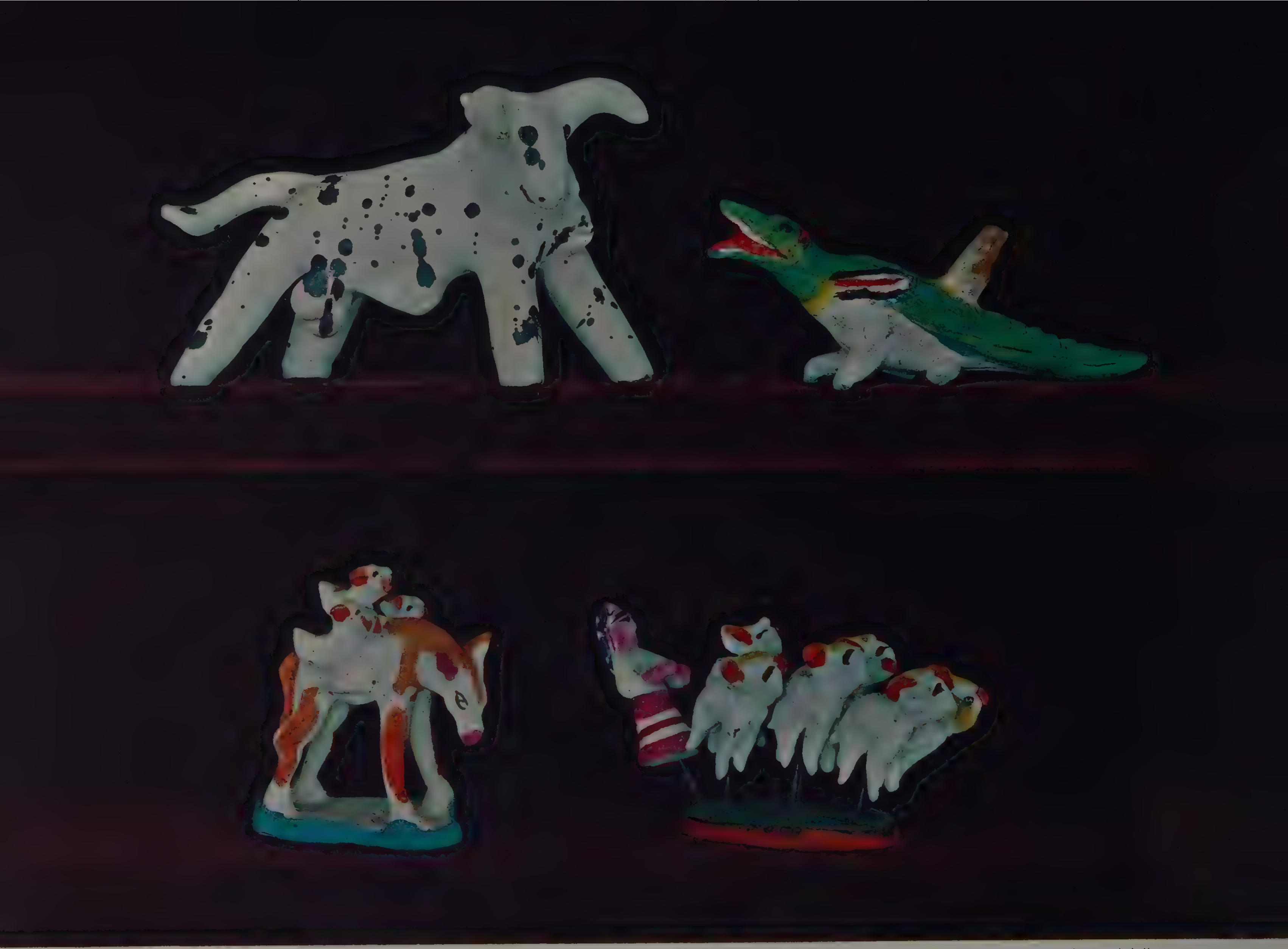


239. Toy. Metepec, State of Mexico.

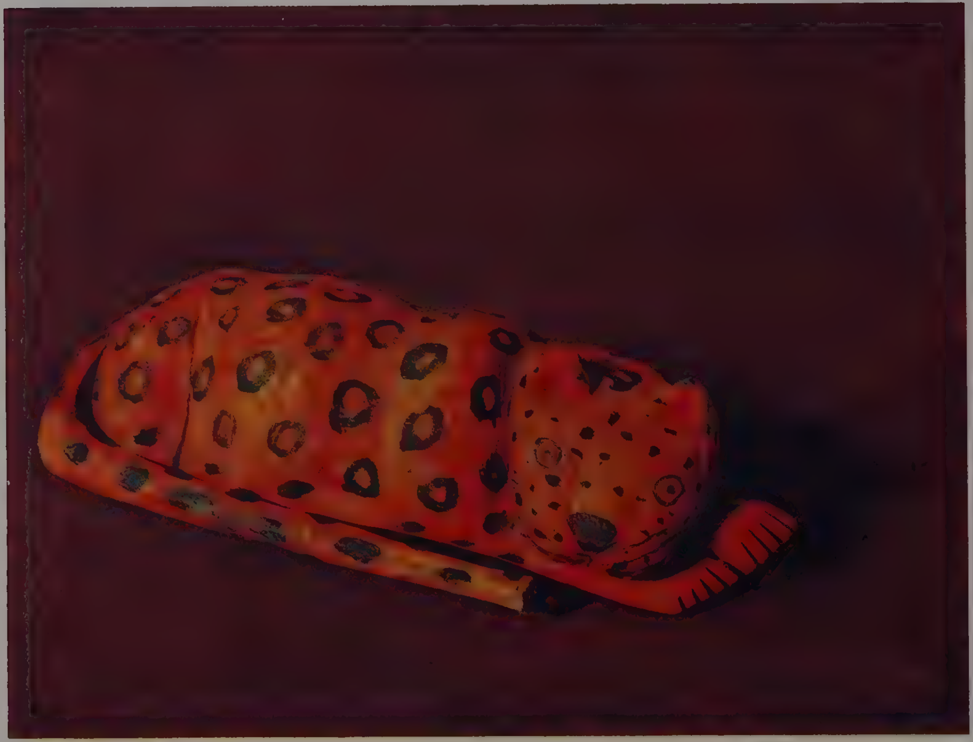


240. Whistle. Tecomatepec, State of Mexico.

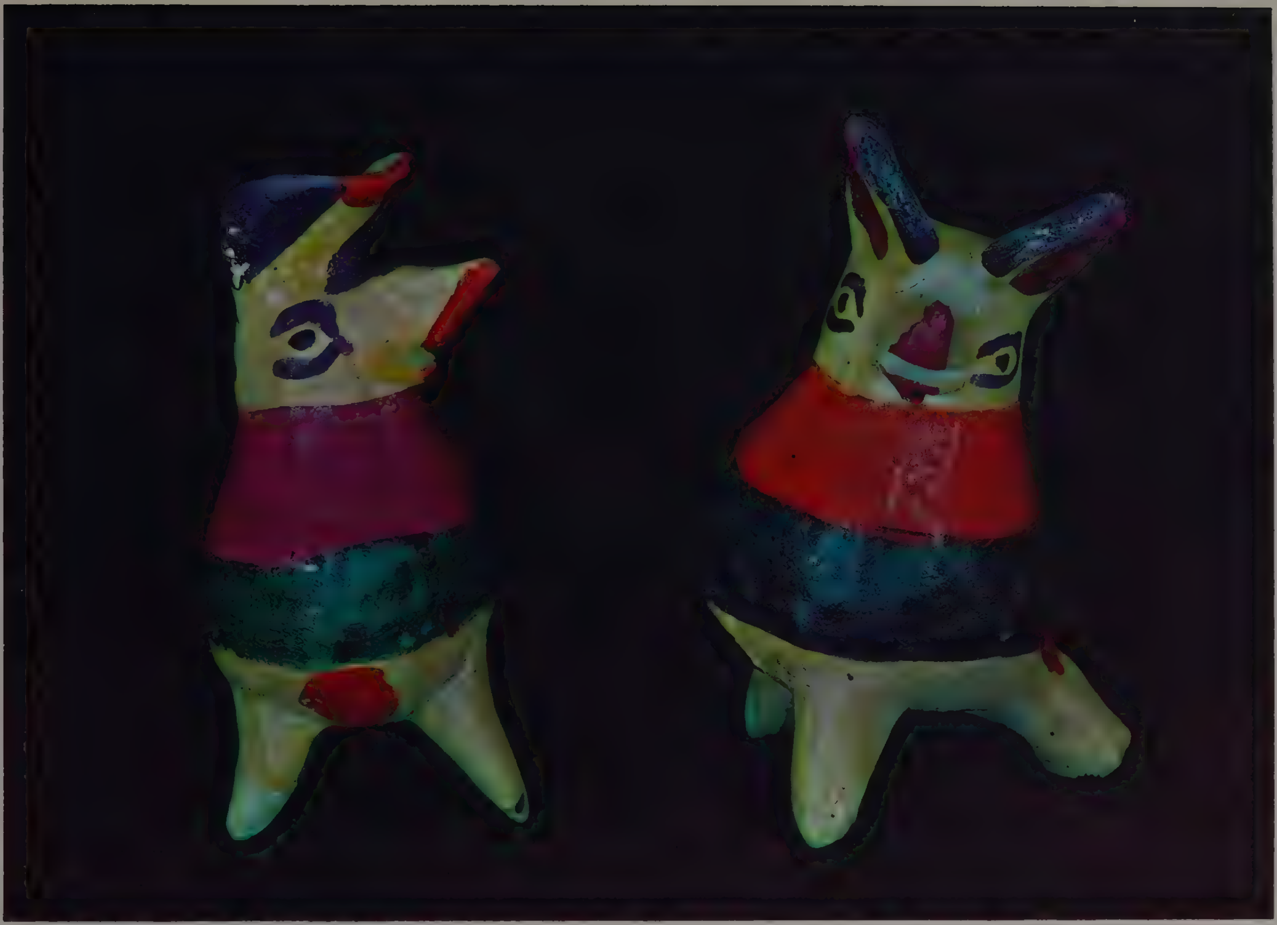
The flights of his imagination and his exceptional faculty of observation are governed by the same spirit that inspired the Pre-Columbian artisan: the sculptor, lapidary, metal worker, the mosaic artist. Because of this the folk artist who decorates a toy, a vessel, a piece of cloth, the simplest object, instinctively finds happy solutions —and with remarkable mastery— which allow him to improvise perfect stylizations. Furthermore, the work that leaves his hands invariably possesses an esthetic sense of proportion and balance. FRANCISCO J. HERNÁNDEZ



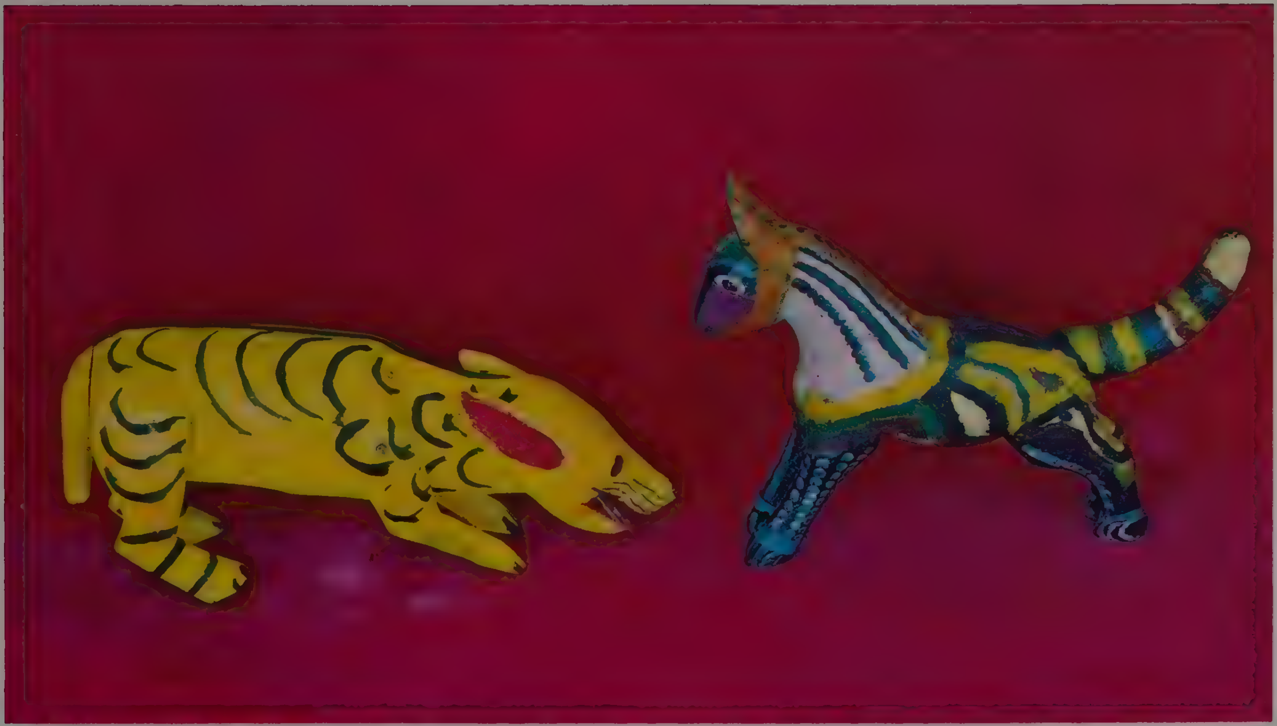
241. Toys. Mexico and Jalisco.



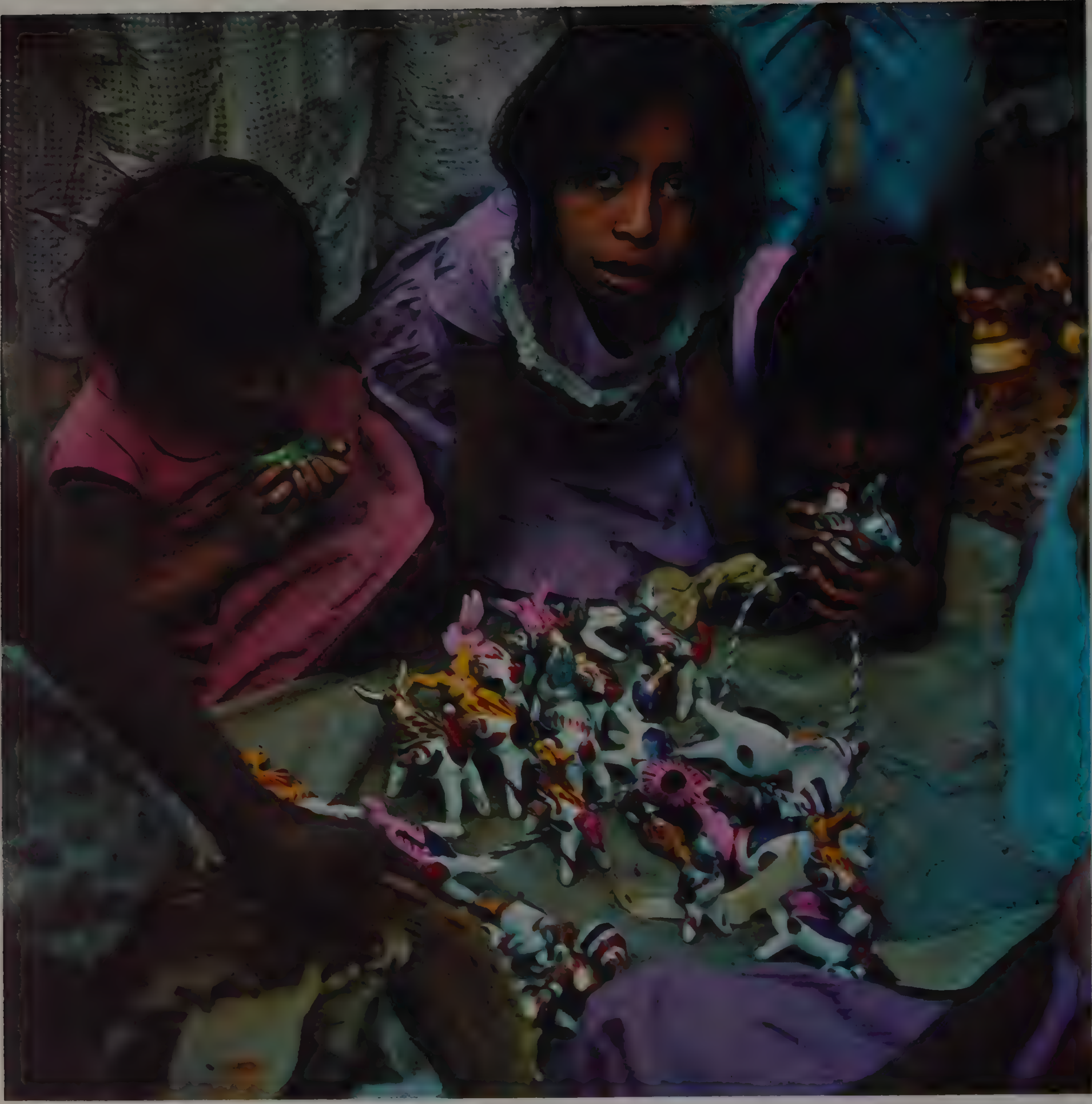
242. Figurine. City of Oaxaca.



243. Whistles. San Pedro Tlaquepaque, Jalisco.

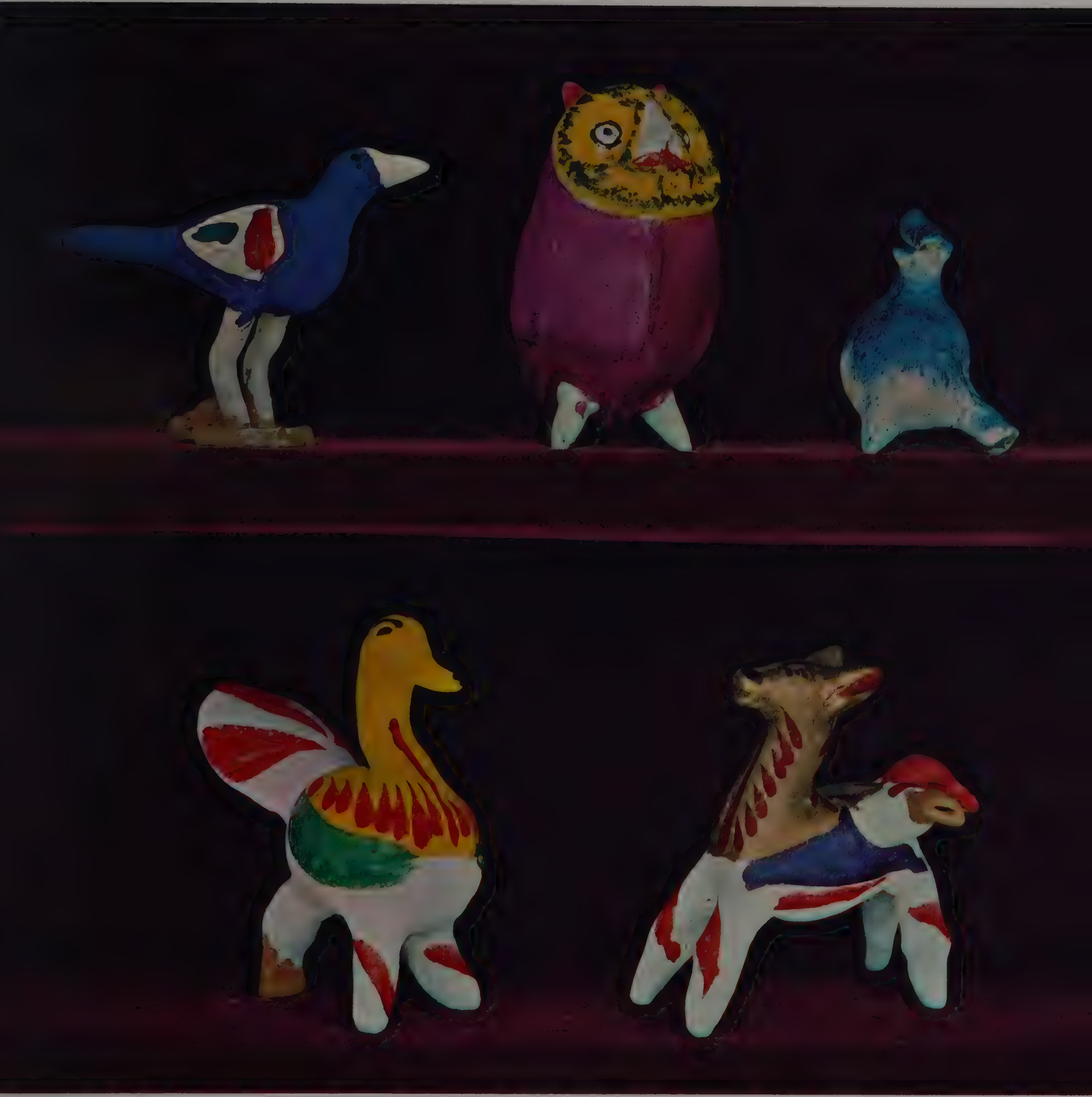


244. Animal figures. Oaxaca and Guerrero.

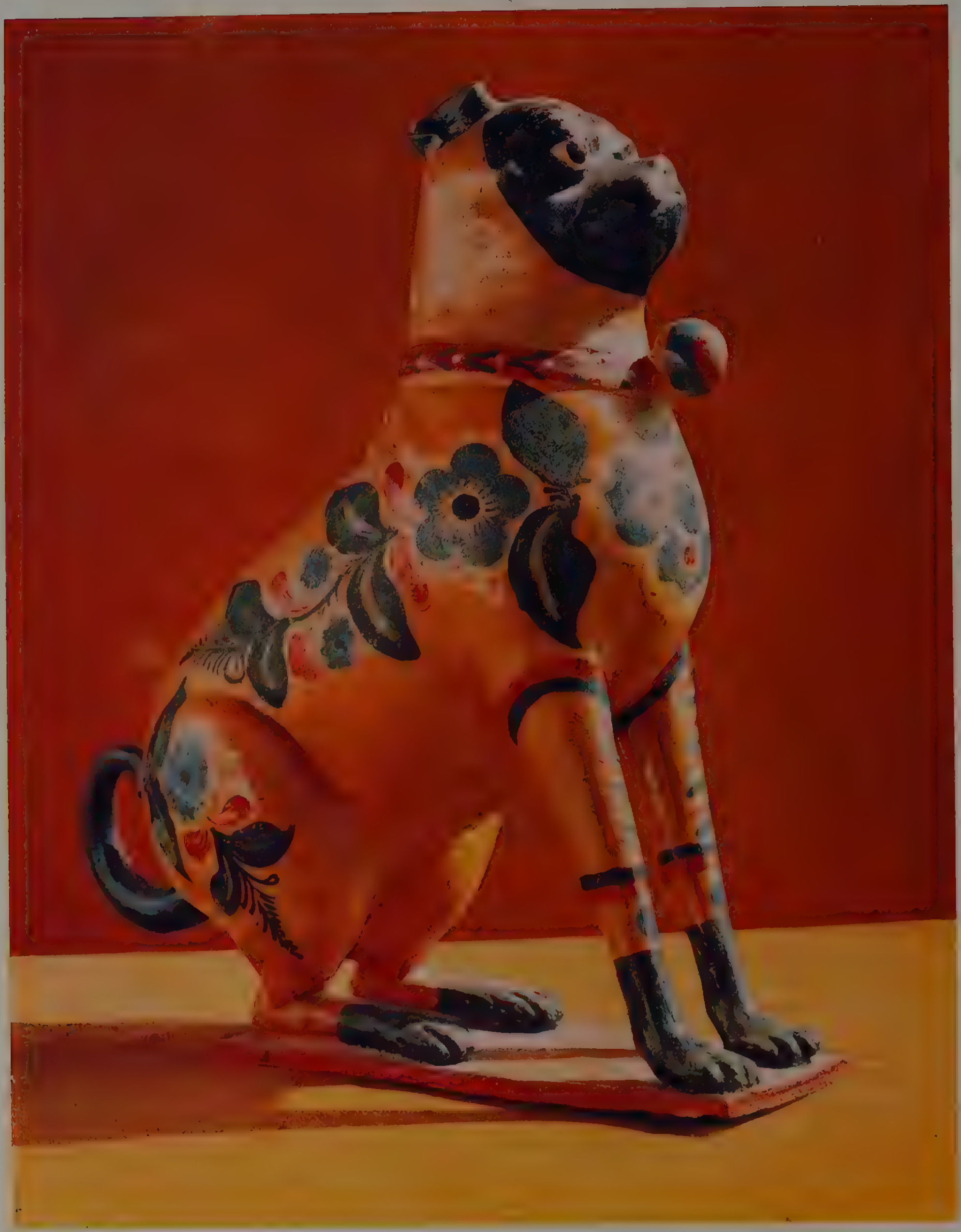


245. Fair at Tepalcingo, Morelos.

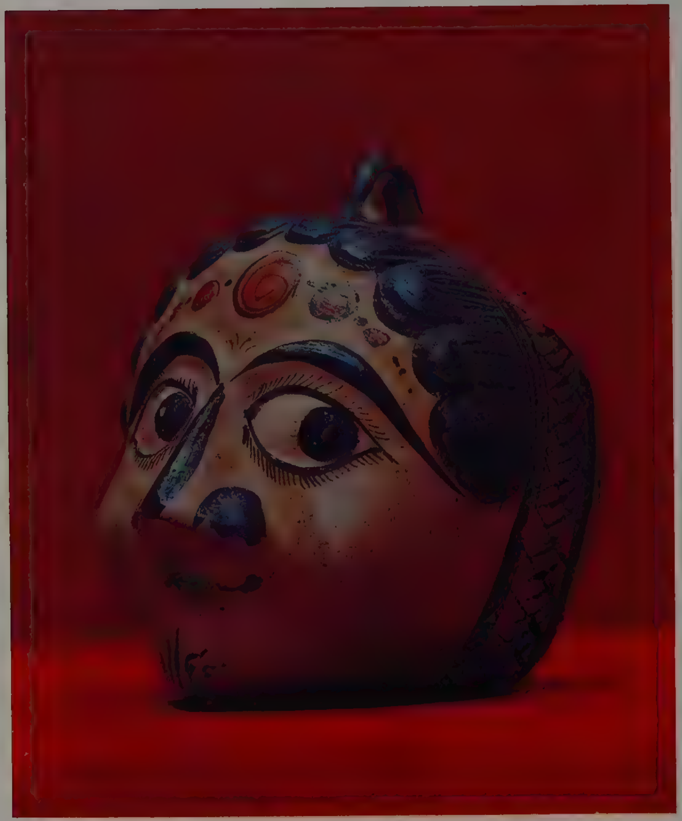
Although animal cults and myths are disappearing, yet an obvious pleasure and a passionate fondness for expressing the life of animals subsist. . . GABRIEL FERNÁNDEZ LEDESMA[1]



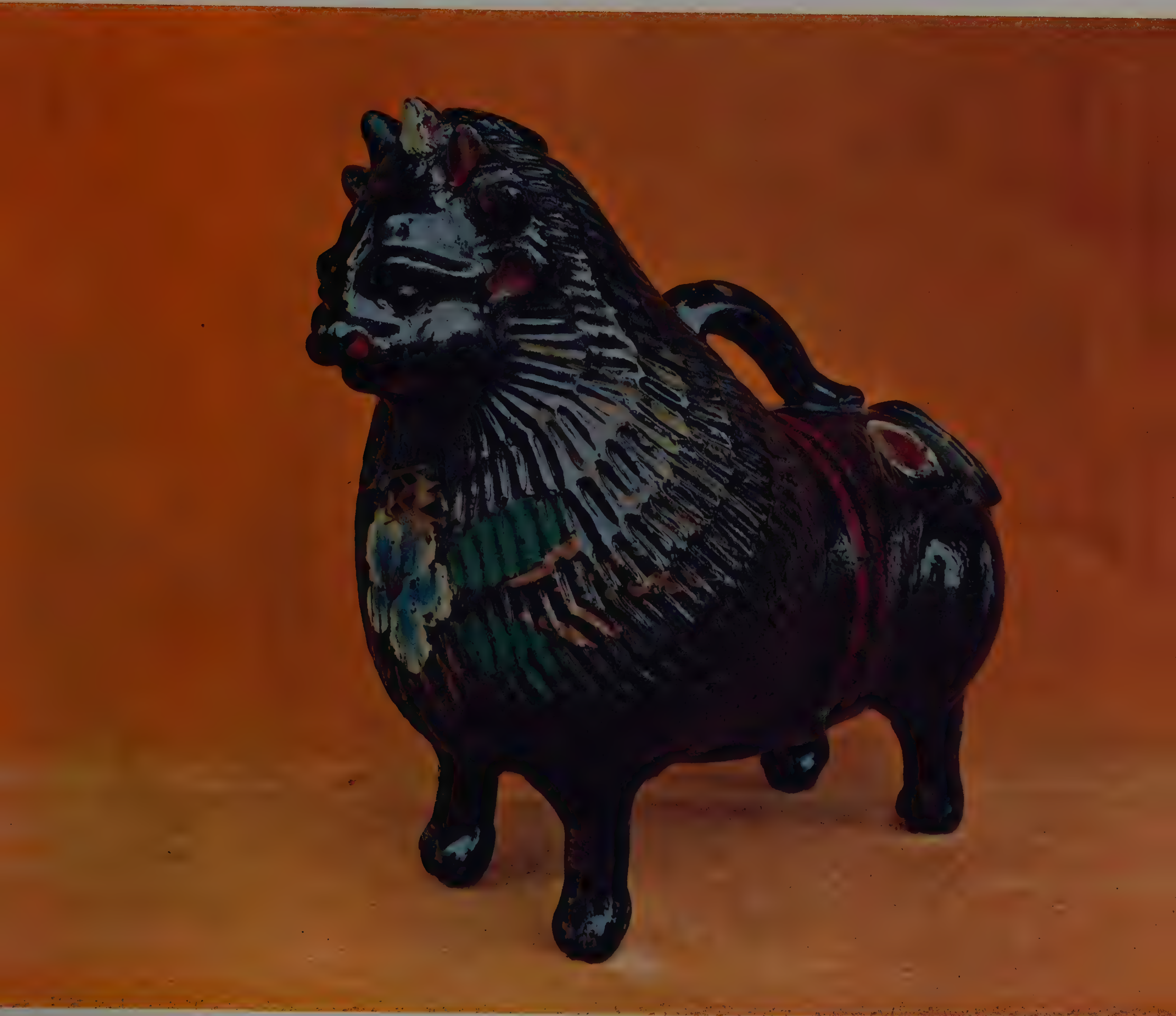
246. Whistles. States of Jalisco, Puebla, and Mexico.



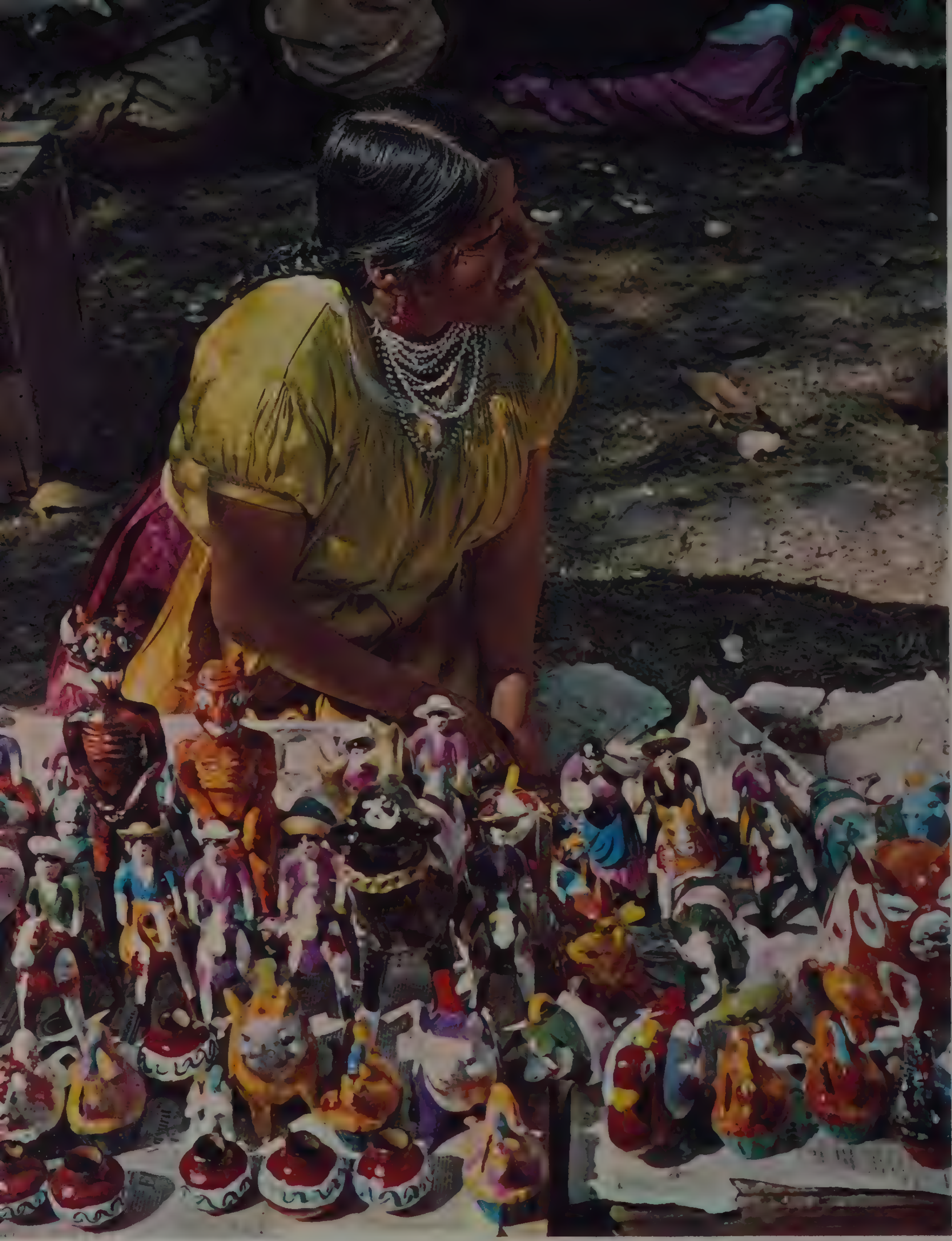
247. Clay bank. San Pedro Tlaquepaque, Jalisco.



248. Clay bank. Tonala, Jalisco.

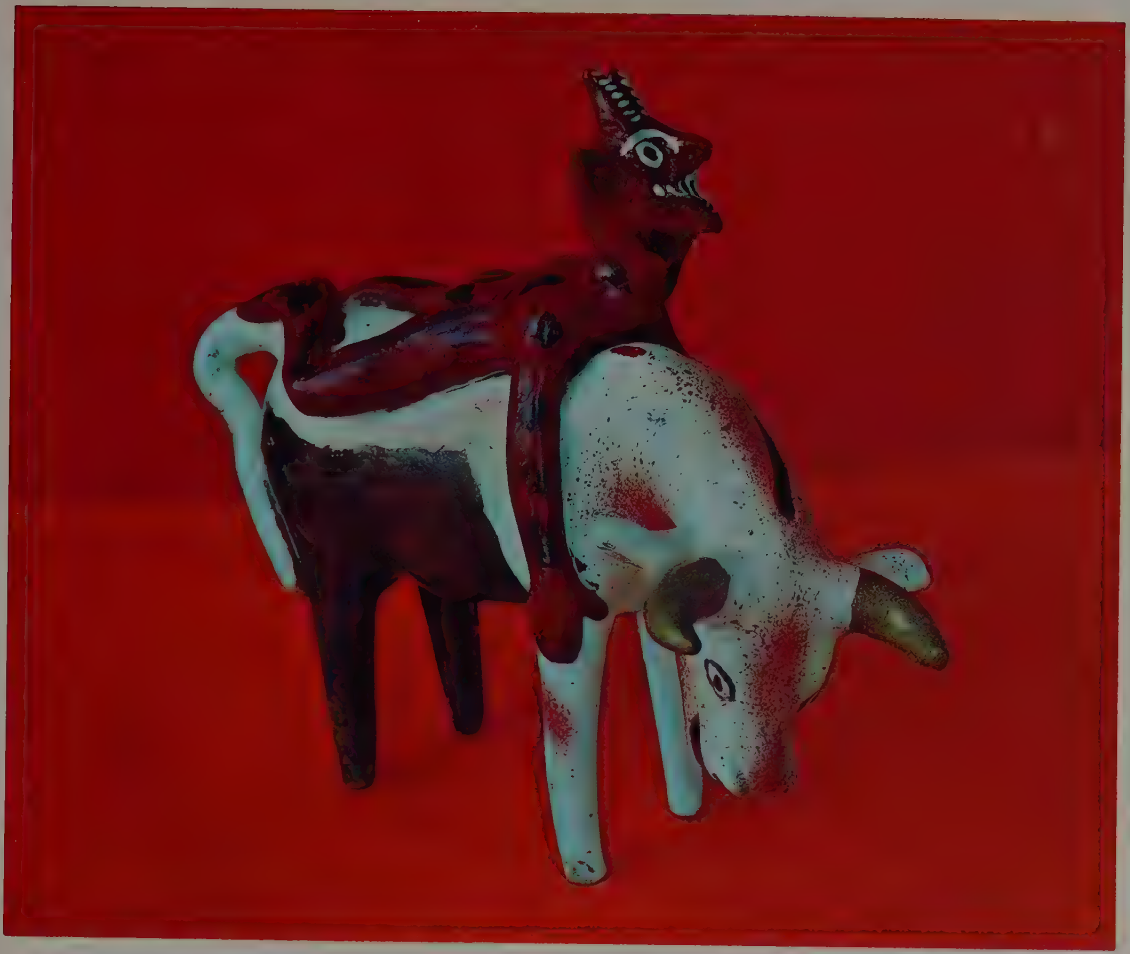


249. Clay bank. Texcoco, State of Mexico.

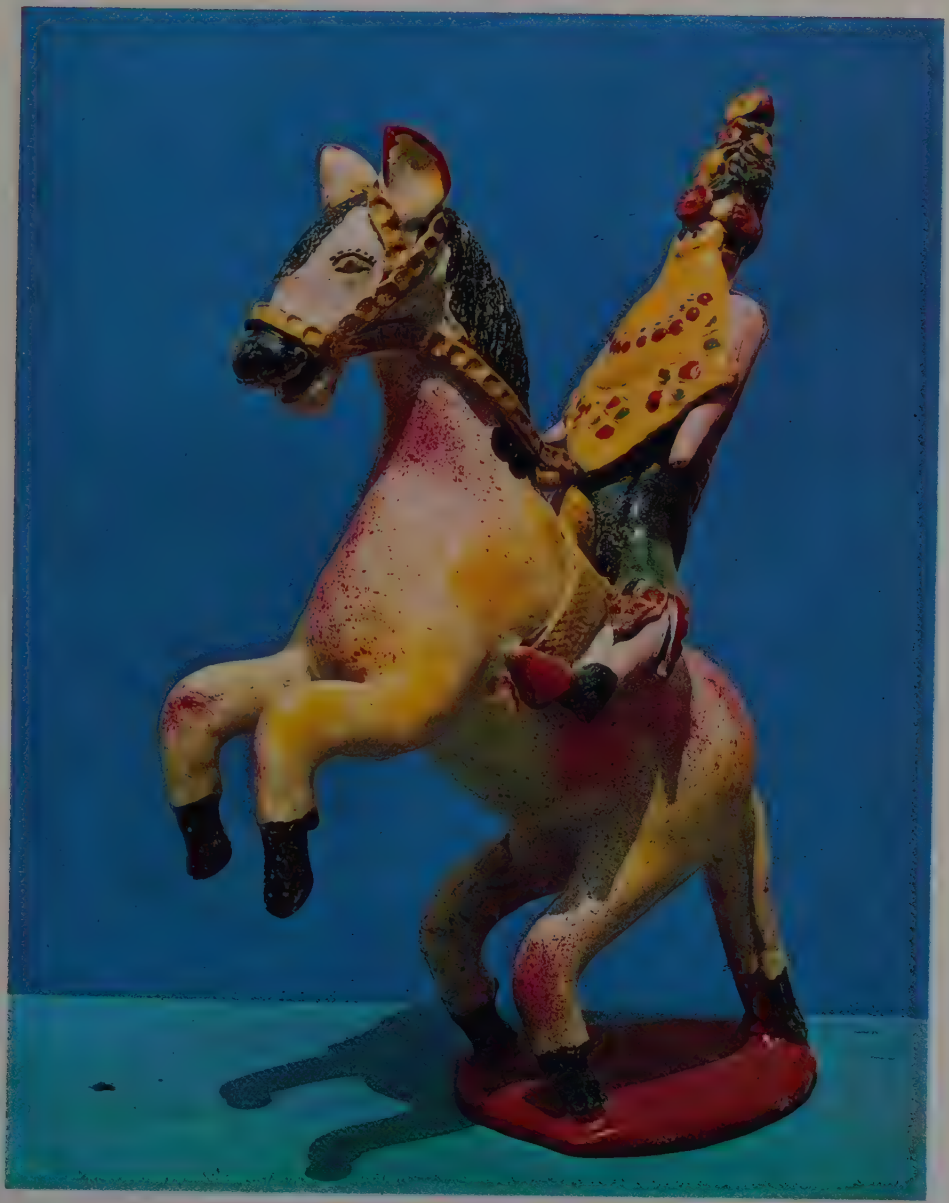


250. Toy vendor. Huancito, Michoacan.

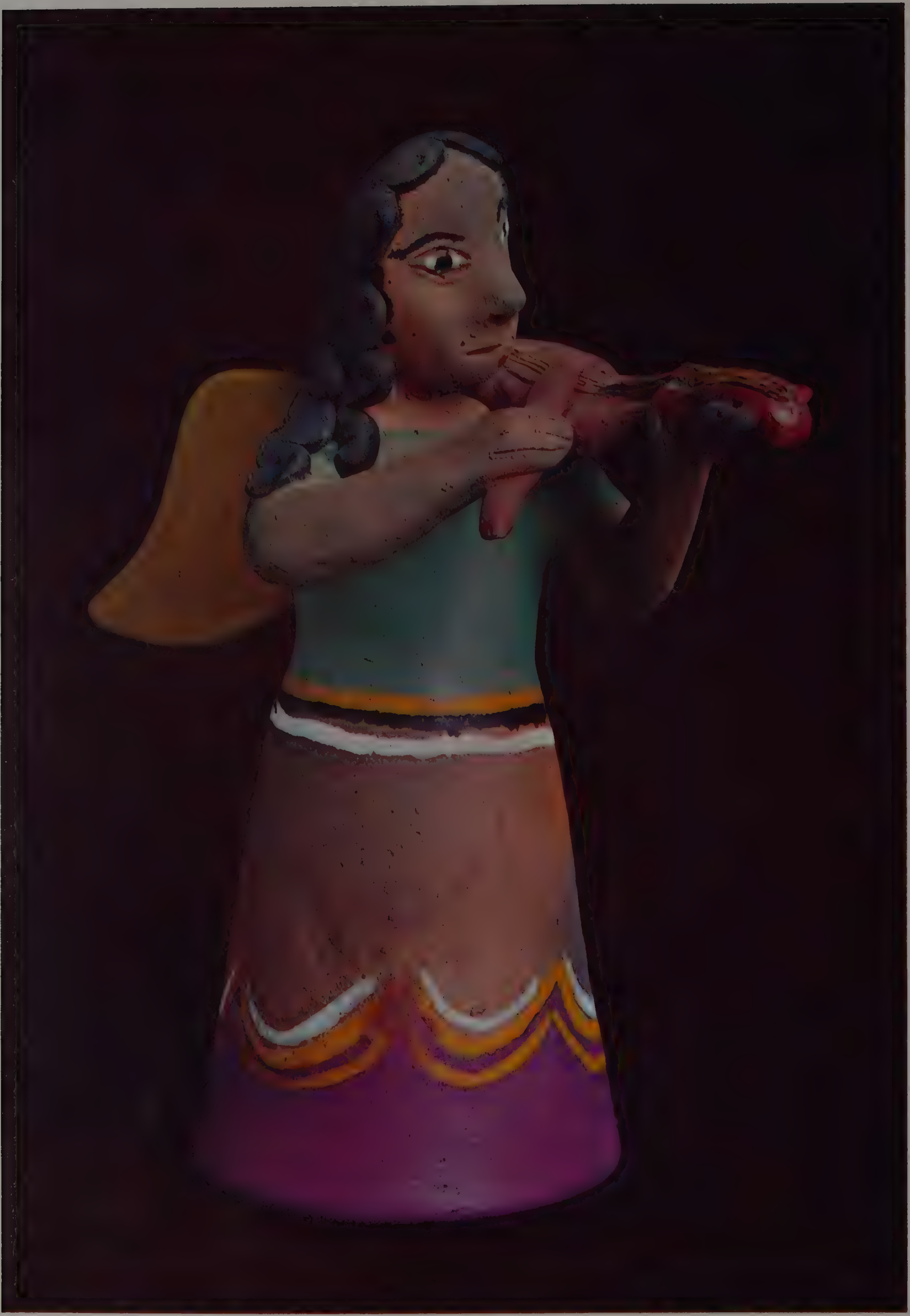
Popular fantasy creates the most exotic figures, the most absurd and anachronical characters. Gabriel Fernández Ledesma[1]



251. Clay bank. Ocumicho, Michoacan.

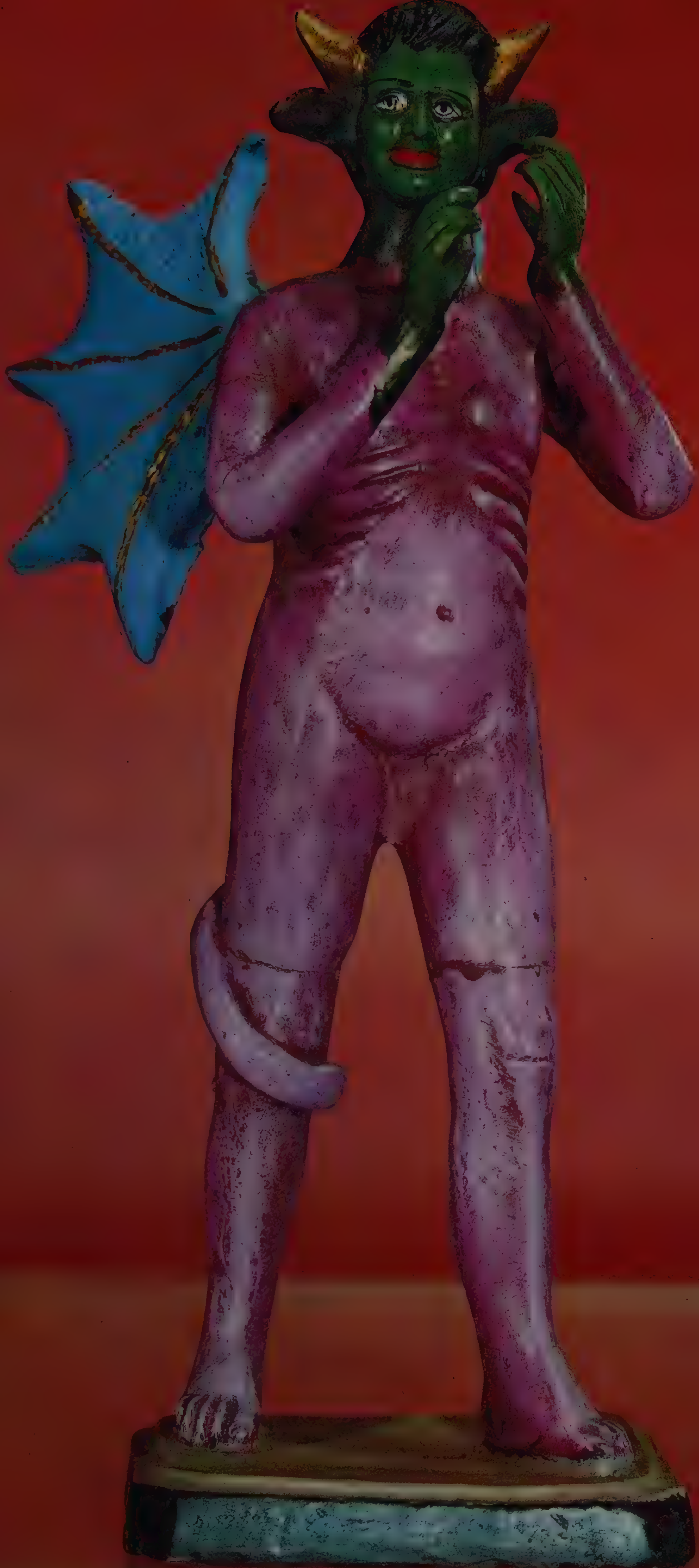


252. Figurine. Ocumicho, Michoacan.

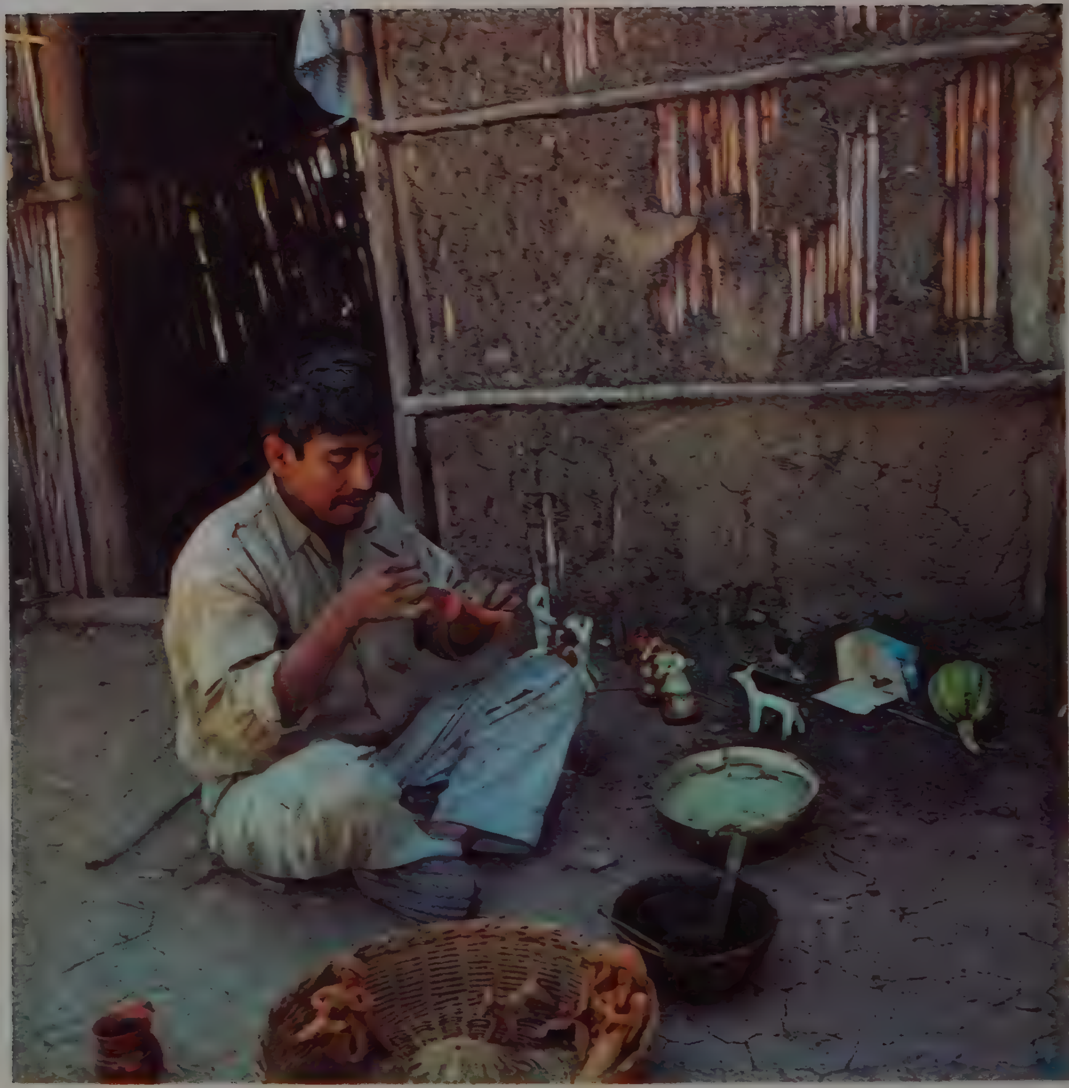


253. Bell. Acatlan, Puebla.

On page 287:
254. Figurihe. Tlaquepaque, Jalisco.



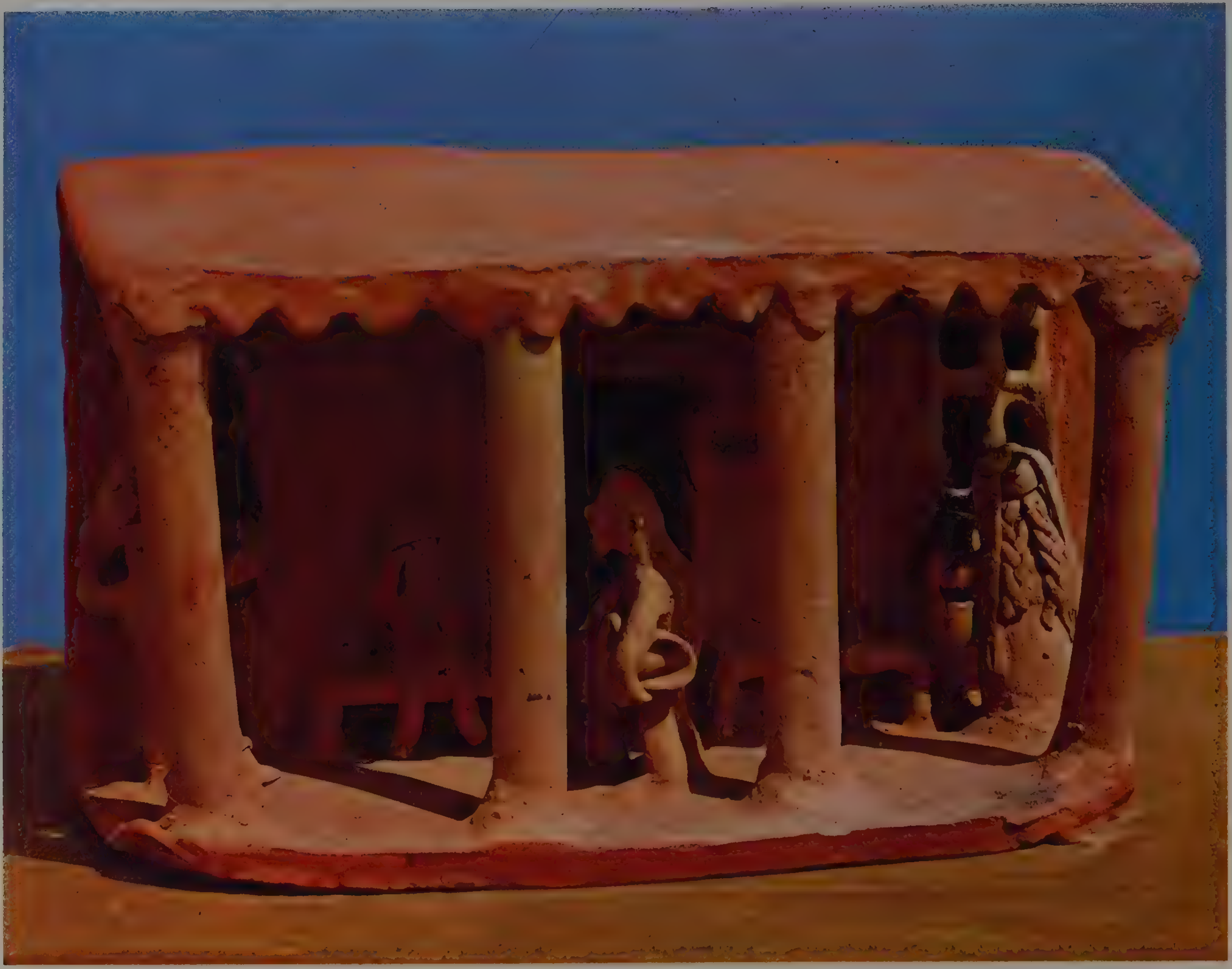
> A feminine delicacy, noticeable in certain products of pre-Hispanic art, exists also in folk arts. The brown hand, small-boned and exquisitely nerved, succeeds where the white one would fail. Miniature furniture, minute crockery, clothed fleas obey the same instinct for smallness as do those archaic crowds of folk one inch high that make music, hold hands, give birth, delouse each other's hair, yet remain pellets of clay stamped with the functional thumb mark of the potter.
>
> JEAN CHARLOT[1]



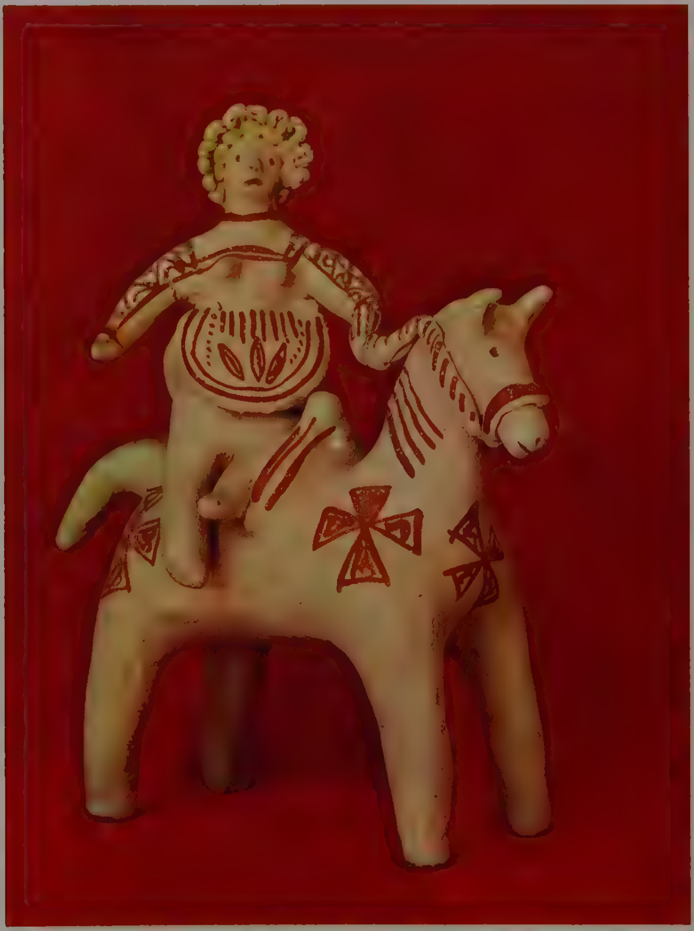
266 Potter, Tecomatepec, State of Mexico

256. Figurines. Tantoyuca, Veracruz.

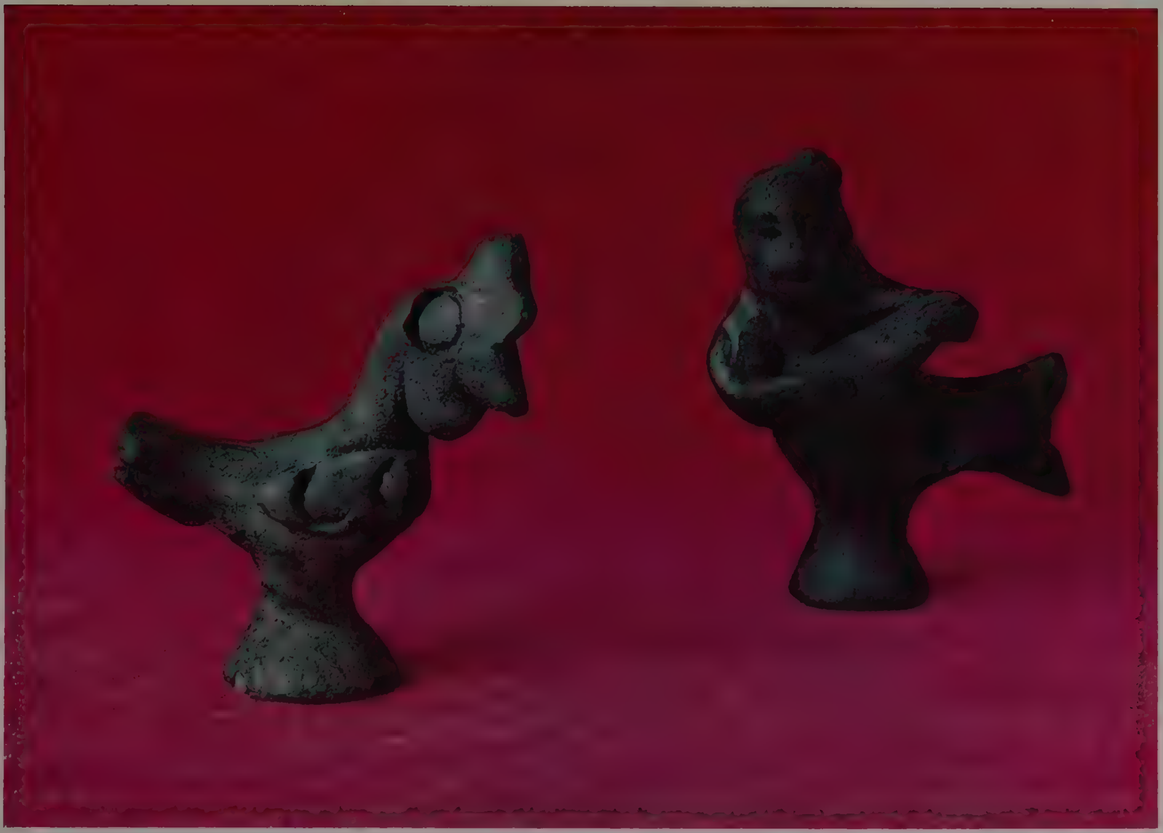
257. Figurines. Ocumicho, Michoacan.



258. Representation of a jail. Atzompa, Oaxaca.

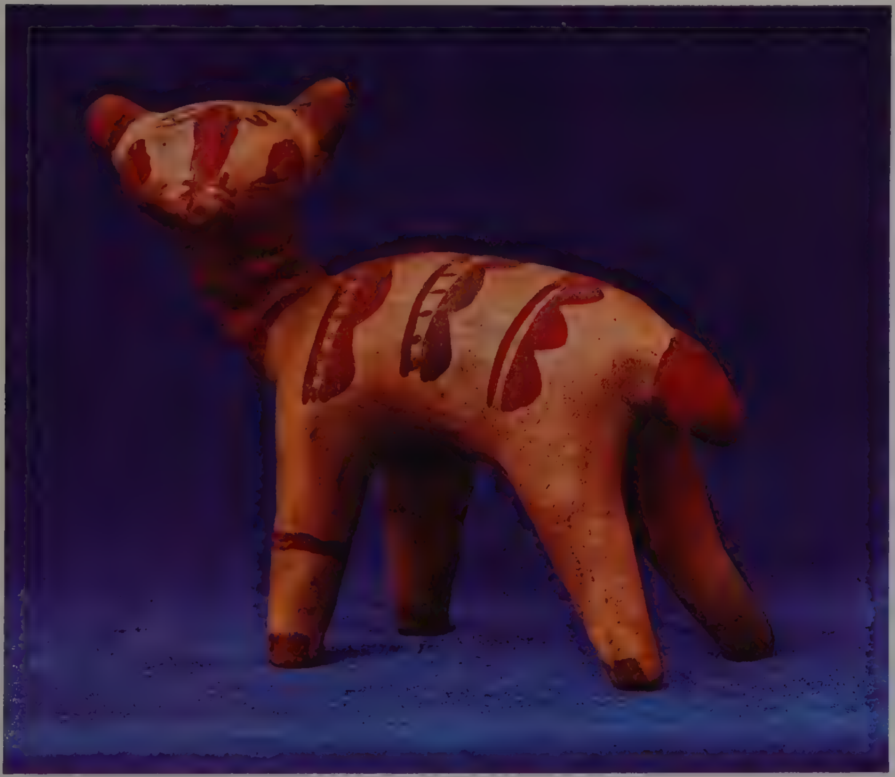


259. Figurine. Huatusco, Veracruz.

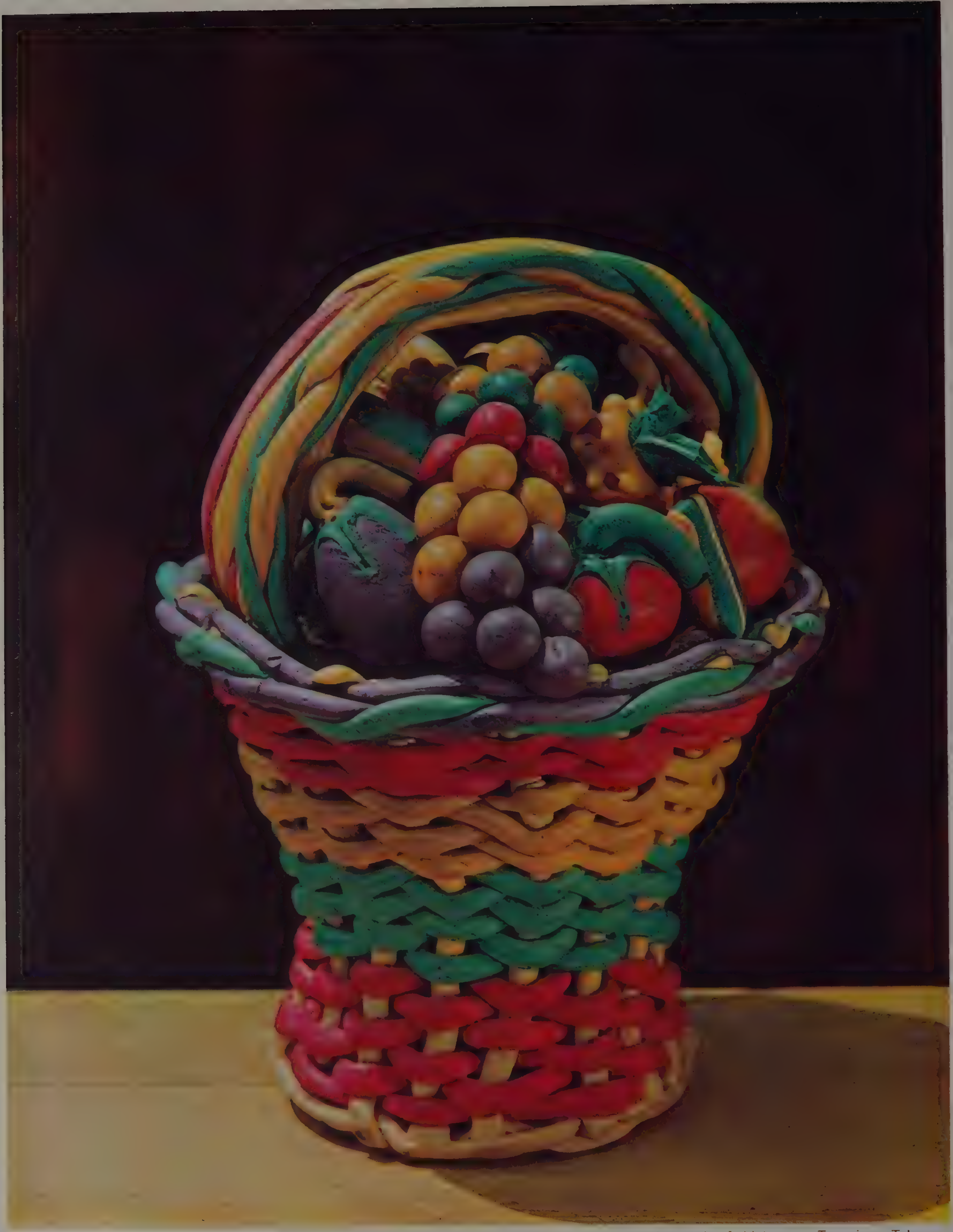


260. Whistles. San Bartolo Coyotepec, Oaxaca.

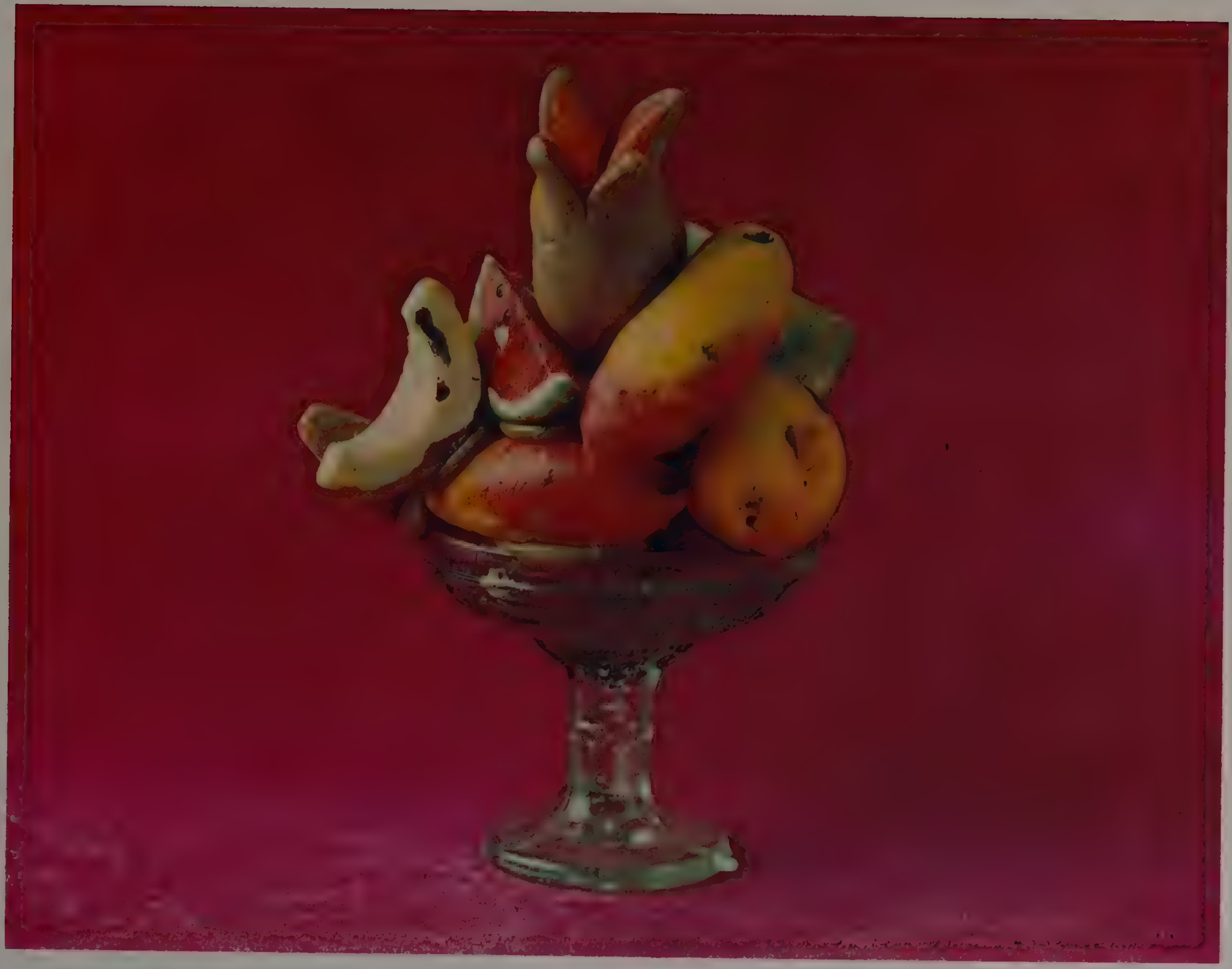
As sculpture, clay toys from Oaxaca are among the most important. Without resorting to color the artist in clay expresses eloquently —with form alone— the truth of his observations. GABRIEL FERNÁNDEZ LEDESMA[1]



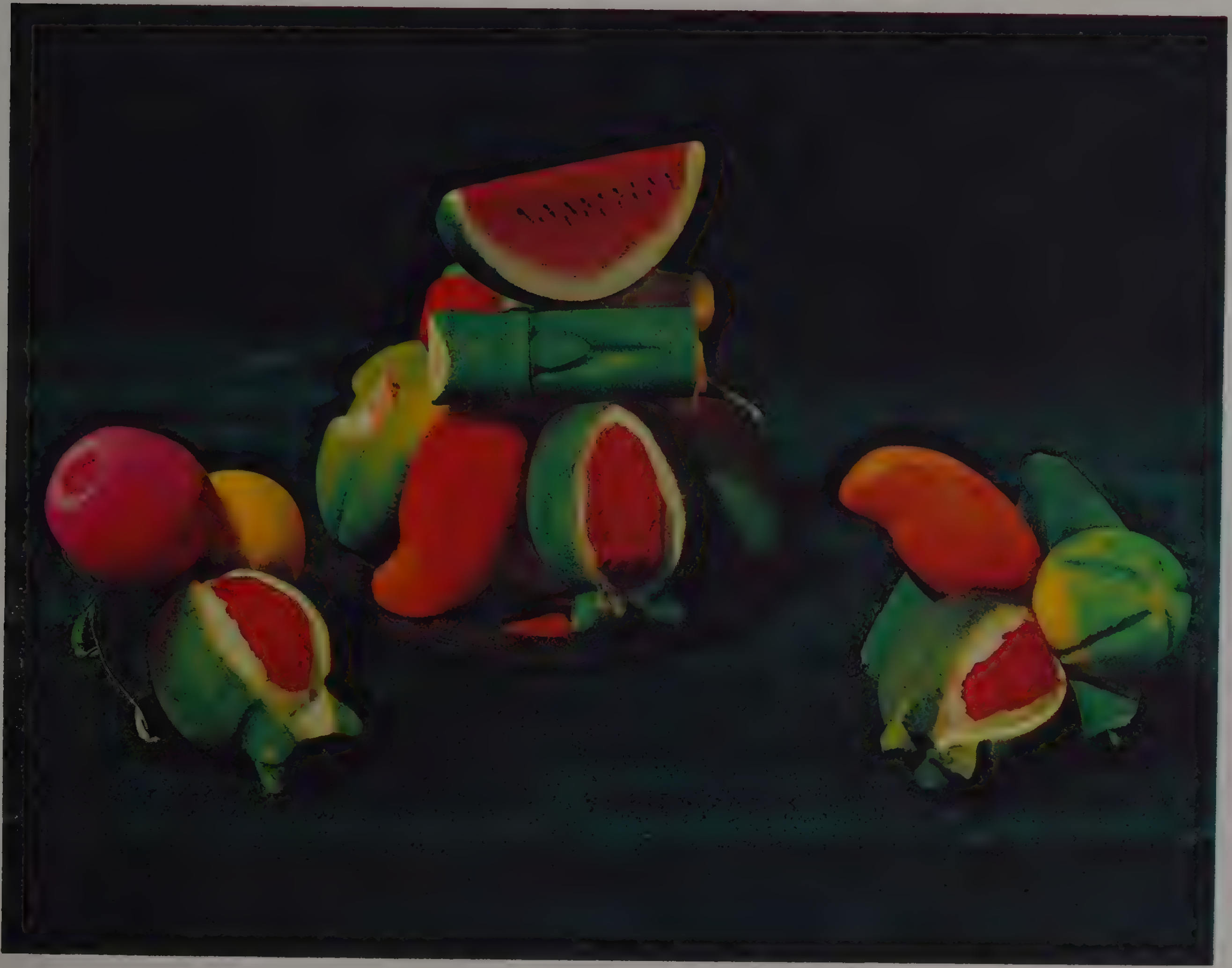
261. Figurine. Ameyaltepec, Guerrero.



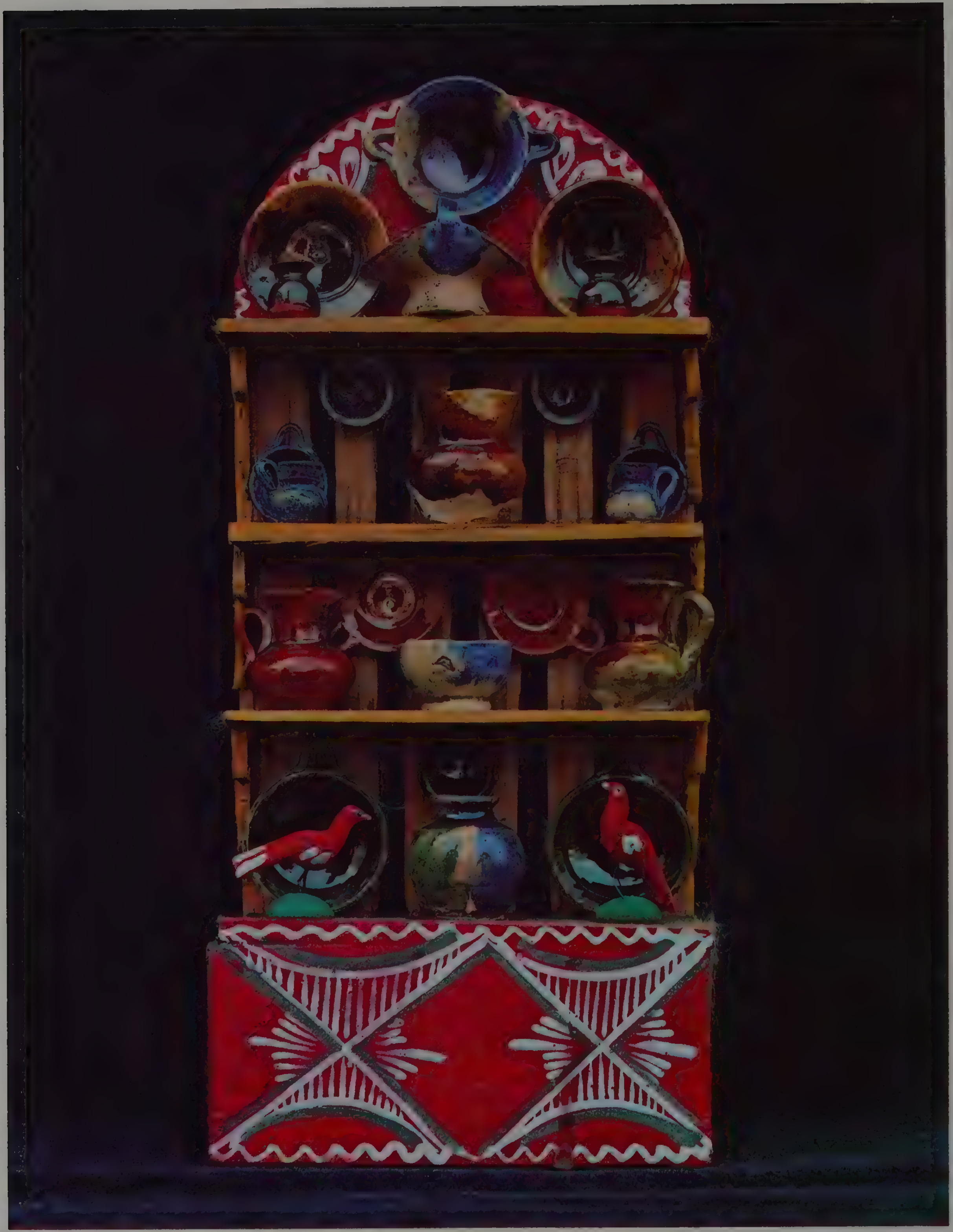
262. Figurine made of chicle gum. Tenosique, Tabasco.



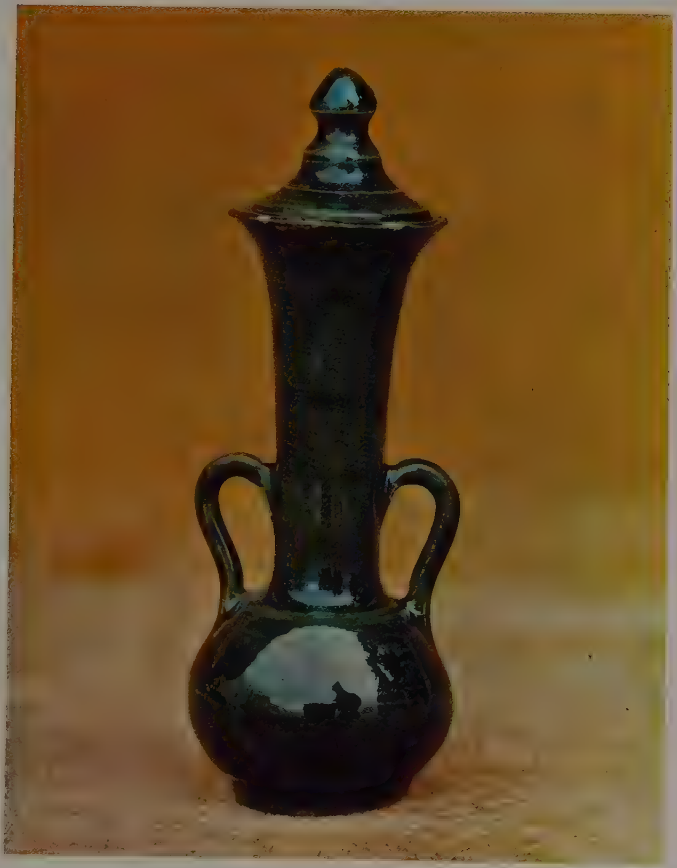
263. Miniature. City of Puebla.



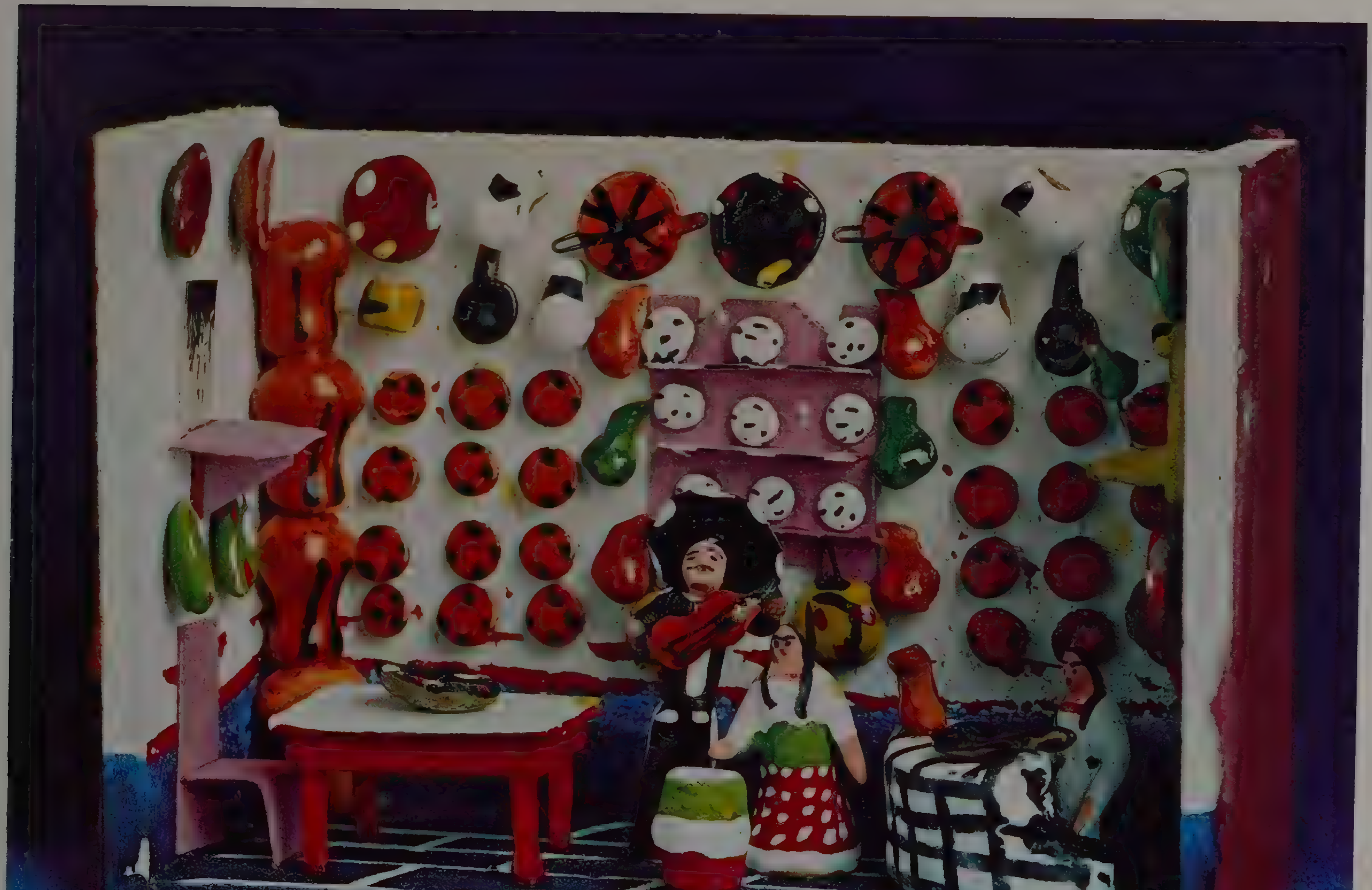
264. Miniatures. Teloloapan. Guerrero.



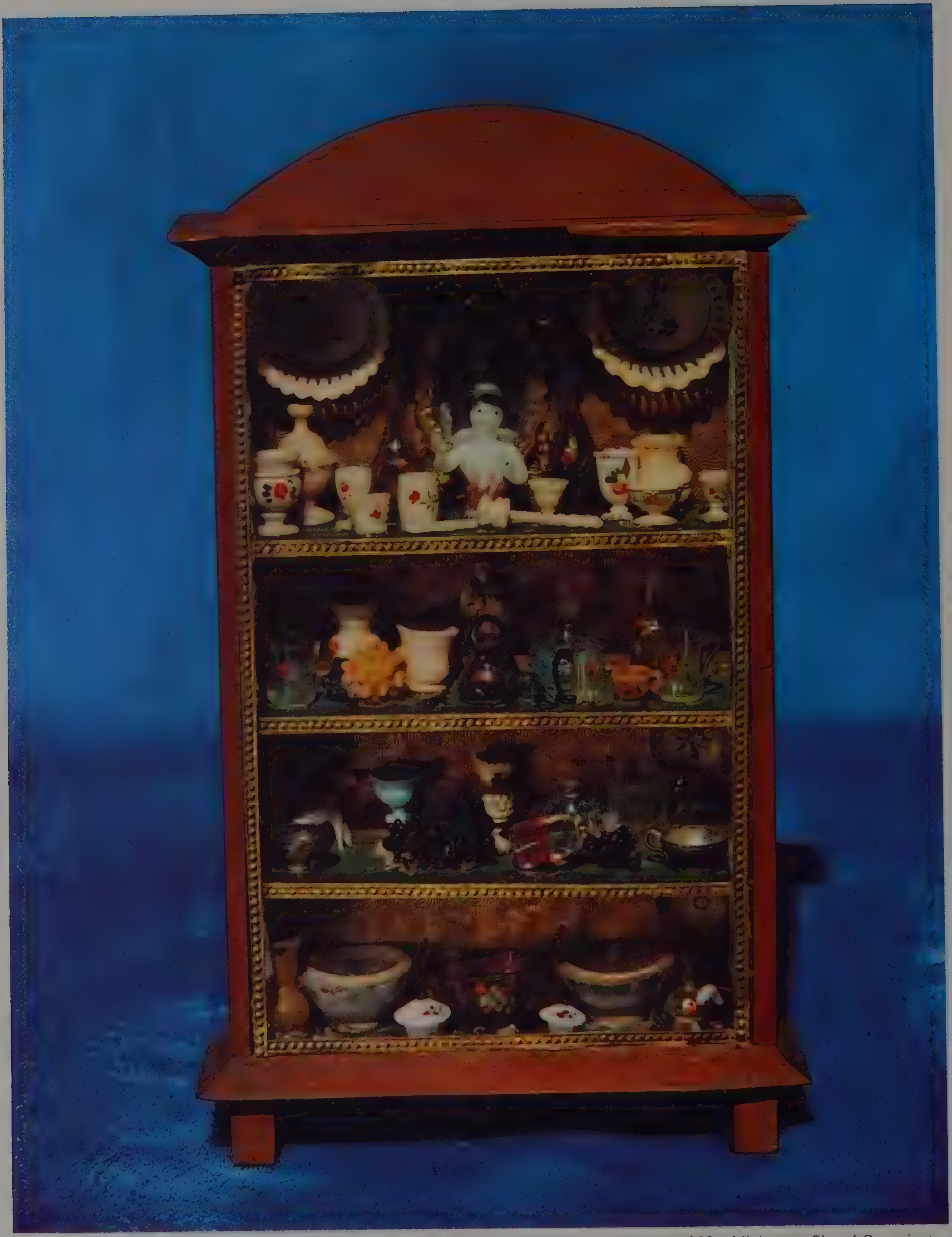
265. Miniature. Celaya, Guanajuato.



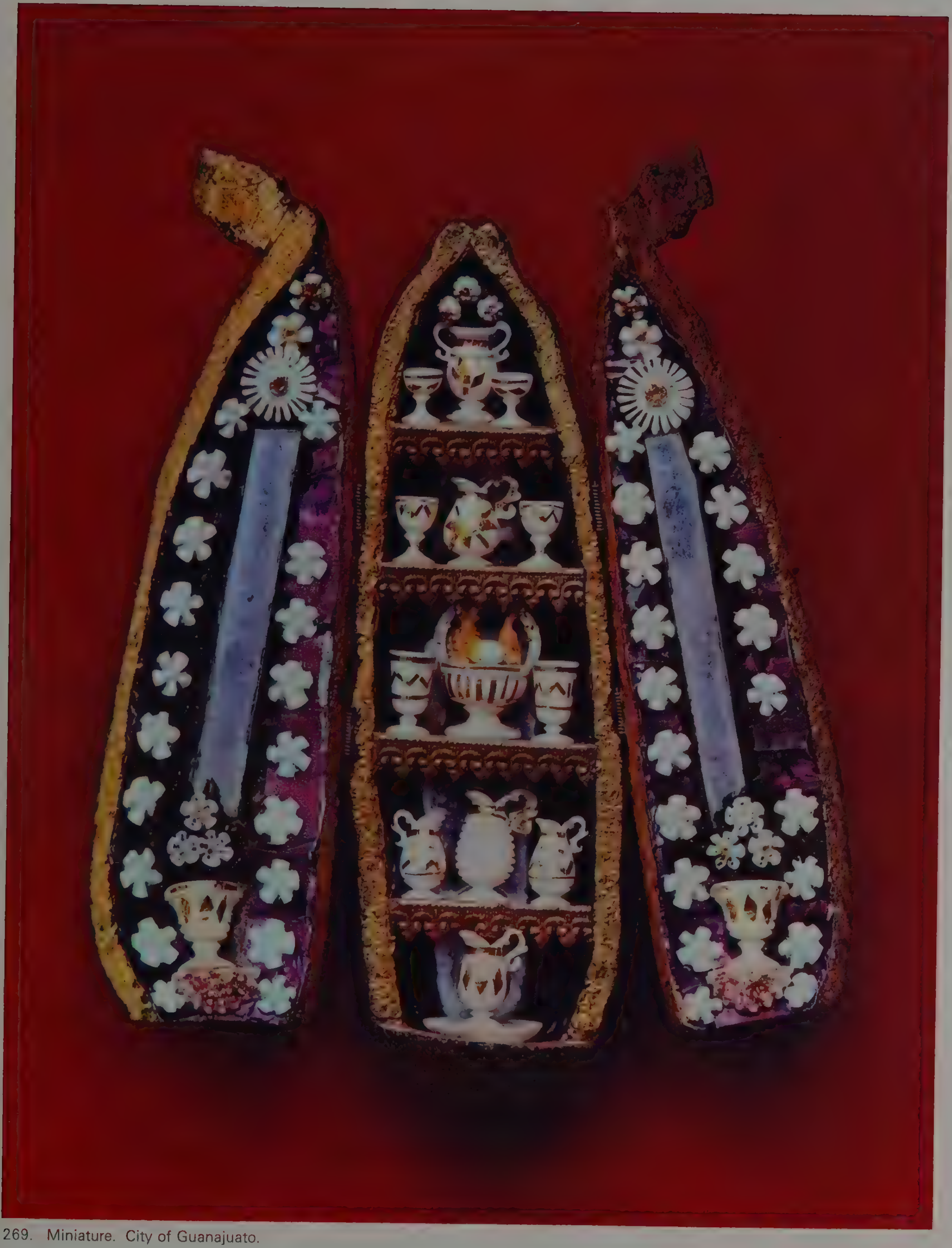
266. Miniature. City of Guanajuato.



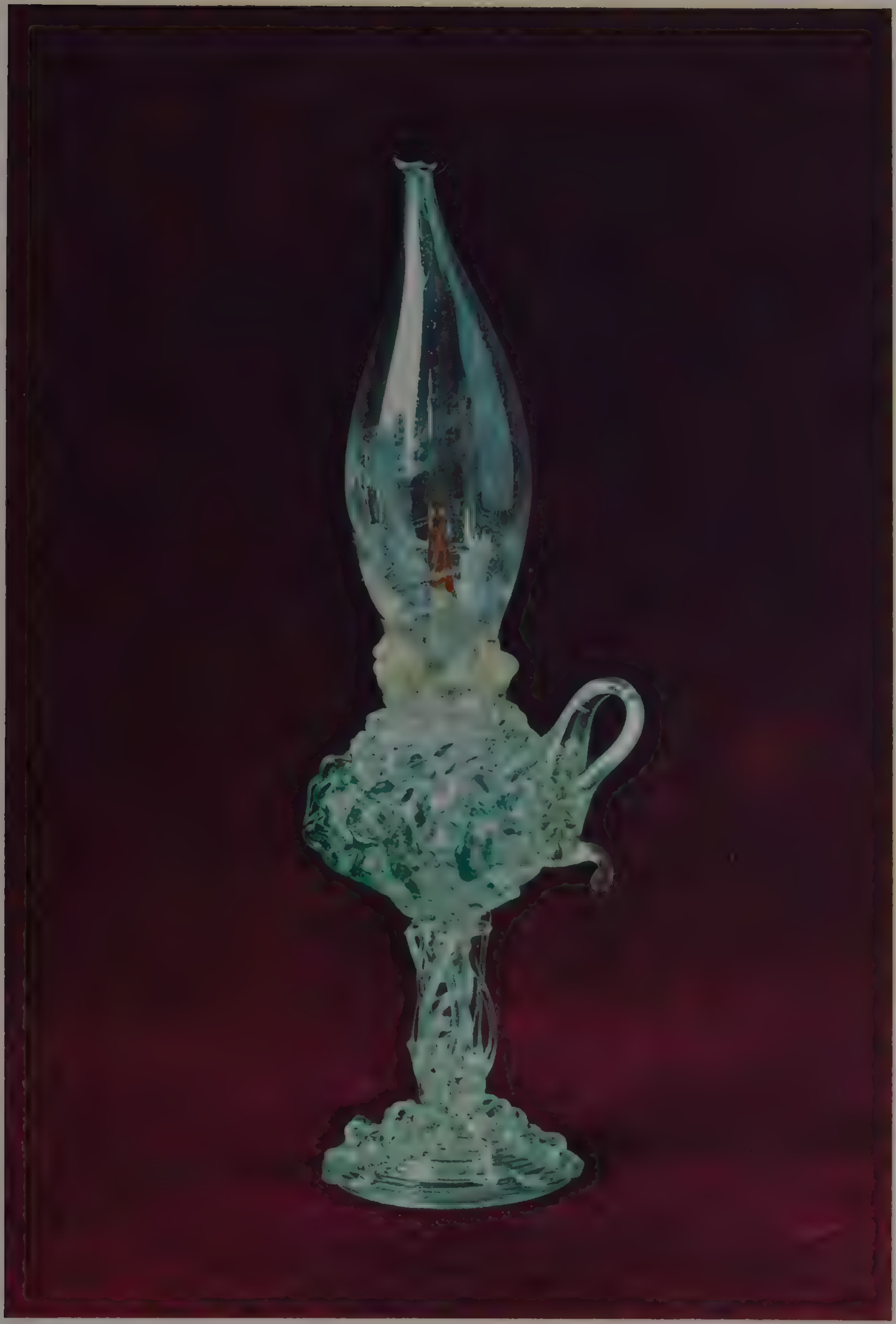
267. Miniature. City of Puebla.



268. Miniature. City of Guanajuato.



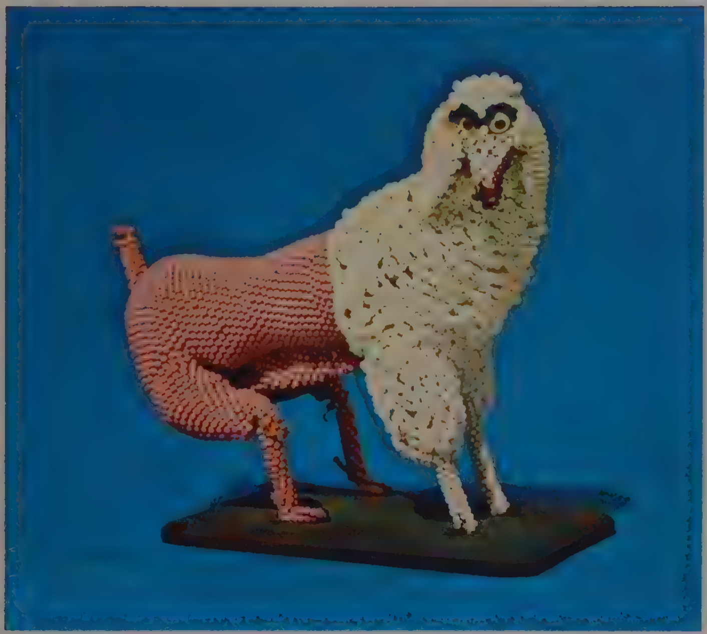
269. Miniature. City of Guanajuato.



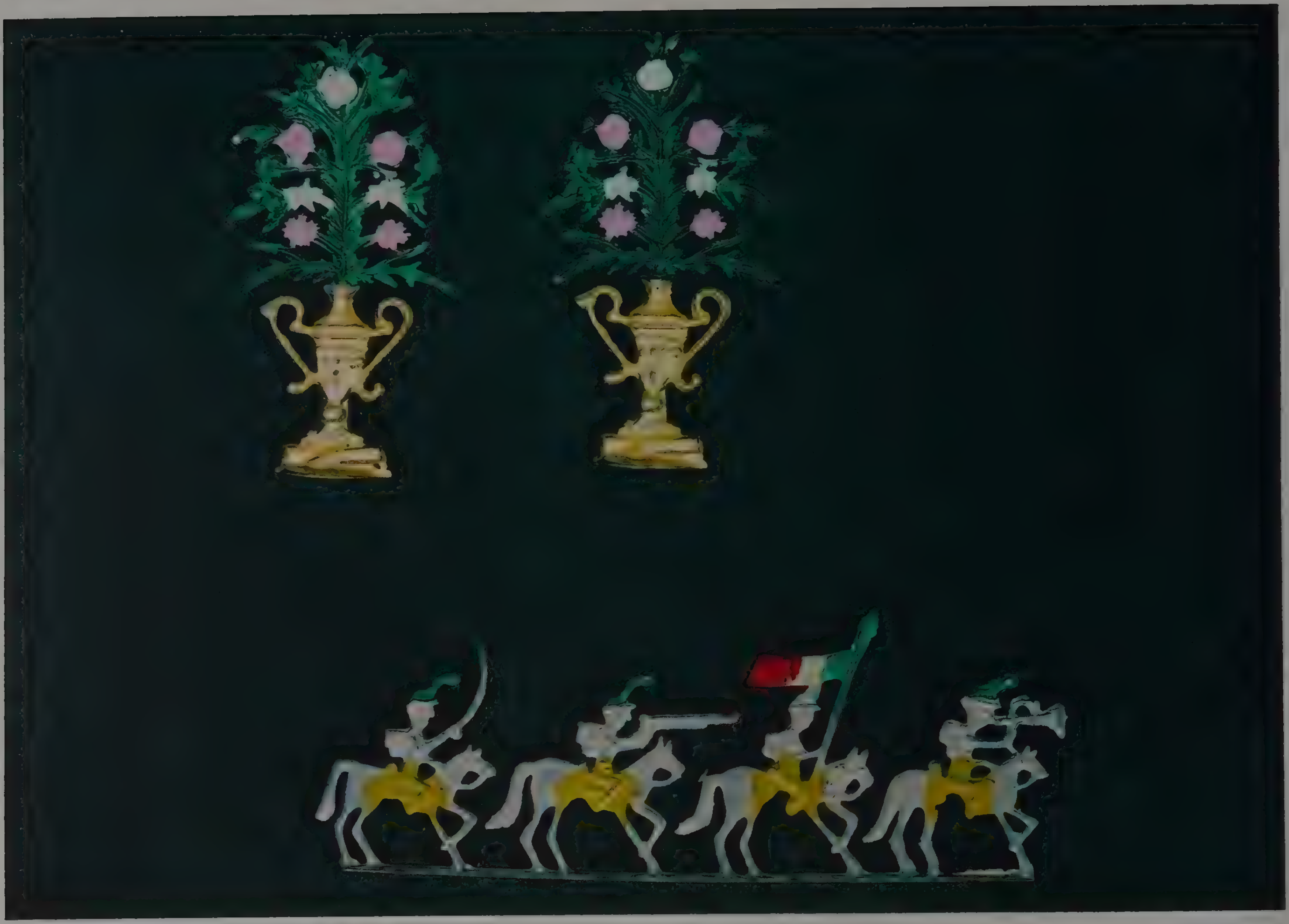
271. Miniature. City of Puebla

On page 298:

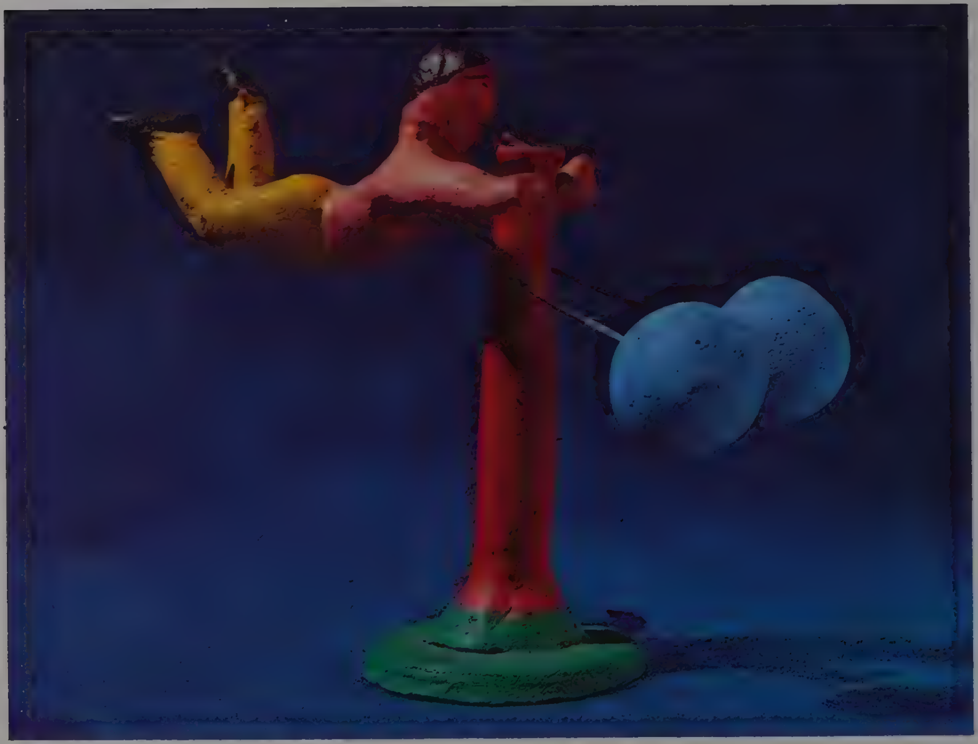
270. Miniatures. Mexico City and Puebla



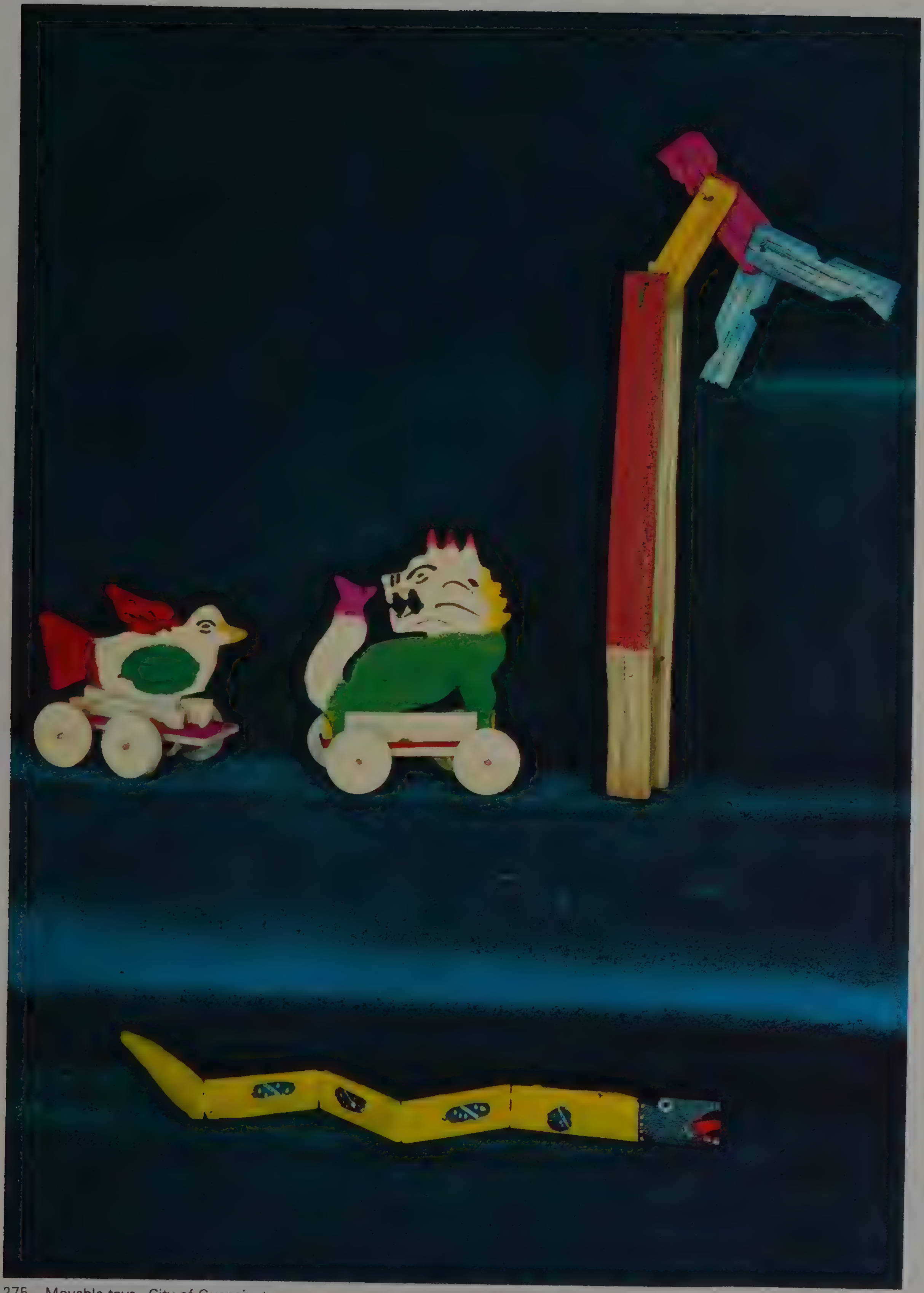
272. Miniature. City of Puebla.



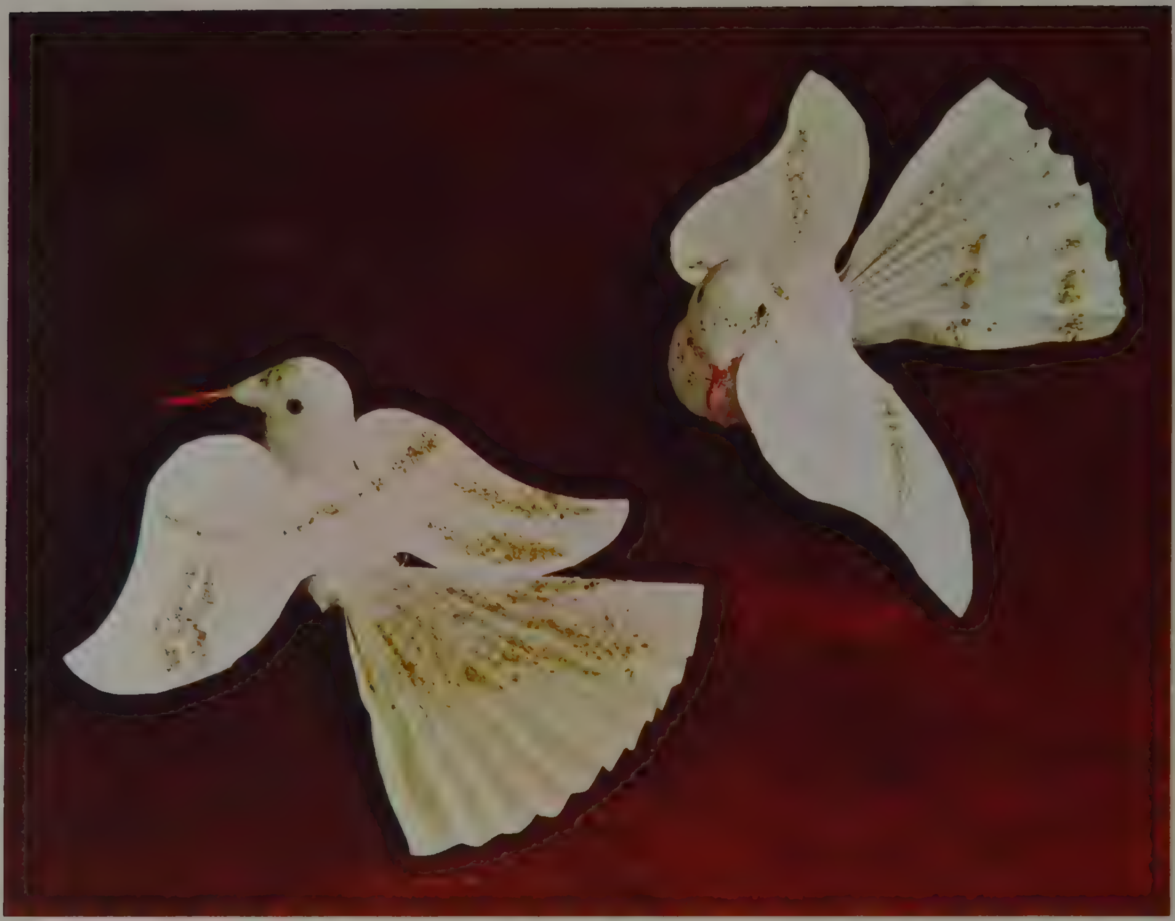
273. Figurines. Celaya, Guanajuato.



274. Figurine. Santa Cruz, Jalisco.

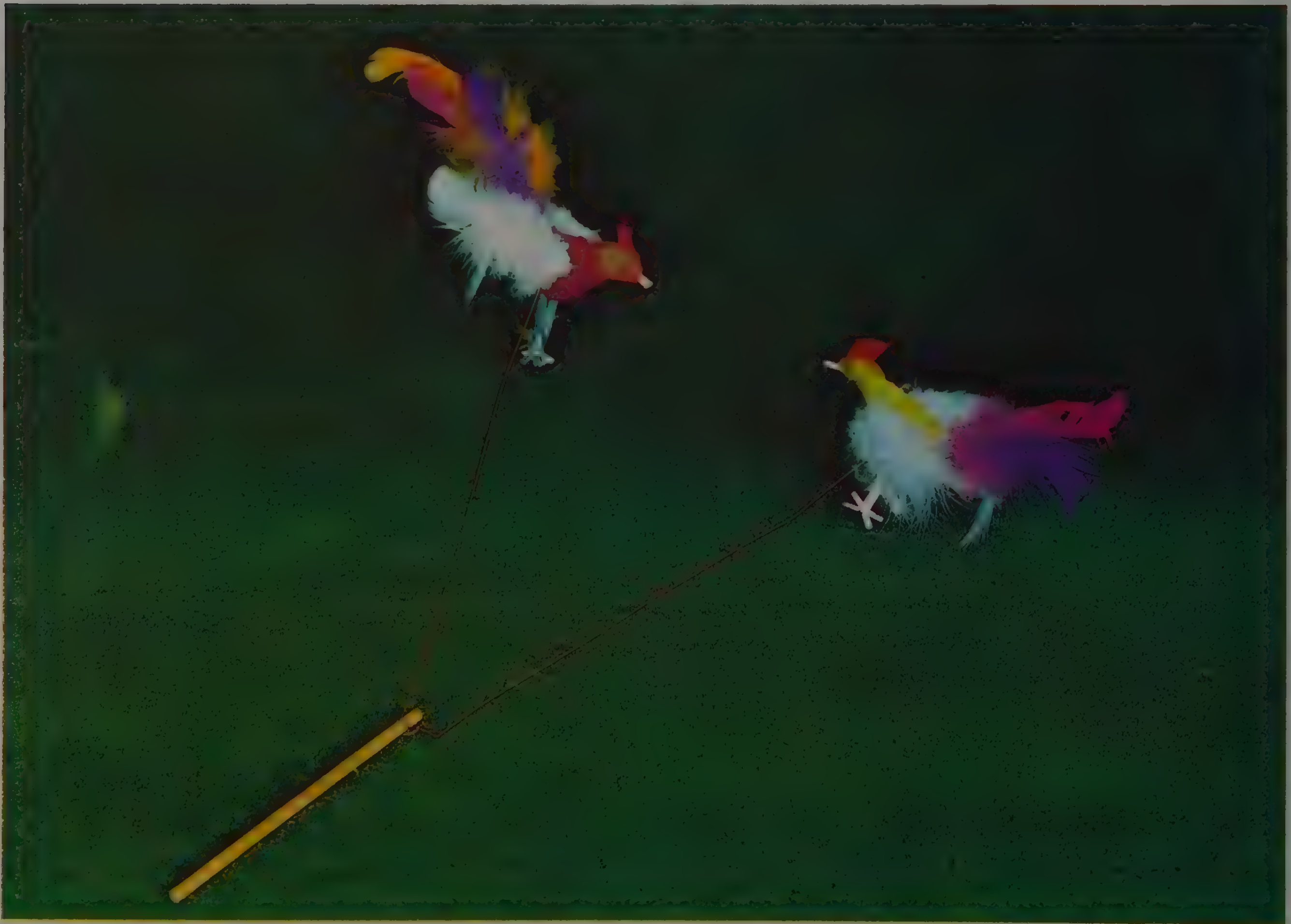


275. Movable toys. City of Guanajuato.

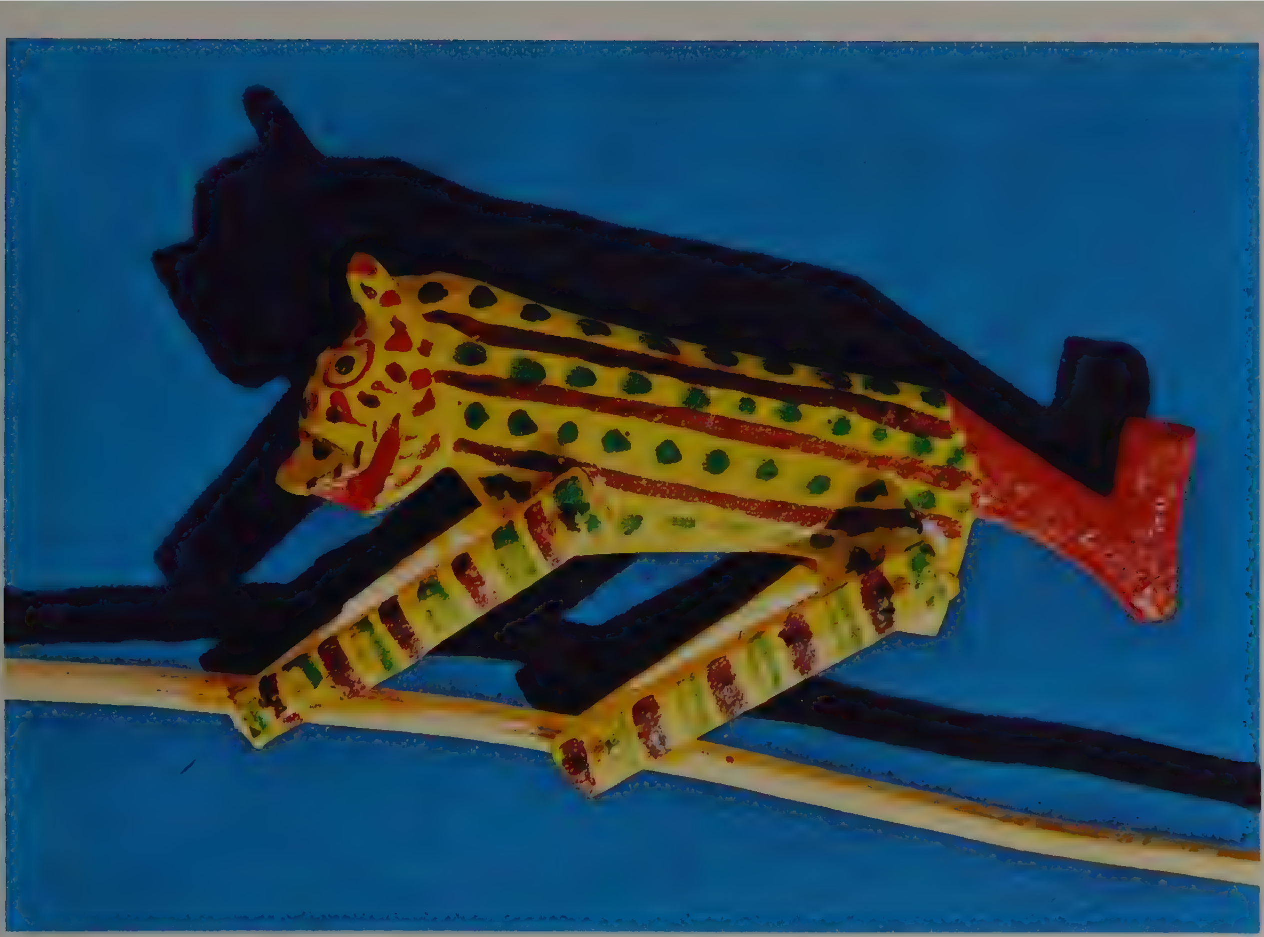


276 Cotton doves Mexico City.

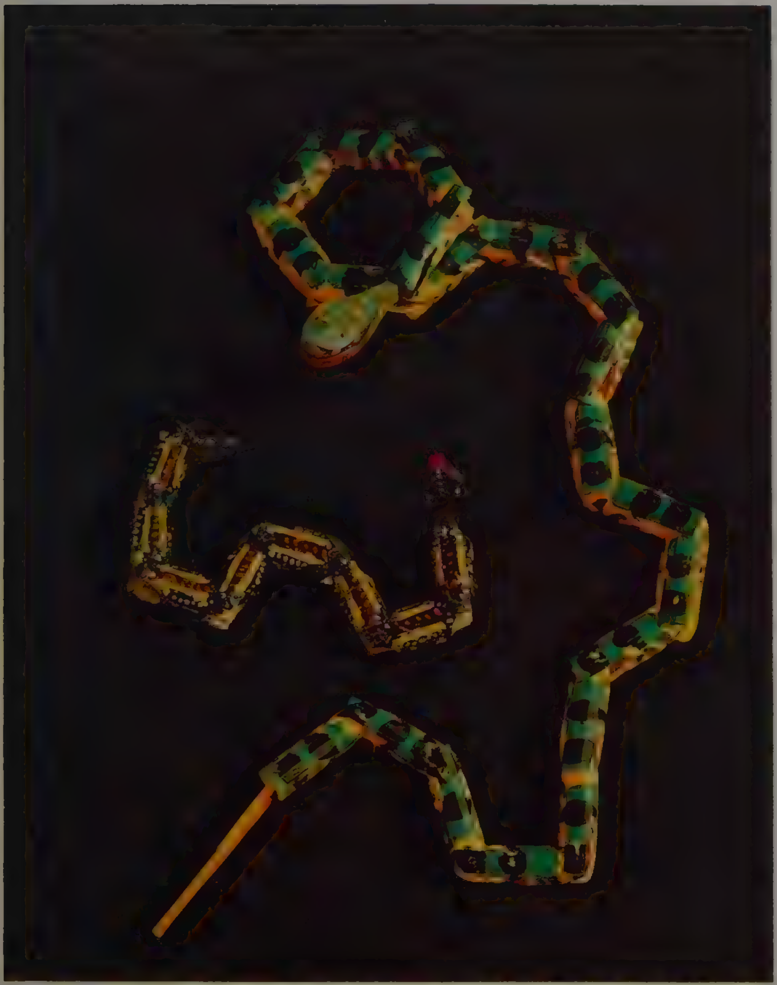
A vivid interpretation of the movements and attitudes of animals. GABRIEL FERNÁNDEZ LEDESMA[1]



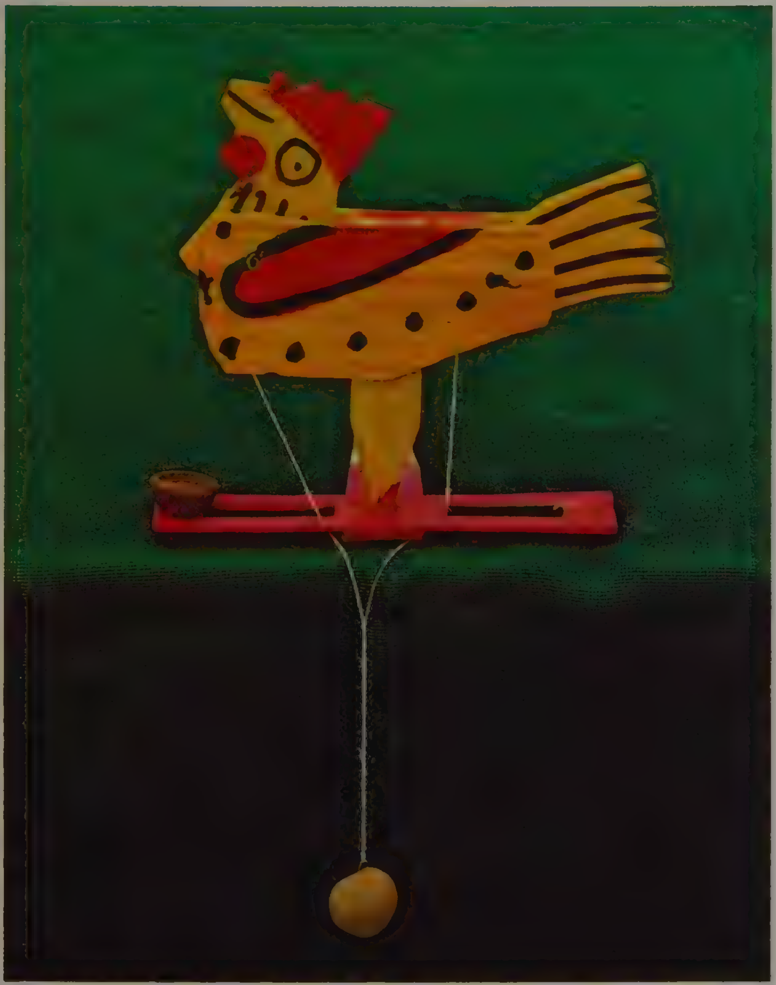
277 Movable toys Guadalajara, Jalisco, and city of Puebla



278 Movable toy. Guerrero

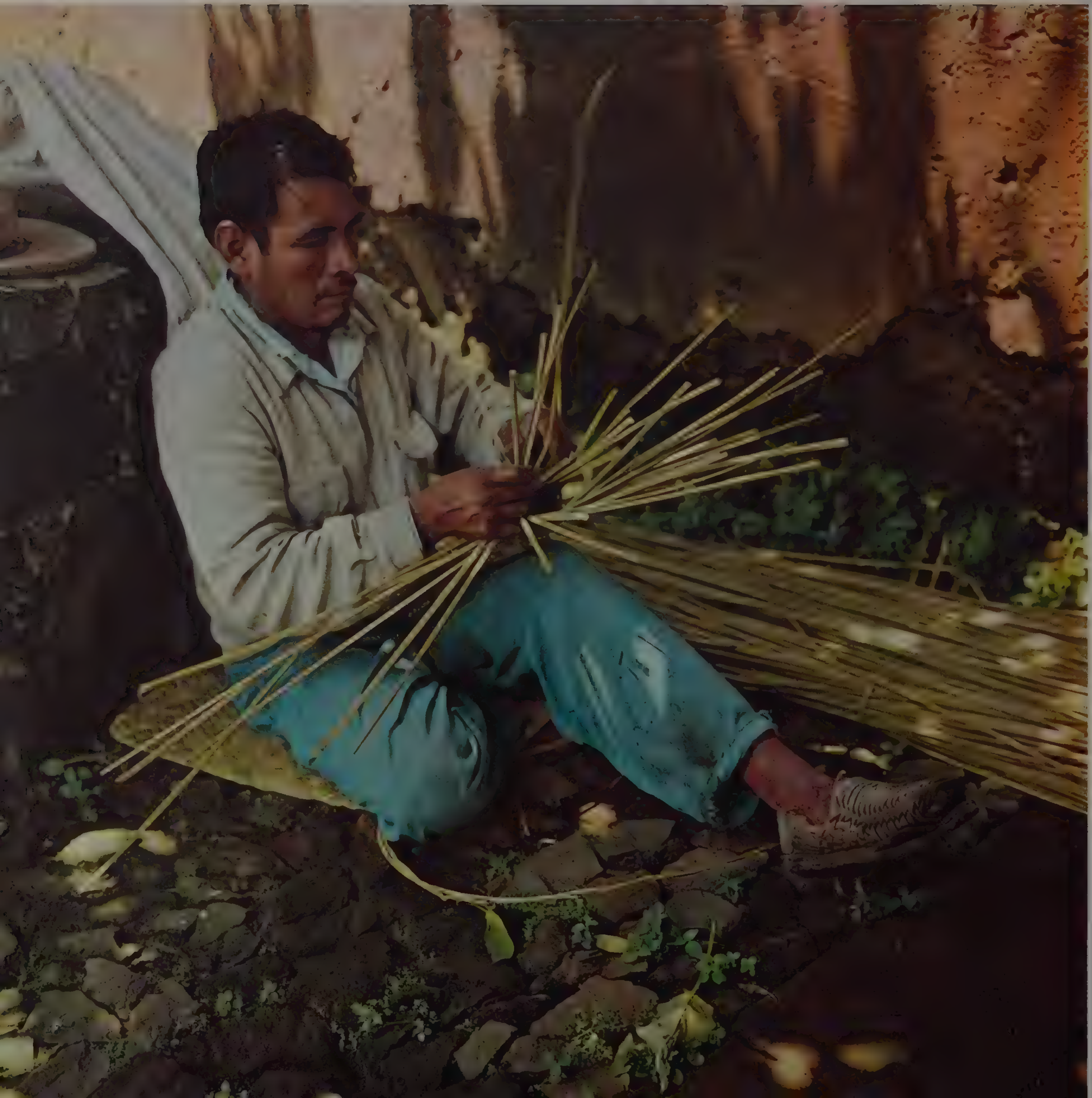


279. Movable toys. San Luis de la Paz, Guanajuato.

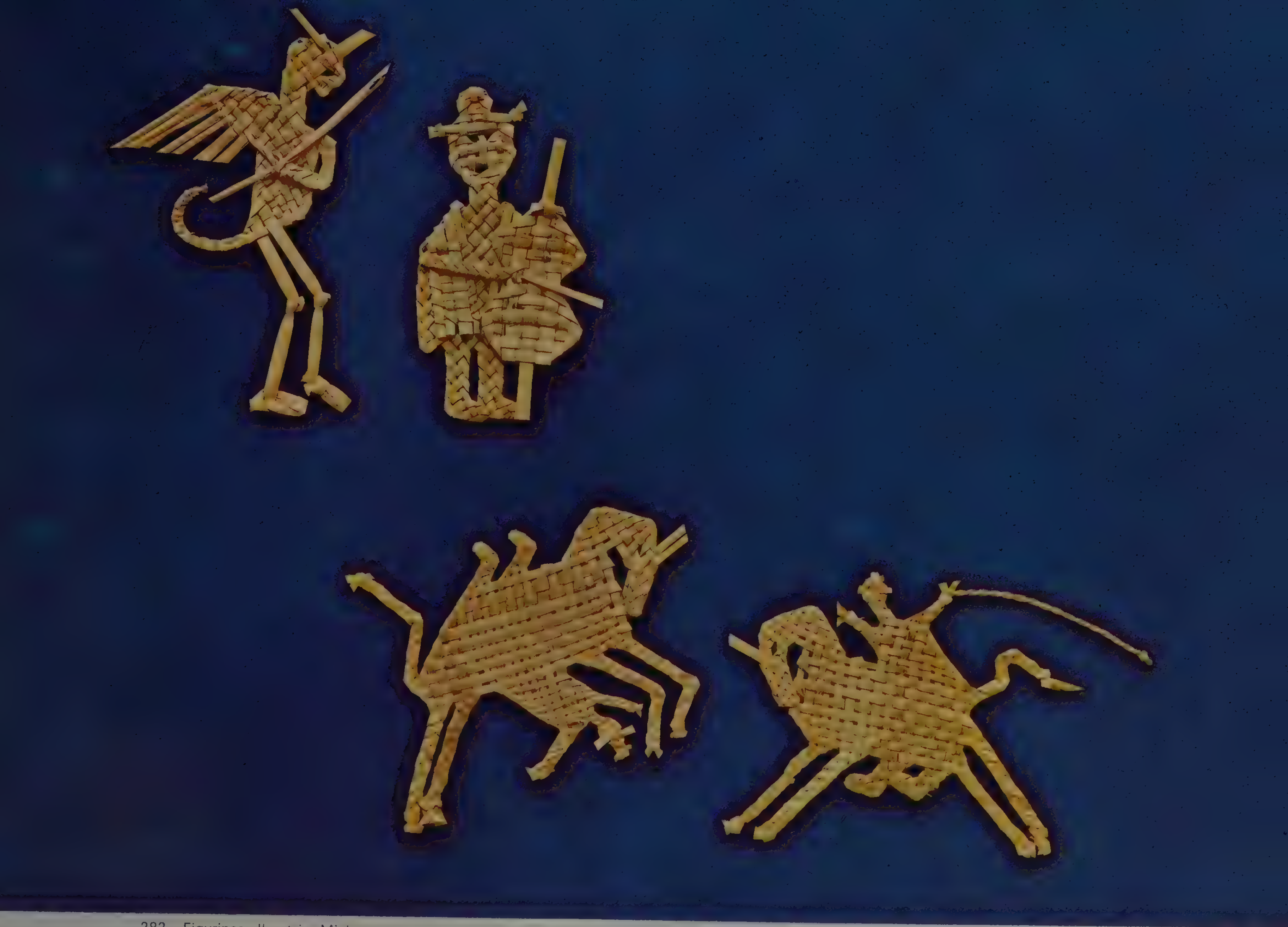


280. Movable toy. Celaya and Silao, Guanajuato.

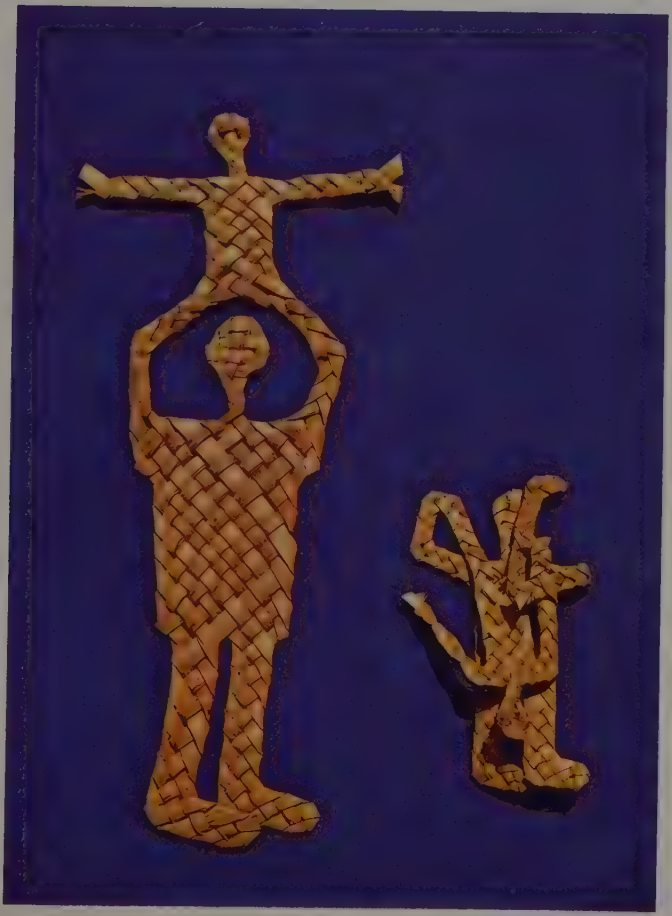
> The creative artist can capture and transmit his personal sensations with complete liberty because of the pureness of the destiny [of the object]. Gabriel Fernández Ledesma[1]



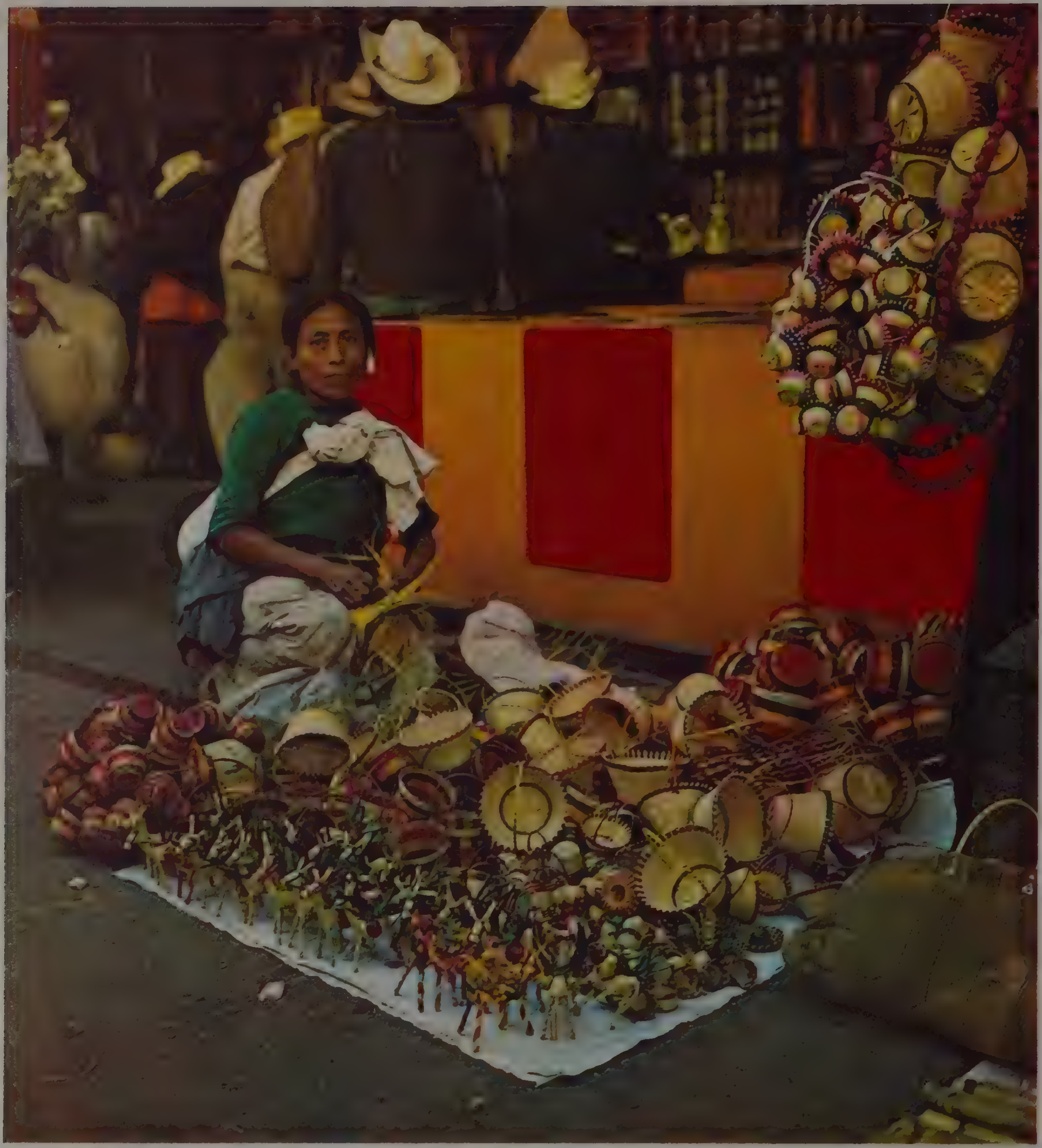
281. Weaver. Ihuatzio, Michoacan.



282. Figurines. Ihuatzio, Michoacan.

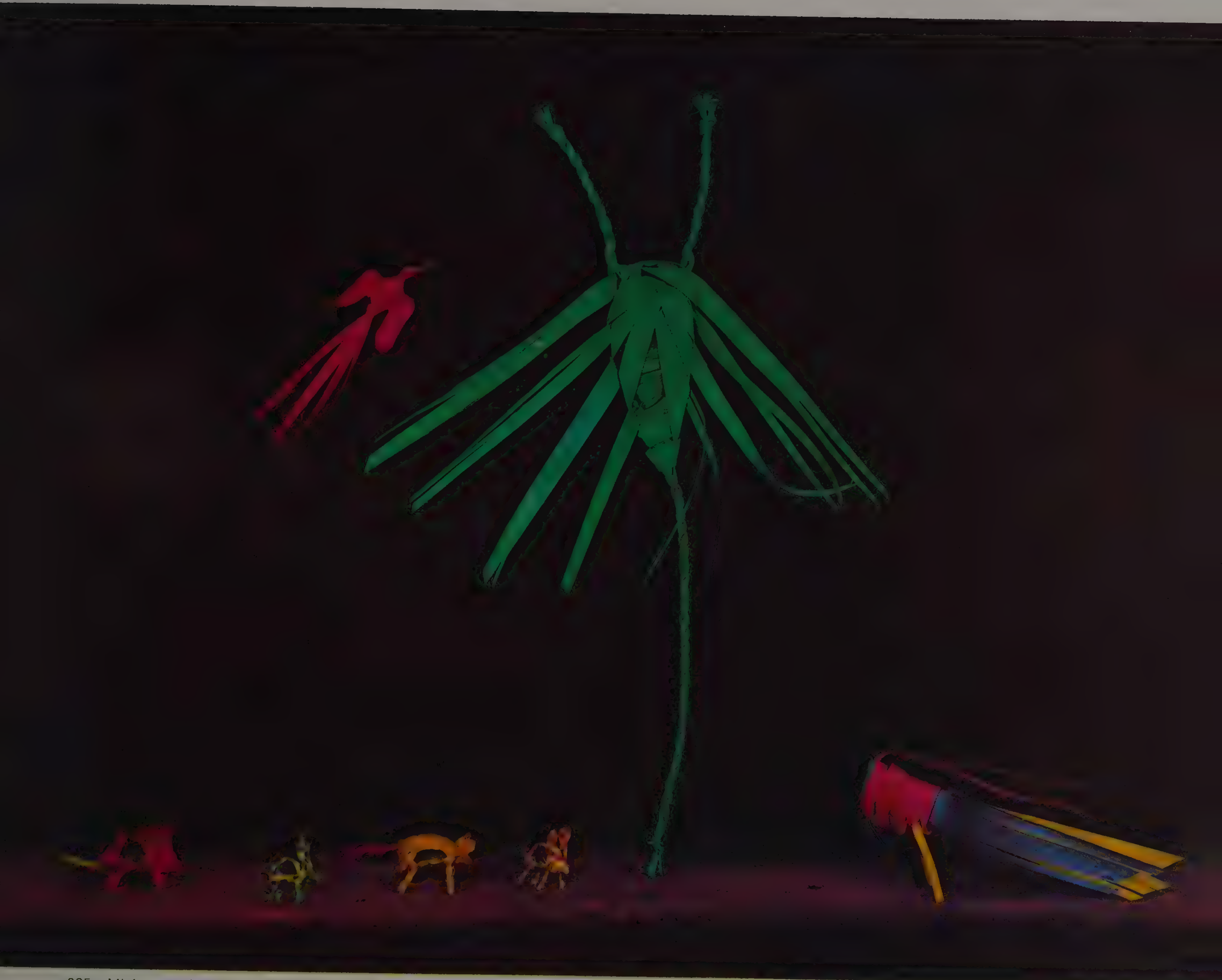


283. Figurines. Ihuatzio, Michoacan.

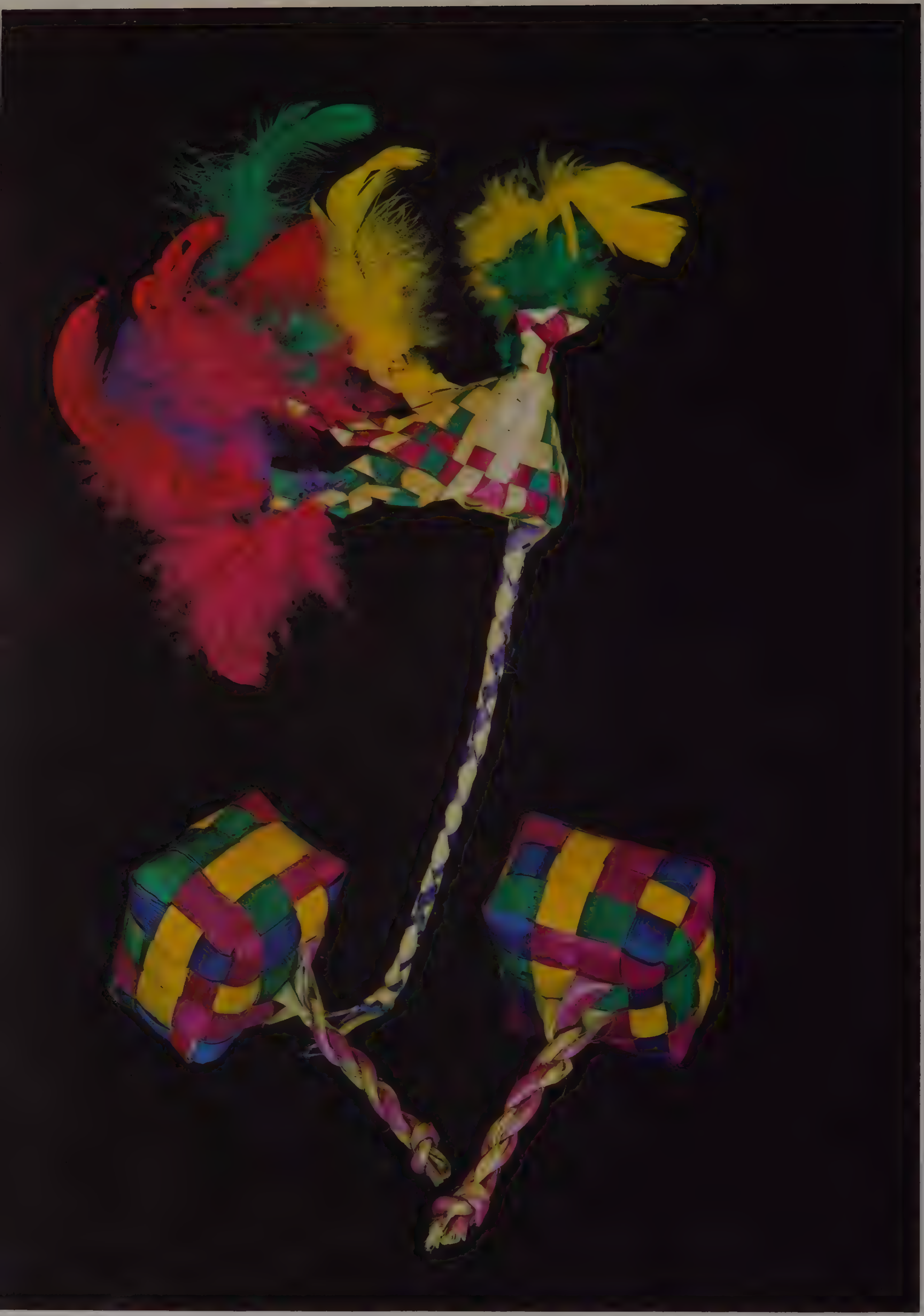


284. Weaver of miniatures. Santa María Chigmecatitlan, Puebla.

They make dogs, rabbits, deer, mice, little mules, and different kinds of birds, some of them so tiny that it seems incredible that they were woven by human hands. GABRIEL FERNÁNDEZ LEDESMA[1]



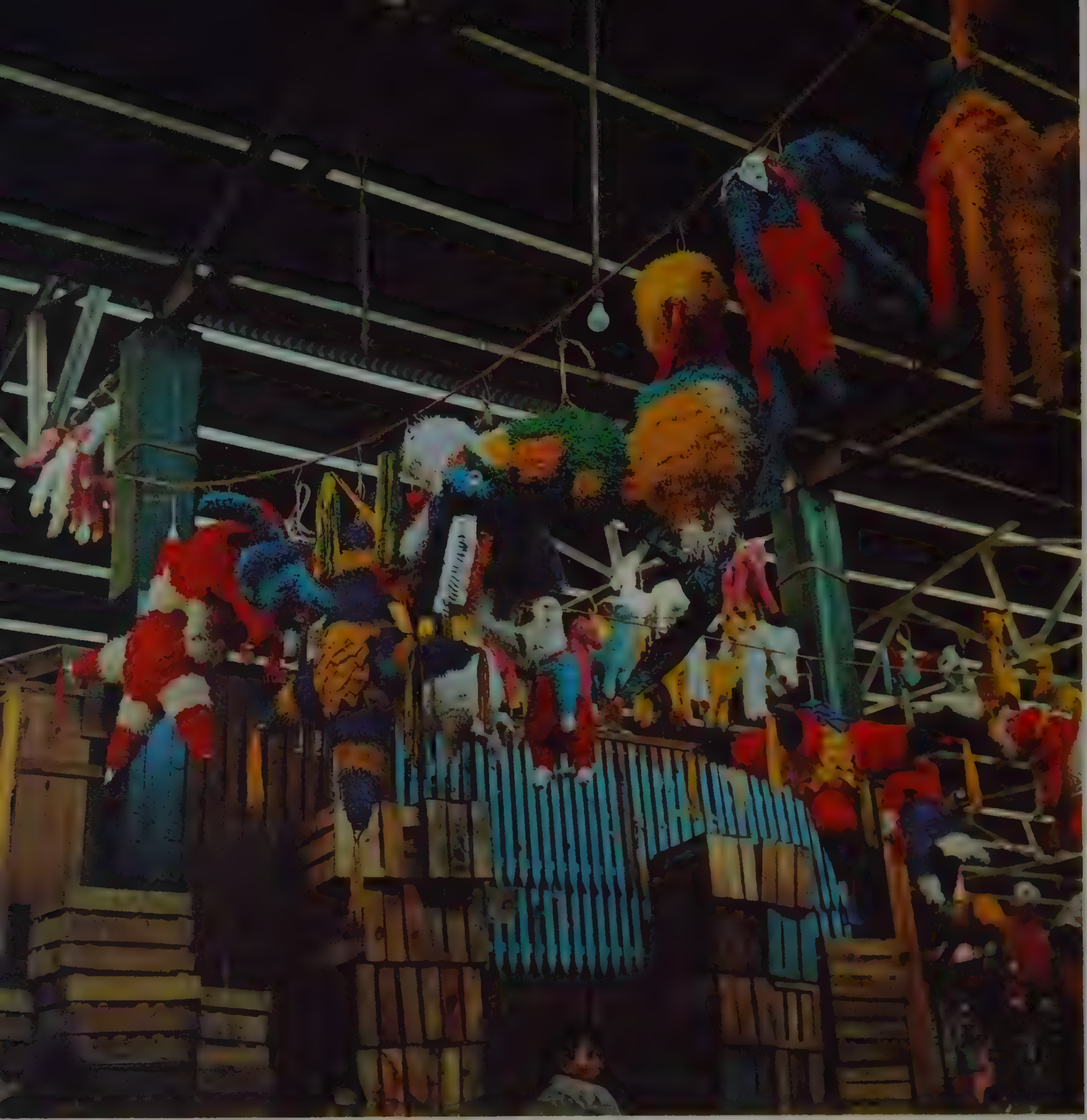
285. Miniatures. Santa Maria Chigmecatitlan, Puebla.



286. Rattles. Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo.

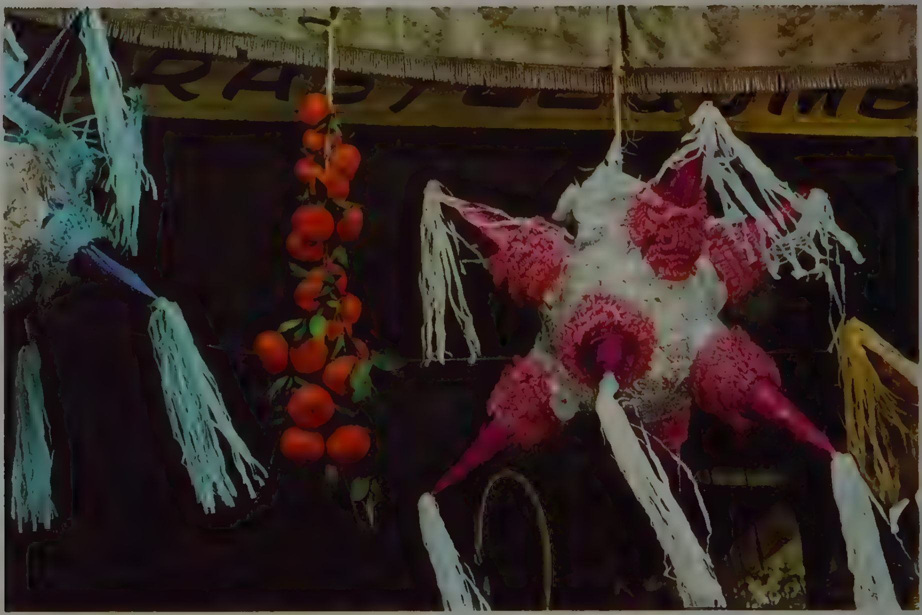
On page 309:
287. Figure and rattle. Tzintzuntzan, Michoacan, and State of Guanajuato.

> . . . with only two or three strips of dyed palm fiber, they play at creating forms. Gabriel Fernández Ledesma[1]



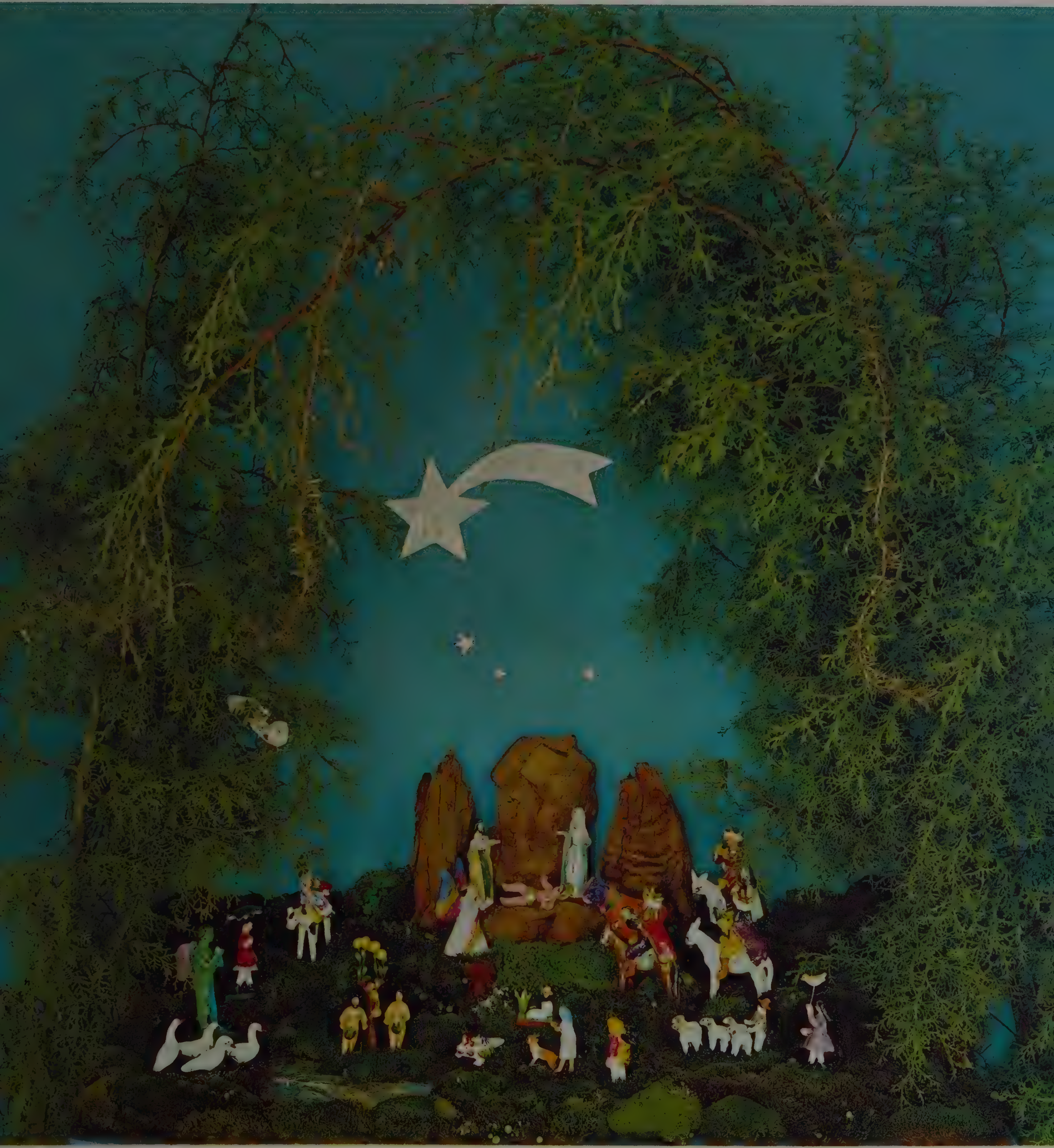
288. *Piñatas.* Chilpancingo, Guerrero.

The Mexican 'posada' cannot be conceived without the *piñata*, the gifts for young and old and the regional and typical dishes of the fiesta. JORGE ENCISO



289. *Piñatas.* Mexico City.

290. Crèche. Mexico City.

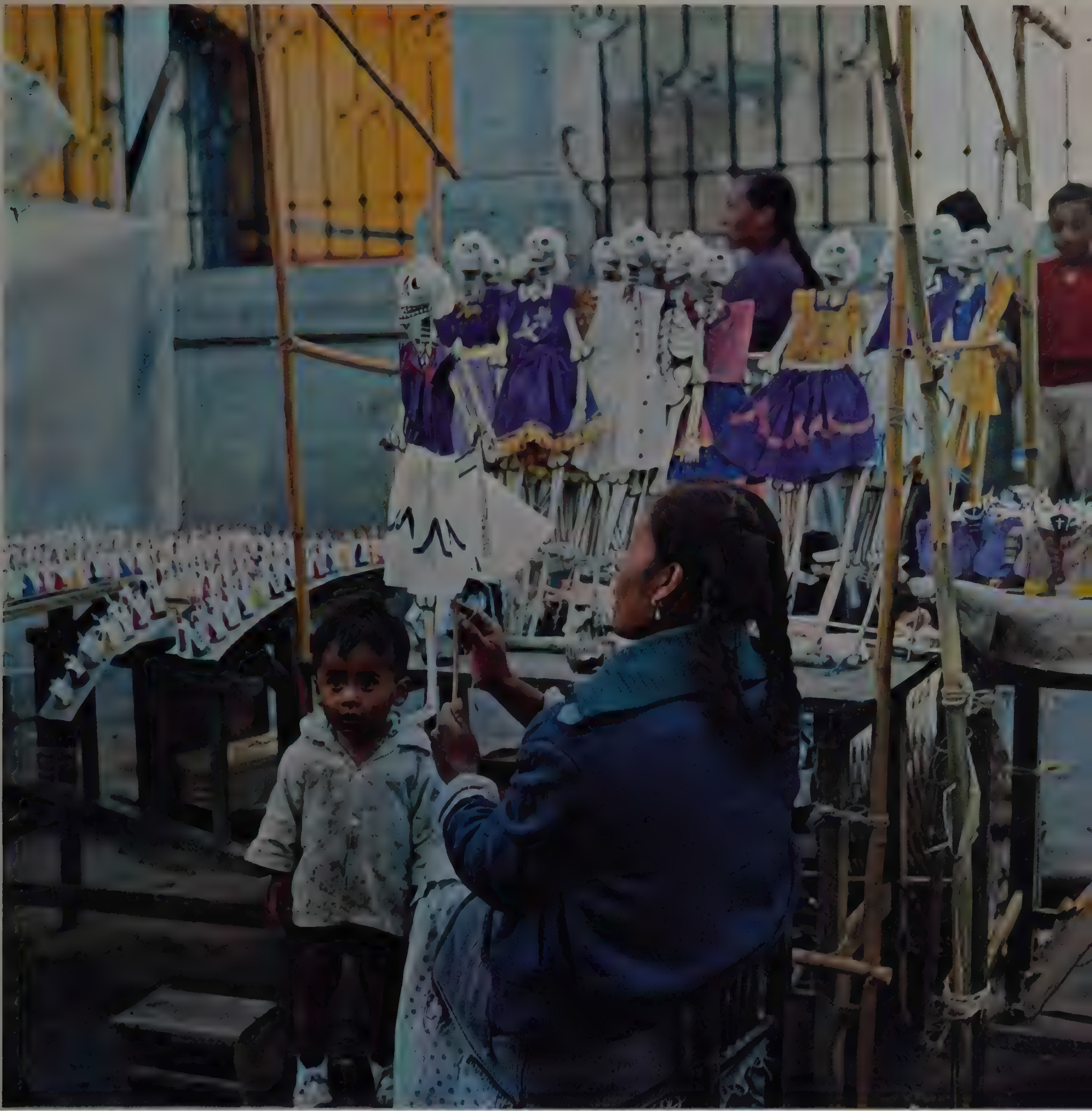


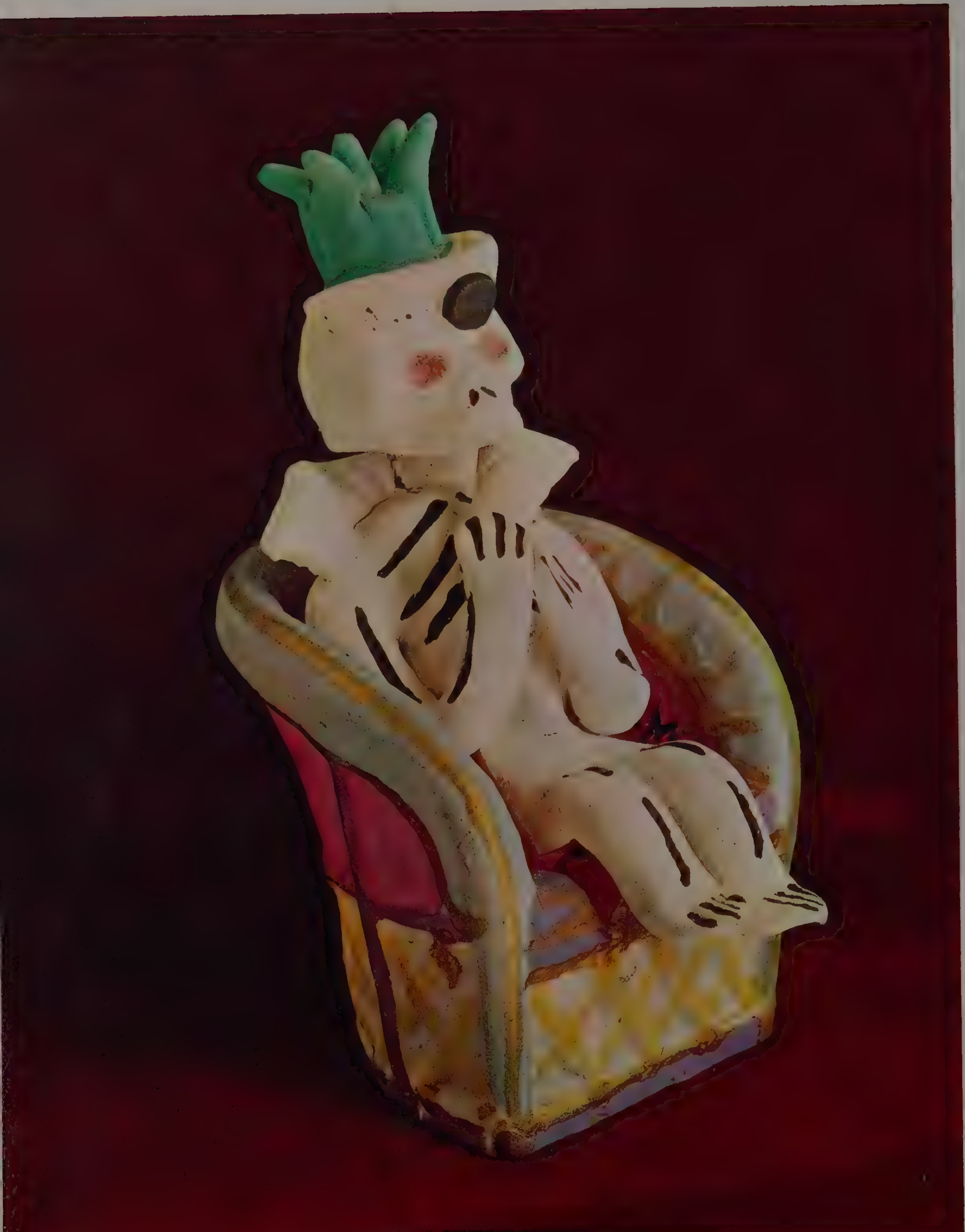
'The *Crèche*' or *Nacimiento* is the creation of the spirit of the person who sets it up. He makes use of figures, such as the Wise Men, Shepherds and many a time a scene from the Bible. . . These countless scenes are interpreted always in a Mexican country atmosphere. JORGE ENCISO

> . . . and as if it were by force of wisdom, or of experience, we toy with death since we have learned to face it without cringing. . . MARIANO PICÓN SALAS

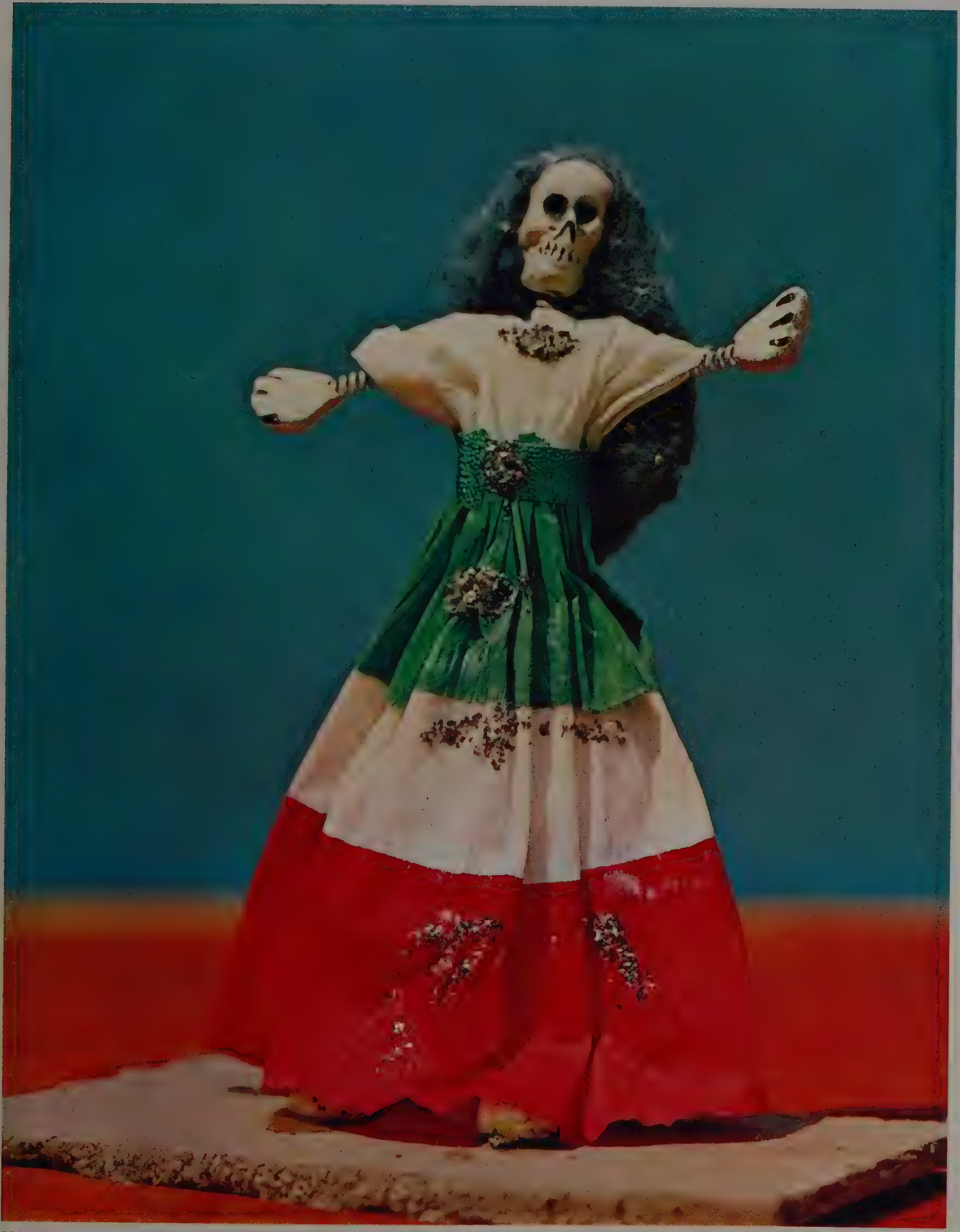
On page 312:
291. Movable skeleton figures. Cities of Oaxaca, and Mexico

292. Toy vendor. City of Oaxaca.

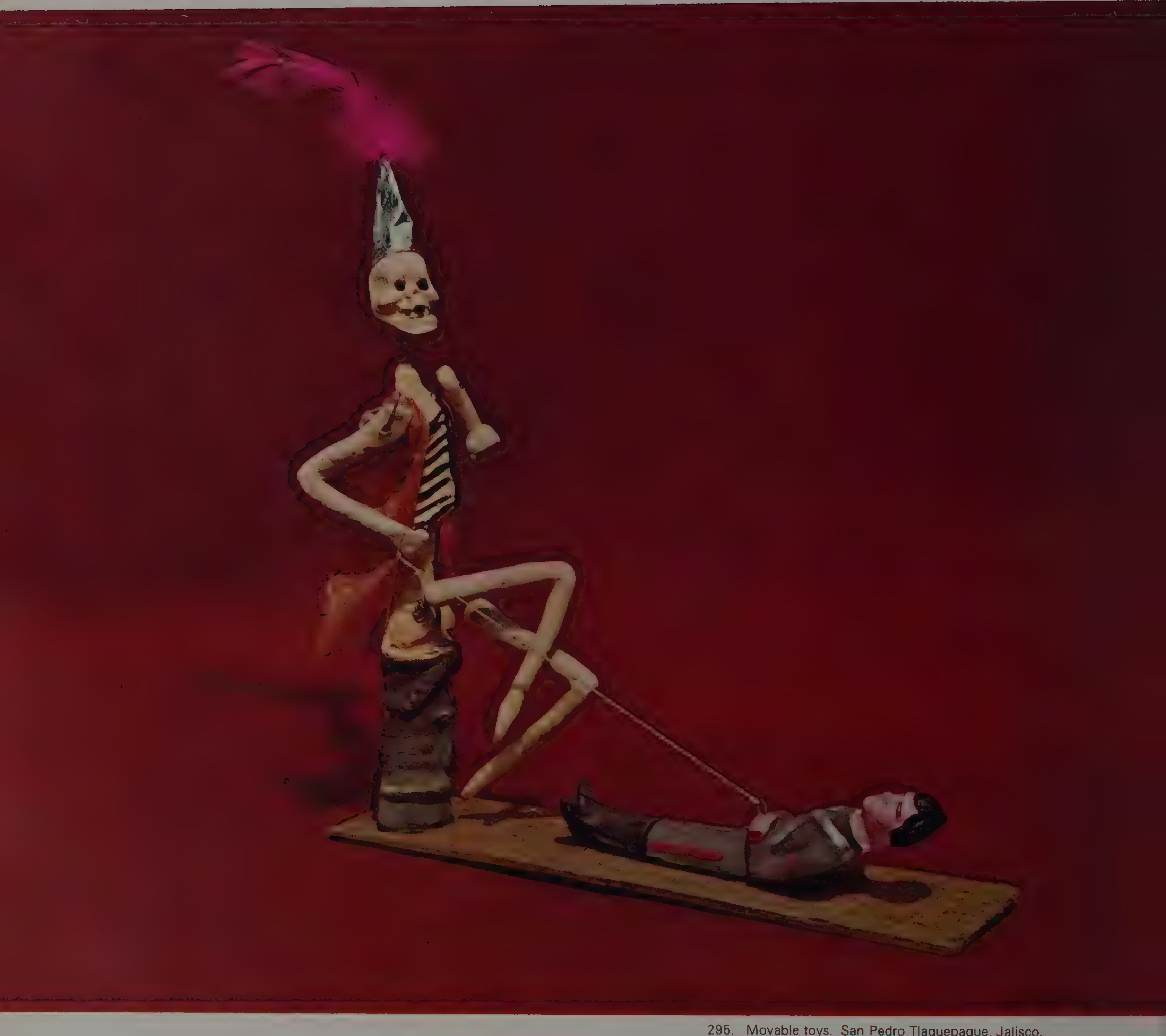




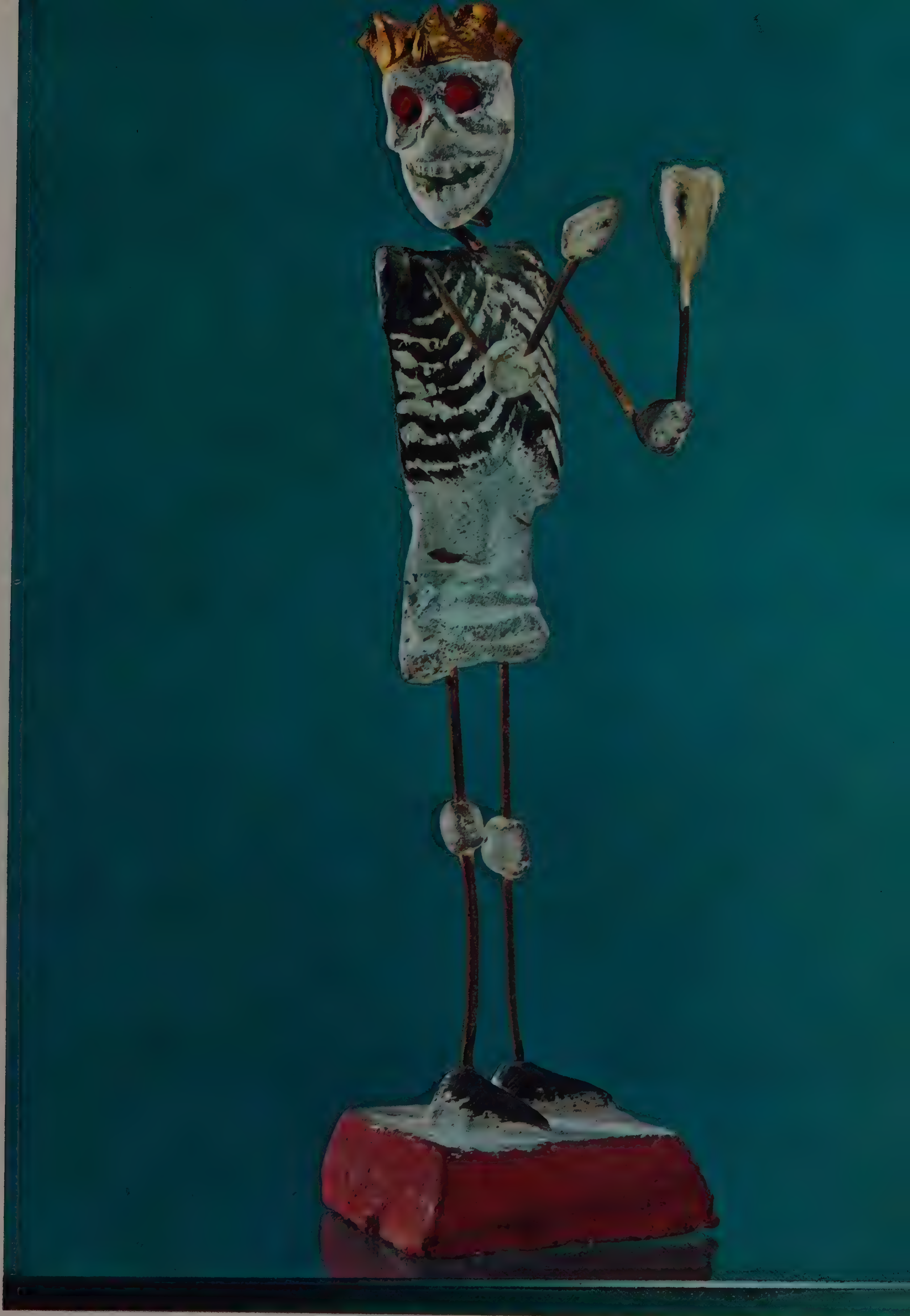
293. Toy. Metepec, State of Mexico.



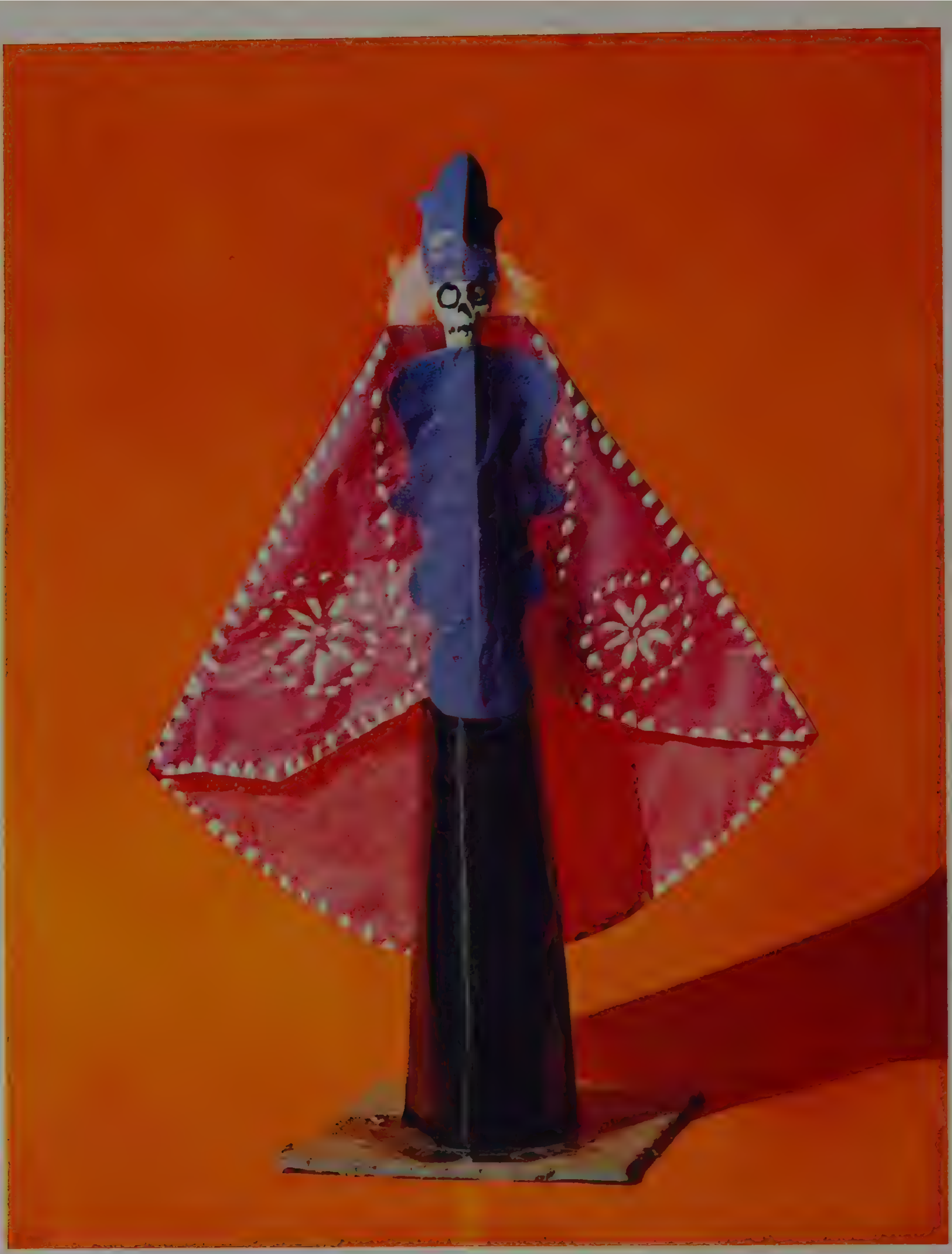
294. Figure. City of Aguascalientes.



295. Movable toys. San Pedro Tlaquepaque, Jalisco.

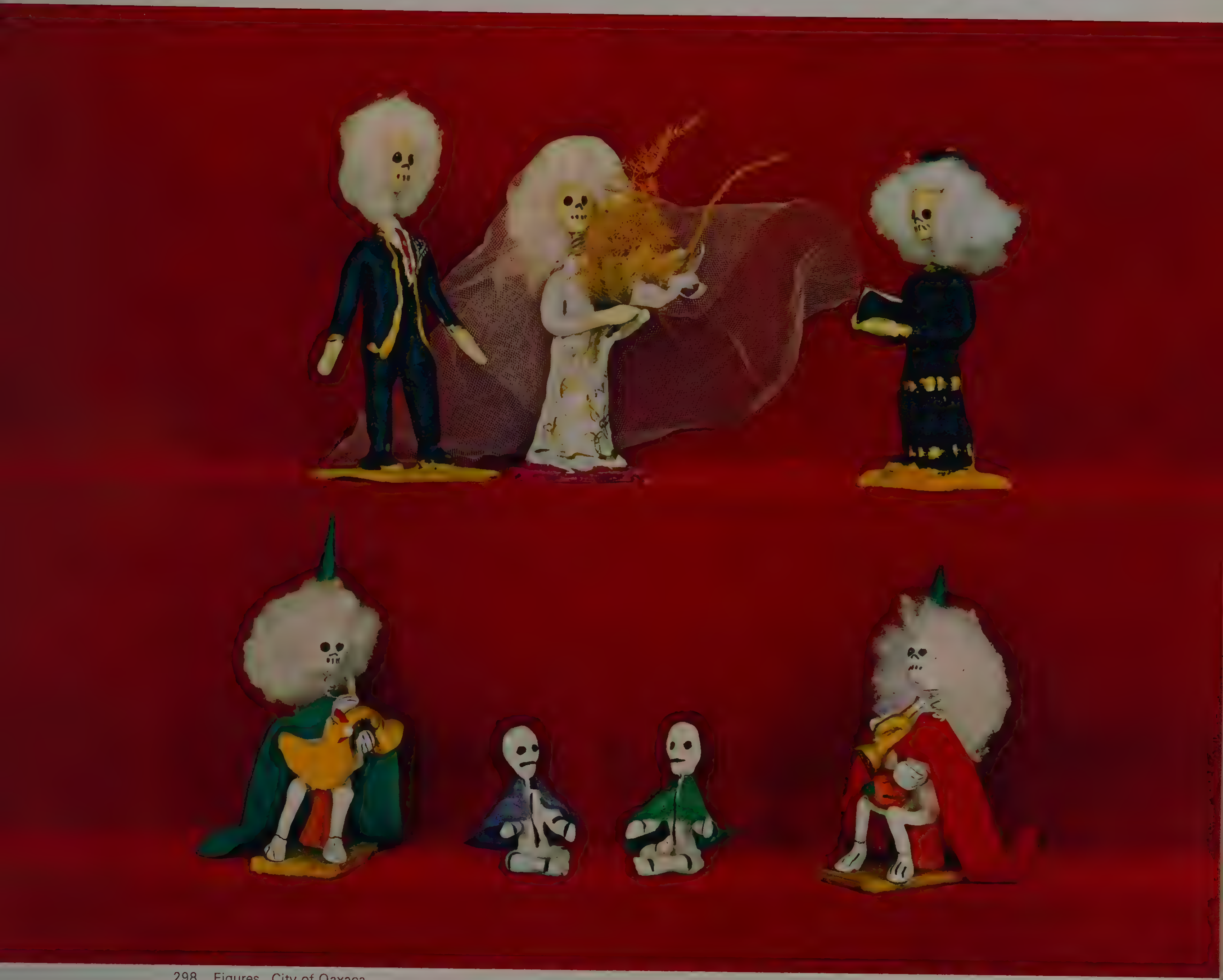


296. Figure. City of Oaxaca.



297. Figure. City of Oaxaca.

When this life ends. . .
Which will be the home
Of the miter,
Of the crown,
Of those who wear purple robes and diadems?
Which lowly but sure place of rest
Will be given
To the ugly, to the beautiful,
To the nobleman,
To the peasant? Which?
I can tell you which:
A dismal tomb!
ANONYMOUS

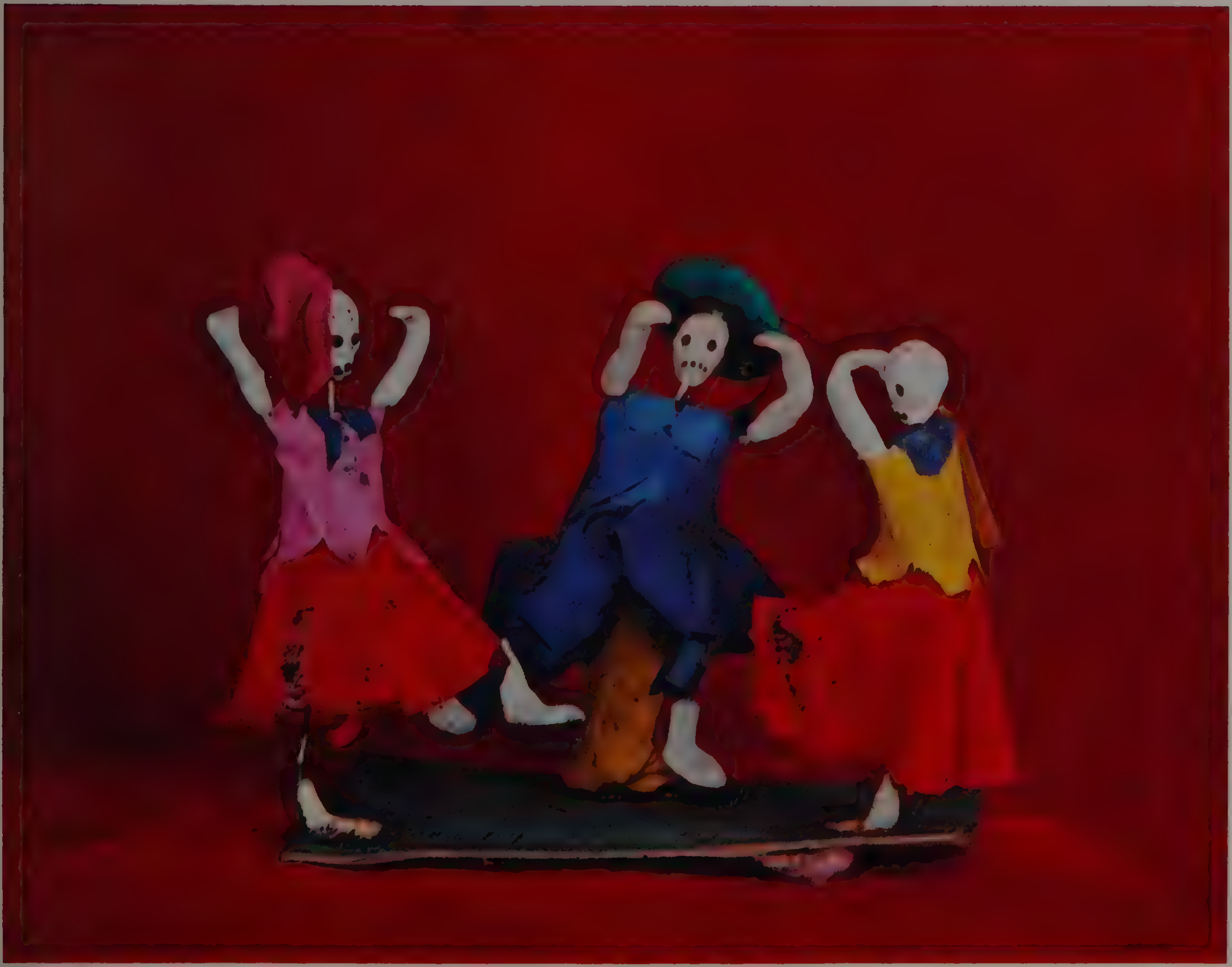


298. Figures. City of Oaxaca.

Don't you hear the dismal tolling
[of the bell?
Then stop your playful coquettish-
[ness
And think of your transformation!
Stop swaying as you walk!
You offer to your lover
A pretty well-turned arm,
A leg that beats all legs
But in the long run, what will you
[show him?
A grinning skeleton!
ANONYMOUS

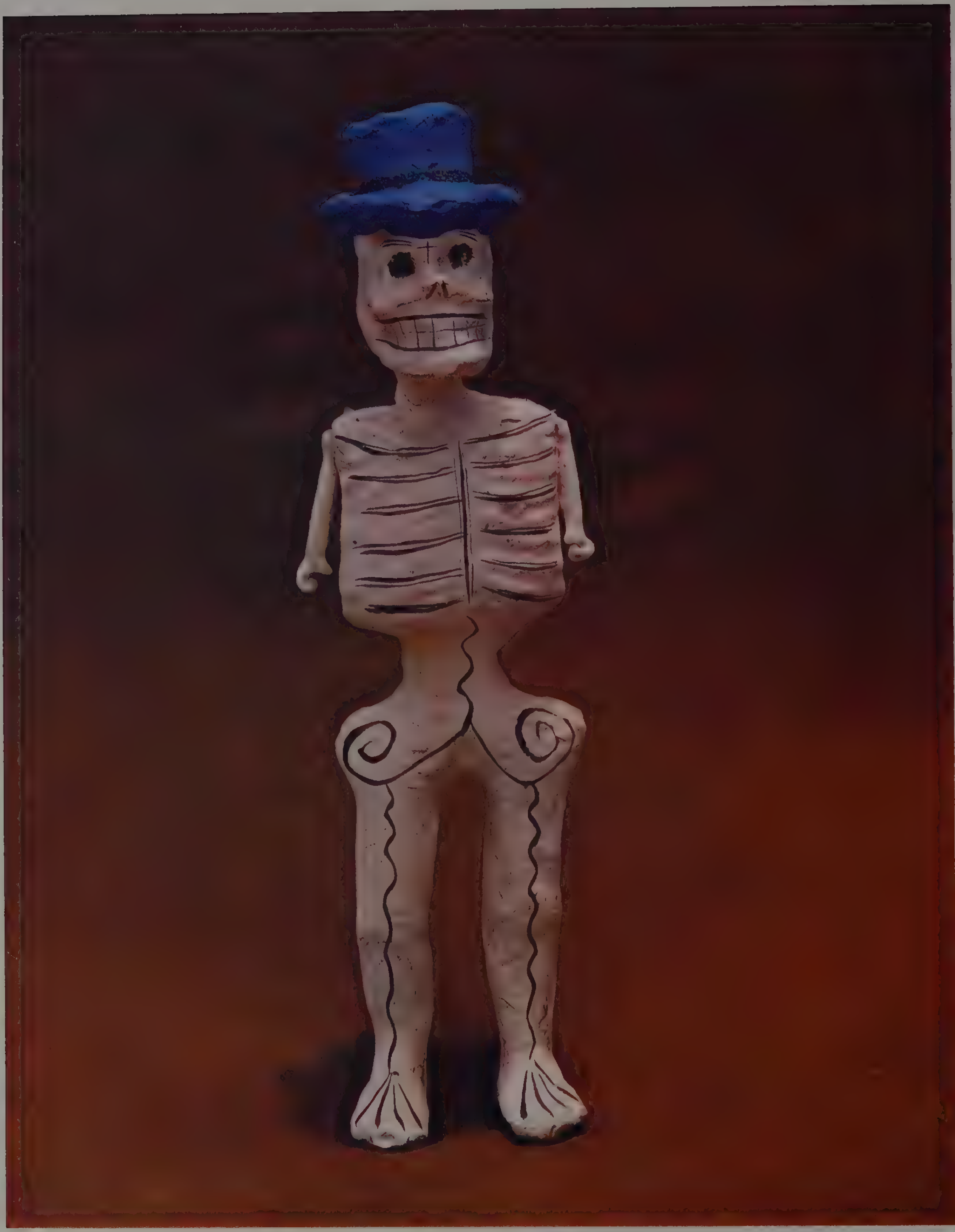
On page 320:

299. Figure. City of Oaxaca.



300. Figures. City of Aguascalientes.

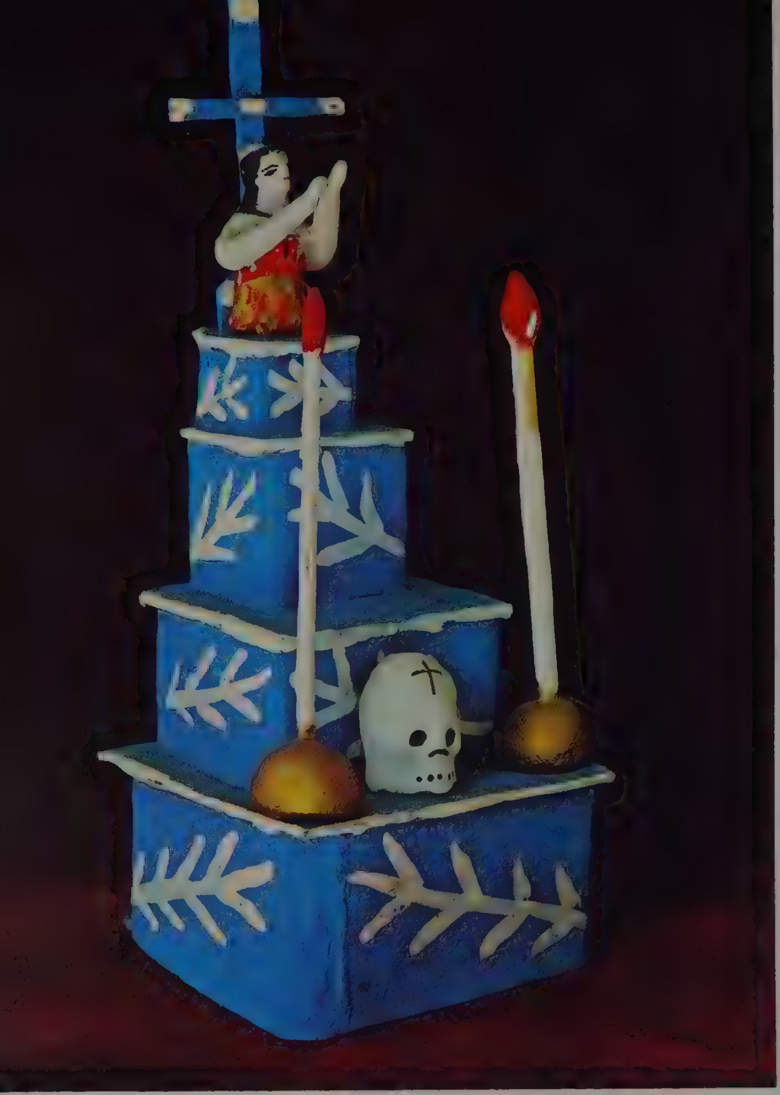
On page 323:
302. Figure. Celaya, Guanajuato.



301. Figure. Celaya, Guanajuato.

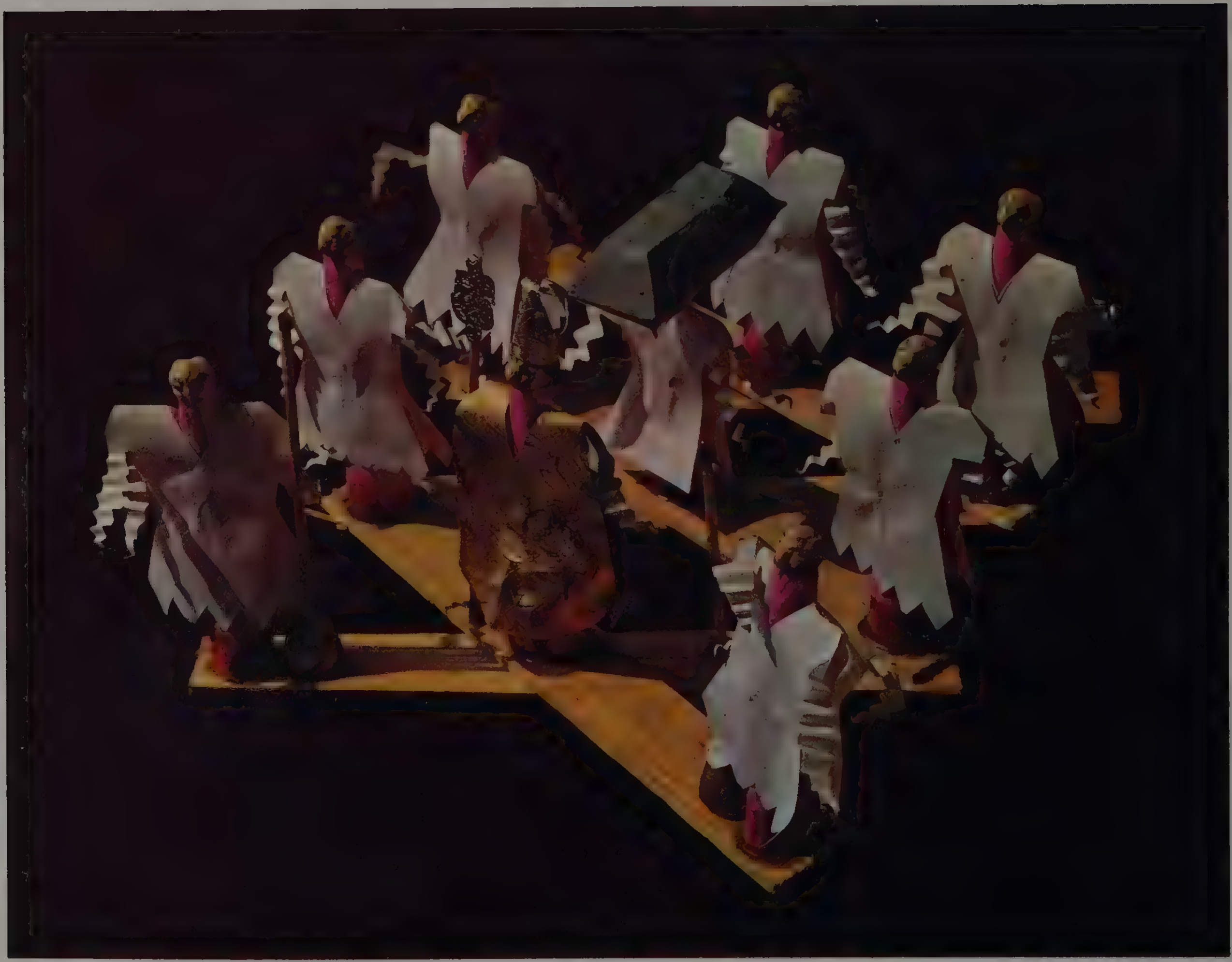
Toys thus created, made of cardboard, are true sculptures. The esthetic talent of their creator is manifested in his inspirational theme, his rich imagination, his ability to make —with a few brush strokes and a combination of opaque and shiny colors— truly breathtaking decorative effects, at times fantastic.

FRANCISCO J. HERNÁNDEZ



303. Funeral altar. City of Oaxaca.

On page 325:
305. Figures. City of Oaxaca.



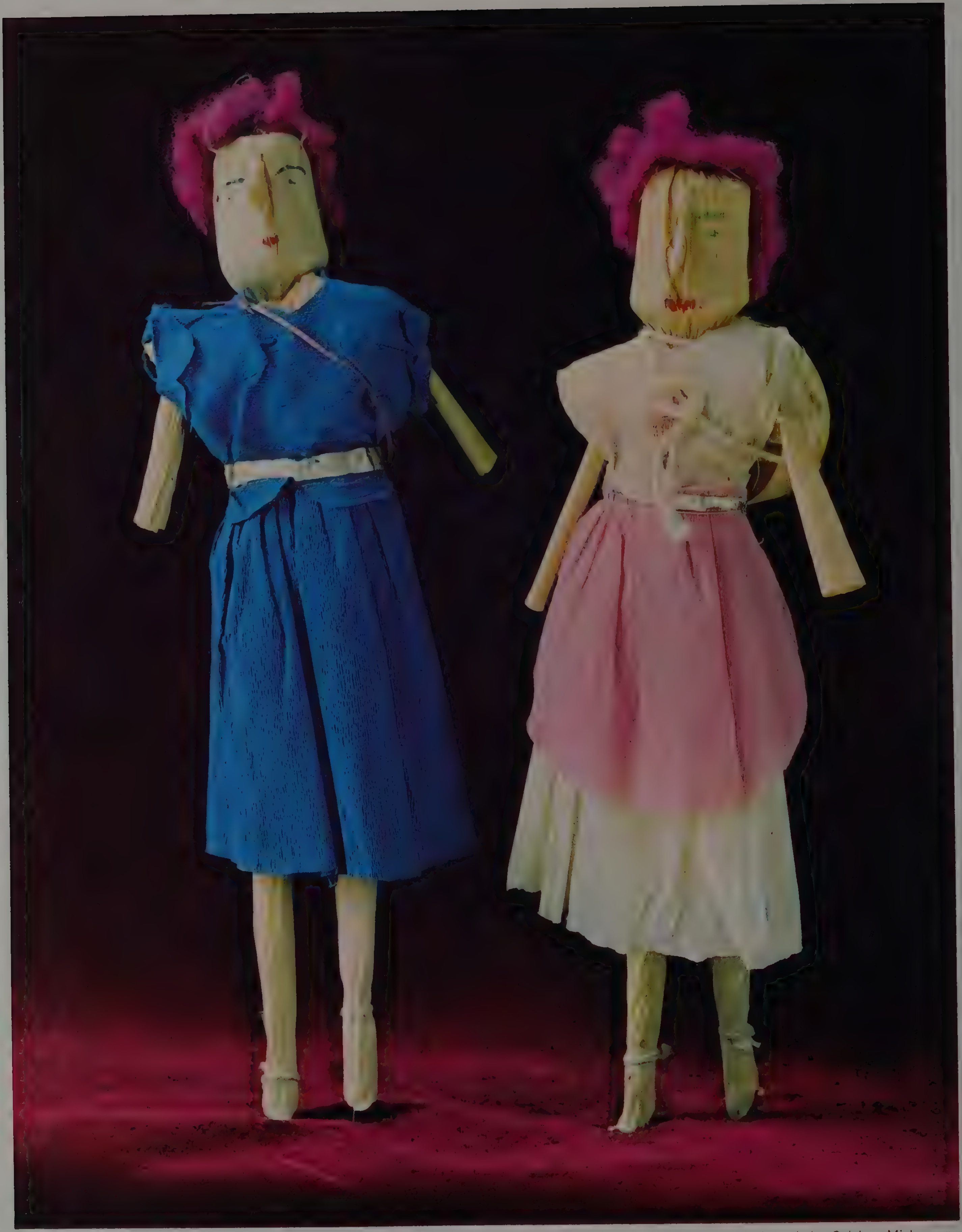
304. Movable toys. City of Oaxaca.

On page 326:
306. Masks. Celaya, Guanajuato.

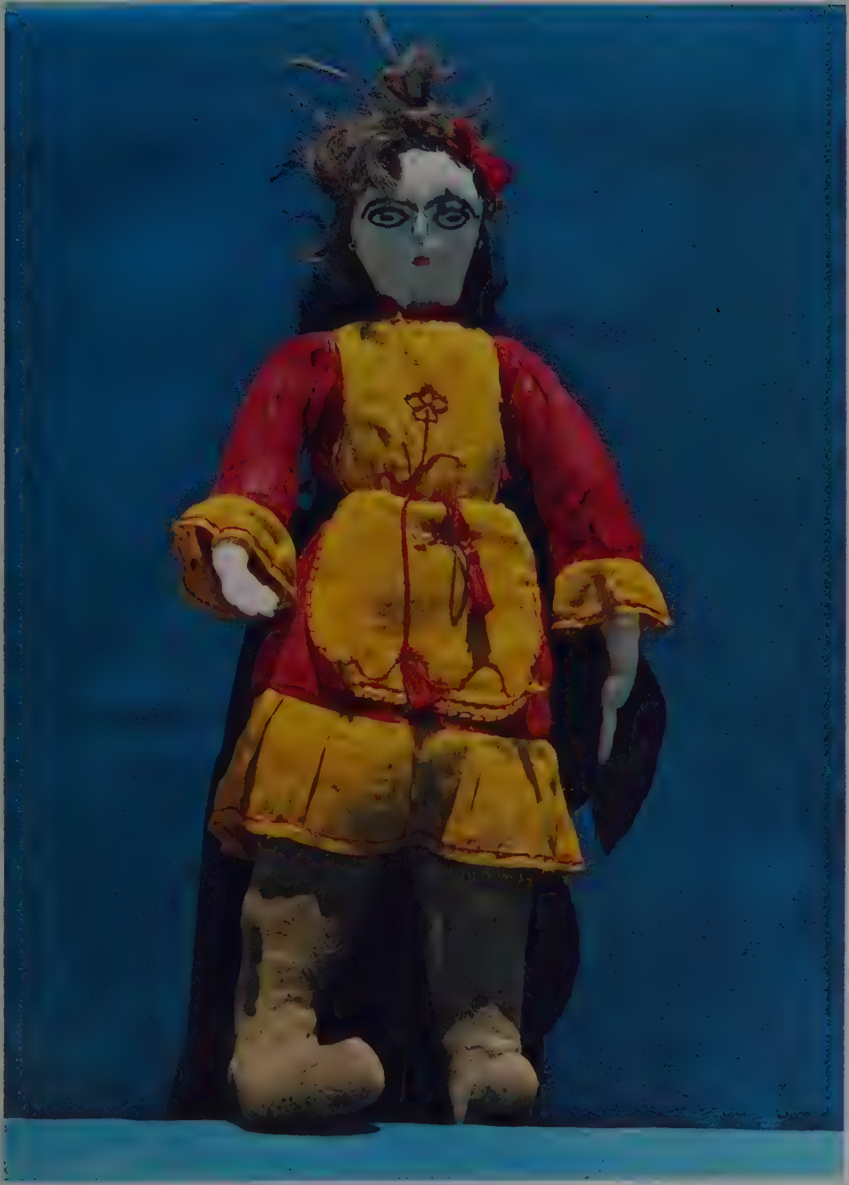
For a few centavos, one can become a king with a crown, an old man with golden whiskers, a monkey, a bird, or even death itself. The artistic merit of the masks, nevertheless depends usually on its decoration. Whether the style be Mexican or a copy of an imported model, the pattern, always done by hand, offers to the craftsman the chance of showing off his talent as an artist for decoration. RENÉ D'HARNANCOURT

307. Boy with mask. Tepalcingo, Morelos.

308 Puppets. City of Puebla, Puebla

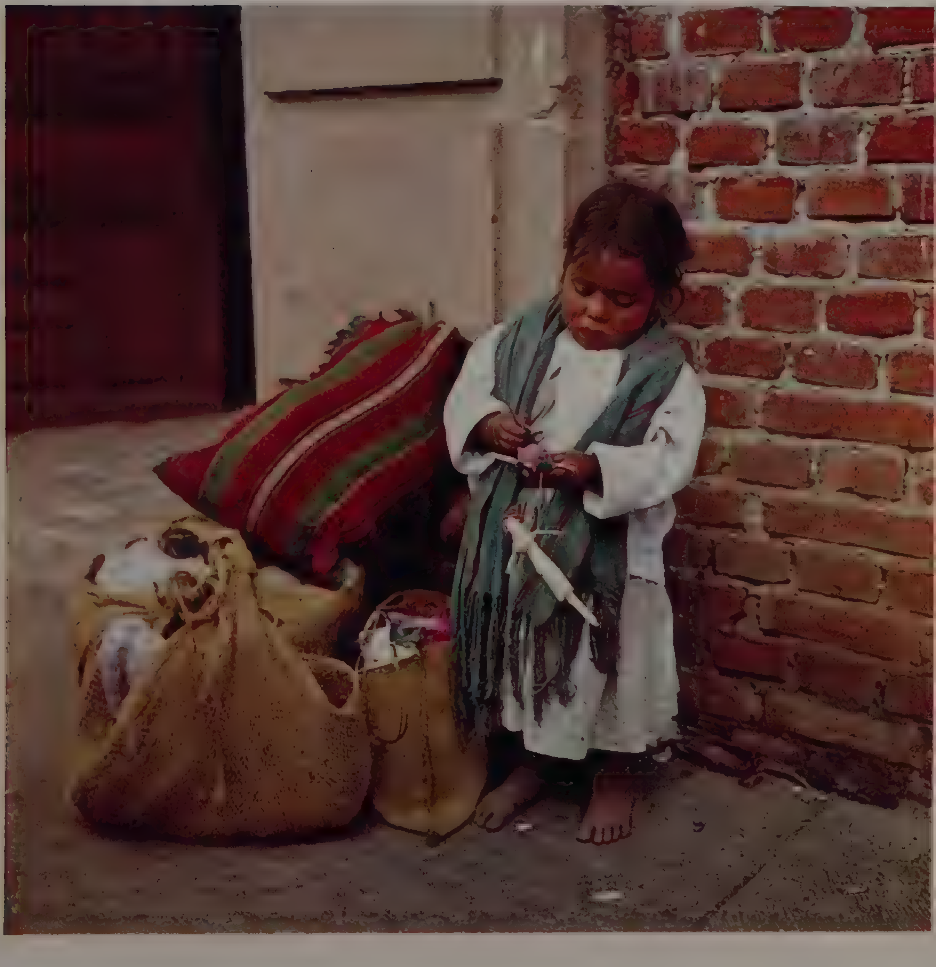


309. Dolls. San Juan de las Colchas, Michoacan.



310. Doll City of Guanajuato.

311 Little girl with doll San Juan de las Colchas, Michoacan.



Oh my little doll of clay,
Oh my little doll of clay!
How I wish that you could dance,
How I wish that you could dance!
Oh my little doll of clay!
ZAPOTECAN SONG

COMMENTS ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Girls posing for their picture with a painted background of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Cathedral towers of Puebla, taken in Huamantla, Tlaxcala —Photo M.Y.

2. Stand in the market of Texcoco, State of Mexico, with pottery made in this town — Photo M.Y.

3. Yard of the house of a potter, San Blas section of Tehuantepec, Oaxaca. Here is seen a *cabeza de tinaja* or support for jug of drinking water in the form of great hollow human figures. Covarrubias describes their manufacture thus:

> . . . The features and, in fact, the entire figure, are strangely reminiscent of Etruscan funeral ceramics in their simplicity and direct archaism. Such figures support wide, flaring bowls of the same clay, which are filled with wet sand, and into which the jar is half-buried to keep the water cold. The jug has a pattern of small, deep cuts that serve to hold *chía* seeds, flaxseed, that sprout in the constant humidity of the sand and the porous clay, covering the perspiring jar with a tender little garden, cooling to eyes and to the water.
>
> Bowl and jug are made on a low, primitive potter's wheel, but the figure is made in the old, pre-Spanish way: coils of fresh clay are added gradually to build the body of the figure, shaped and smoothed over with water and a small section of corncob. The potter moves constantly around the figure, walking backwards, with a slow, rythmical step, almost a dance. When the main form has been completed, he adds little lumps of clay for the nose, mouth, ears, chin, and breasts, and models them with sensitive, wet fingers. He scratches the eyes in, and parts the lips with any splinter of wood that may happen to lie around, indicating the pupils by two circles made with a small, narrow tube of bamboo. To suggest the dress, a double ruffle of clay is pinched along both sides of the body. Last, the potter adds the arms: two thick rolls of clay with notches for fingers. He bakes the jar, bowl, and support, together with the week's output of large water jars, in his semi-subterranean kiln, heated by a roaring woodfire. Figure and bowl are gaily painted white, blue, and black to make them even more attractive, though everybody knows that the colors are simple earth applied with water and that in a week's use the colors will have washed away — Photo P.M.

4. A stand of *papier mâché* 'Judases' in the Coyoacan park, Mexico City. These figures are sold during Easter Week in the whole Country and are burned on Easter Saturday — Photo M.O.P.

5. Votive painting dedicated to the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos. Basilica of San Juan de los Lagos, Jalisco. Photo M.O.P.

6. Oil painting on the entrance of a *pulquería* (where *pulque*, an intoxicating liquor made from the maguey cactus, is sold.) Such paintings were very common until the late 1930's. Mexico City — Photo M.A.B.

7. Clay ceremonial figure made by the Lacandon indians. 35 cm. Lacanhá, Chiapas — M.N.A. — Photo M.A.B.

8. Lagos de Moreno, Jalisco. Harmony and good taste in the painting of houses is characteristic of the Mexican provinces — Photo M.Y.

9. Interior of a Nahua Indian house. The paper on the wall shows the motifs used in the pottery manufactured by the people here. Ameyaltepec, Guerrero, a town rich in pottery-making tradition — Photo M.Y.

10. Lottery board called *El ancla* ('The Anchor'), made of paper painted with aniline colors, used in the Day of the Dead wake. Size 24 inches — Coll. L.M. — Photo P.M.

11. Painted clay figures made in Tehuantepec, Oaxaca. Height 4 inches — Coll. F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

12. Mazateca girl embroidering a *huipil*, Soyaltepec, Oaxaca — Photo M.Y.

13. Water jar with three handles decorated with designs of stylized corn plants and birds. Because of its porosity these unglazed jars keep water cool. From Ameyaltepec, Guerrero — Photo M.Y.

14. Saltcellar of black basalt, San Salvador el Seco, Puebla. This star form is a recent innovation. Height 5$^1/_2$ inches — Coll. E.D.A. — Photo P.M.

15. Black basalt saltcellar, handcarved and painted with tempera, whose fugitive colors disappear with use. These are used in *pulquerías* and in restaurants which cater to people of modest means. San Salvador el Seco, Puebla. Height 10$^1/_2$ inches — Coll. M.A.B. — Photo P.M.

Initials of institutions, archives, collectors, and photographers: A.B. Alberto Beltrán — A.M. Alfonso Muñoz — A.Med. Alfonso Medellín — A.S.S. Alfonso Soto Soria — B.C. Bodil Christensen — B.S. Bob Schalwijk — C.S. Carlos Sáenz — C.U. Colette Urbajtel — Ch.M.C. José Chávez Morado & Olga Costa — D.C. Donald Cordry — D.H. Doris Heyden — D.R.B. Dr. Daniel Rubín de la Borbolla — E.D.A. School of Design and Crafts — E.deP. Rosa Elena M. de Pomar — F.E.P.M. Fondo Editorial de la Plástica Mexicana — G.F.L. Gabriel Fernández Ledesma — G.S.P. Guy Stresser-Péan — I.W.J. Irmgard W. Johnson — I.M.P. Isabel Marín de Paalen — J.B. Julieta Beltrán — J.L.F. José Luis Franco — L.M. Leopoldo Méndez — M.A.B. Manuel Álvarez Bravo — M.A.G. Historical Museum of Granaditas, City of Guanajuato — M.B. Michael Blair — M.M. Micaela Medel — M.N.A. National Museum of Anthropology — M.N.A.P. National Museum of Popular Arts and Industries — M.O.P. Marco Octavio Peralta — M.R.A.P. Regional Museum of Arts and Industries of Pátzcuaro, Michoacán — M.R.E.M. Regional Museum of the State of México — M.Y. Marianne Yampolsky — N.V. Nicolette Valderrama — P.M. Pablo Méndez — P.P. Pilar Pareyón — R.C. Rafael Carrillo — R.K. Raúl Kampfer — R.L.L. Raúl López Lira — R.R.C. Ruth Rivera de Coronel — T.P. Teresa Pomar — V.F. Víctor Fosado, Sr.

16. *Molcajete* or milling stone hand carved in black basalt, on which remains of paint are preserved. San Salvador el Seco, Puebla. Height 4 inches — E.D.A. — Photo P.M.

17. Black basalt hand carved saltcellar. The two frogs are polychromed in fugitive tempera paint. The frog was very important in ancient mythology. San Salvador el Seco, Puebla. Height 5 inches — Coll. & photo M.O.P.

18. *Left:* Glass pitcher, handblown and pressed, in light cobalt blue, of the type very popular in the XIX century. Its shape and decoration of small raised nodules is found in English glass of the same century. Small pitchers with handles, for choise wines, were made with this same decoration. Height $6^1/_4$ inches. *Center: Pulque* glass called *tornillo* made of blown and calendered glass. Different size glasses such as *chaparras* ('short ones'), *tornillos* ('twisted glass' or taller ones), and *medias* ('half size') were made for *pulquerías*. Height $4^3/_4$ inches. *Right:* Light cobalt blue pitcher, of blown and pressed glass, decorated with raised conical buttons. Height $3^3/_8$ inches — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo P.M.

19. Aquamarine water bottle of pressed blown glass, with geometric decoration. Bottles like this were very popular for serving water or *pulque*. The original model must date from about the middle of the XVIII century. City of Puebla. Height $11^1/_2$ inches — Coll. E.D.A. — Photo P.M.

20. *Left:* Blown glass pitcher with outcurved rim with 'piecrust' edge. Puebla. Height $5^1/_8$ inches. *Center:* White handblown glass pitcher with stamped design. A raised medallion with the name Maria in the center decorates the globular body. Raised flowers are at each side of the handle, which is attached with a 'pinched' technique found on French glassware. Puebla. Height $2^1/_2$ inches. *Right:* Transparent blown glass pitcher decorated with a notched rim and handle attached with the same old-fashioned 'pinched' technique. Puebla. Height 4 inches — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo P.M.

21. Pitcher of beaten copper. The traditional ancient form is modified by a human face in front, above the spout. This piece was awarded first prize in the XXIV Annual Copper Fair in 1963 at Santa Clara del Cobre, Michoacán. Height 9 inches — M.R.A.P. — Photo M.O.P.

22. Beaten copper pot whose form was inspired by a pre-Columbian clay vessel from Western Mexico. Height $7^1/_8$ inches. Santa Clara del Cobre, Michoacán — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo P.M.

23. Tzotzil potter from Amatenango, Chiapas, painting a large jar used for holding water or storing seeds. Pottery making is woman's work among many Indian groups of the Continent. In Mexico the man usually carries the clay and the wood and takes care of the firing, while the woman kneads and prepares the clay, makes the ceramics, decorates the pieces, and helps place them in the kiln — Photo M.A.B.

24. Women from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in the pottery market at Juchitán. The pottery zone of southern Oaxaca includes the towns of Juchitán, Ixtaltepec, and Tehuantepec. Rough-surfaced large jars serve as ovens or substitutes for the *comal* (griddle) when baking large thin *tortillas* known as *totopos* in the Isthmus — Photo P.M.

25. Tzeltal women from Canuc, Chiapas, filling their large jugs at a spring whose water runs so slowly that at times it takes hours to fill a jar. The form of these jugs is a survival from pre-Hispanic times and the decoration, also, shows faint influence from that period. The pottery is shaped and painted by hand and is fired outdoors — Photo I.W.J.

26. Lacandon woman from Najá, Chiapas, polishing pottery — Photo M.B.

27. Pottery-maker at Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca, forming by hand the walls of a large jar. The two oldest techniques in American ceramics are hand modeling and the making of pottery in molds, the former about a millennium older than the latter. Usually large pieces such as jugs, jars, *apaxtles*, griddles, cooking tubs, and big globular pots are made by hand, since, because of their large size, they could be made otherwise only on the potter's wheel or in very heavy molds — Photo P.M.

28. Tzotzil ceramist from Amatenango, Chiapas, forming by hand a clay bowl. At her right she has a lump of clay and a colander with which to strain it. At her left, a plate and a bowl. Indian potters of Amatenango do not use the potter's wheel. They model and paint their wares by hand and fire them in the open-air — Photo M.A.B.

29. Jar for carrying and keeping drinking water, from the Huastec town of Tampuche, Veracruz. This piece was made on a kind of primitive potter's wheel. Its form and decorative motifs are reminiscent of pre-Columbian Huastec ceramics. Height $10^5/_8$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

30. Hand-modeled vessel with white slip. The decoration of horsemen and flowers is painted on freely with brush. San Agustín de las Flores, Guerrero. The shape is typical in this area. This town forms one of many in a ceramic region that extends as far as Zumpango and Ameyaltepec. Height 24 inches — E.D.A. — Photo M.O.P.

31. Handmade clay deer with rough striped surface and glazed head, from Atzompa, Oaxaca. The origin of this ingenious manner of planting and cultivating decorative plants is unknown. The recipient has deep grooves on its surface, in which flaxseed is placed, which sticks to the clay after being dampened during a number of days. This done, the figure is filled with water and is placed in a dark but warm place in the house. Within a few days the surface of the vessel is covered with green shoots. These figures are used to decorate the altar in churches during the Lenten season, on the Friday of the feast of our Lady of Sorrows. Height $8^5/_8$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

32. Clay toothpick holder in the form of a toad, hand modeled and with green glaze. Atzompa, Oaxaca. Height

$2^1/_4$ inches — Coll. & photo P.M.

33. Pitcher in the form of a mermaid. The body is made in a mold, decorated with flowers, also mold-made and then attached. The mermaid carries a star in her hand. After the vessel is fired it is given a white tempera wash and is painted in bright colors. Metepec, State of México. Height 9 inches — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

34. Zoomorphic jar for domestic use, with appliqued clay decoration. Zacatepec, Oaxaca. Height $8^1/_4$ inches. M.N.A. — Photo P.M

35. Black clay bell, modeled and polished by hand. It has a clear ringing sound due to the high metallic content of the clay. San Bartolo Coyotepec, Oaxaca. Height $6^3/_8$ inches — Coll. M.Y. — Photo P.M.

36. Black clay vessel in the form of a mermaid, modeled by hand and polished with an agate burnisher. The decoration is incised. In the center of the jar a legend reads: "Remember the 15 of August of 1951." San Bartolo Coyotepec, Oaxaca. This town has long been famed for its black clay jar for *mezcal* liquor, large jugs, *pichanchas* (strainers), and a wide variety of toys. Large jars are hand-modeled and are smoothed and polished during the drying process. Height 5 inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

37. Polished red clay jar used to hold the holy water in the shrine at Ocotlán, Tlaxcala. Within this type of ceramics popular forms are a longnecked duck or deer; the jugs have ovoid bodies, and stirrup handlers are found on jars. Formerly these were decorated with black designs; at the present time the motifs are incised. Height 9 inches — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

38. Pitcher made on a potter's wheel, decorated with mold-made figures and hand-modeled appliques, glazed and painted. Moroleón, Guanajuato. This type of *pulque* jar with patriotic themes was very popular from the middle of the XIX century until about 1925. It is probable that the black *pulque* jar or pitcher, decorated with appliqued figures of heroes and warlike elements, flags, etc., originated in the town of Dolores in memory of Father Miguel Hidalgo, priest of Dolores and leader of the 1810 Independence movement, and that from here it diffused through the whole Bajío region of Mexico. Later it was imitated by the potters of the *Barrio de la Luz* section of the city of Puebla. Height $8^1/_4$ inches — Coll. V.F. — Photo M.O.P.

39. Clay mold-made jar with floral decoration (also made in mold) appliqued to the body of the vessel. Under the flowers there is a figure of a dead soldier. This type of ceramics is no longer made. City of Guanajuato. Height 13 inches — E.D.A. — Photo M.O.P.

40. Pot for cooking *pozole,* made by mold in two parts, with green decoration and glaze, ribbon handles, and cover in the form of a dog. This pottery is found throughout the Sierra Tarasca region and a large part of the Bajío in north-central Mexico. Height 26 inches — M.R.A.P. — Photo M.O.P.

41. Red clay pitcher, Patamban, Michoacán. These pitchers, decorated with animals, flowers, and hearts, are for everyday use in the Sierra Tarasca region, where they keep the water fresh. Height 11 inches — Coll. M.Y. — Photo M.O.P.

42. Clay pitcher after its first firing, decorated before glazing with a *petatillo* or mat design. In illustration Nº 40, see a similar piece after the final firing. Patamban, Michoacán. Height $16^3/_4$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

43. Glazed ceramic platter from Tonalá, Jalisco. On a red background a decoration showing a lion surrounded by flower motifs has been painted in cream and black. The *petatillo* or mat design, consisting in a fine crosshatch, hand painted to fill in the free spaces, is very popular in Tonalá. Height 16 inches — Coll. A.S.S. — Photo M.O.P.

44. Glazed bowl made on a potter's wheel, decorated with a skull. City of Guanajuato. Height $5^1/_8$ inches — Coll. CH.M.C. — Photo P.M.

45. Glazed pot made on a potter's wheel. The serpent serves as both handle and decoration, which is completed by a lion, flowers, and grapes. The appliqued part is incised with lines and dots. The motto is graffito. City of Puebla. Height 14 inches — Coll. CH.M.C. — Photo P.M.

46. Glazed clay plate with cream decoration on a black background. The decorators use great liberty with their motifs; frequent designs are fishing scenes. Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán. Diameter 11 inches — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo M.O.P.

47. Glazed cooking jar from Tonalá, Jalisco. Height 7 inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

48. Jar made on a potter's wheel. It has an orange slip and is glazed, with decoration of cross-hatching, circles, and stamped flowers. Rincón de Romos, Aguascalientes. Height $4^1/_8$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

49. Water bottle of *barro de olor,* fragrant clay, glazed and with decoration applied by brush. Height $12^5/_8$ in. — E.D.A. — Photo M.O.P.

50. Glazed *pulque* pitcher. Metepec, State of Mexico. In traditional manner, these vessels are decorated with mottos, verses, or popular sayings. Height 16 inches — Coll. & photo M.A.B.

51. Bank made of *barro de olor,* polished, and with pitch applied. Santa Cruz de las Flores, Tonalá, Jalisco. Pottery villages of the Valley of Atemajac produce not only a variety of utilitarian forms but also great quantities of decorative ceramics, toys, and figures for crèches. Among the most popular animal figures is 'the little pig,' which serves as both bank and ornament. The body is made by mold in two pieces and the legs and ears are hand-modeled. The figure is slipped, is decorated with flowers, and pitch is applied, all before firing. Pig-banks of all sizes are made, from miniatures to giant size. The one reproduced, decorated with touches of gold, is from the end of the XIX century. Height $8^5/_8$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

52. Jug of *barro de olor,* polished and decorated. Tona-

lá, Jalisco. In order to keep water fresh and fragrant, vessels of this type of clay are made in various forms: with a globular body and long narrow neck, or in animal forms such as the duck, which is very popular in Mexican ceramics. Jars of this type were made in the XIX century. The traditional ducks of 'fragrant clay' are decorated with garlands and flowers, bands, animals, and at times with gold or silver lines. The body is mold-made and the details are modeled by hand. It is polished with pitch and is fired at a fairly low temperature. The top of this jar is in the form of a small duck. Height 4 1/2 inches — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

53. Antique pitcher from Tonalá, Jalisco, with polychrome decoration on a whitish background. The rim of the spout is gilded. From the end of the XIX century. Height 8 inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

54. Flower vase of 'fragrant clay,' burnished. Tonalá, Jalisco. Height 4 1/4 inches — E.D.A. — Photo P.M.

55. Vessel made of *barro de olor,* Tonalá, Jalisco, from the 1890's. Height 3 1/8 inches — E.D.A. — Photo P.M.

56. Cup made of *barro de olor,* polished, Tonalá, Jalisco. Pottery made with this fragrant clay is famous all over Mexico. Tonalá is the most important and the oldest ceramics-making center in the Valley of Atemajac; after it come Tlaquepaque, El Rosario, San Andrés, Santa Cruz, and Tatepoxco. These towns constitute the largest pottery region in Mexico, not only because of the number of artisans dedicated to this craft but also because of the variety of forms and decoration, and the enormous production of objects. Height 2 1/4 inches — M.N.A. — Photo M.P.

57. 'Fragrant clay' cup, polished, from Tonalá, Jalisco. Height 2 5/8 inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

58. Small deep dish of white majolica ware with 'brushed' decoration in cobalt blue. City of Guanajuato. Its form is reminiscent of asiatic cups and of deep Indian bowls. Diameter 4 inches — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo P.M.

59. Pitcher of Puebla majolica ware with classic Spanish decoration of flowers in cobalt blue. State of Puebla. Height 13 1/8 inches — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo M.O.P.

60. Majolica deep dish from Guanajuato, with 'brushed' decoration on a white background. This is the most common of all Mexican majolica wares. State of Guanajuato. Height 3 1/2 inches — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo P.M.

61. Bowl for *mole* of majolica ware, or Puebla 'talavera,' with yellow, blue, and brown decoration on white background. A butterfly is in the center. City of Puebla, from the middle of the XIX century. Diameter 9 inches — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo P.M.

62. Majolica ware or Puebla 'talavera' bowl, with polychrome decoration. The form of the Puebla bowl is Asiatic, as well as the influence in decoration of cobalt blue on a white background. The Puebla bowl is intimately associated with the regional cuisine, especially breakfasts ans suppers, when these bowls are used to serve blue or white *atole* or corn gruel, *champurrado, atón parado, chile atole,* foamy chocolate, and other hot beverages. The form and decoration of this bowl has influenced ceramics in Oaxaca, Chiapas, Guanajuato, and Aguascalientes. Those of large size are used for serving preserves and homemade candies such as *cocadas*—coconut candy, candied fruits, and sweets made of milk with nuts. State of Puebla. Height 3 1/2 inches — Coll. A.S.S. — Photo M.O.P.

63. Majolica ware bowl from Guanajuato, with Puebla 'talavera' influence. It is not possible to say exactly when this pottery began to be made in the state of Guanajuato, but it is well known that by the end of the XVIII century elaborate pieces were already being made here, and at the beginning of the XIX century Father Hidalgo initiated and gave impulse to its manufacture in Dolores Hidalgo, imitating the forms, decoration, and techniques already in use in Guanajuato and Aguascalientes. Height 5 1/8 inches — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo P.M.

64. Woman decorating an agave fiber *morral* at the Tepalcingo fair, Morelos. *Ixtle* and *lechuguilla* fiber *morrales* are in general use among almost the entire rural population in Mexico. In some regions it is substituted by the woolen carrying-bag or *morral*, the ixtle *ayate*, or a carrying cloth. To make these *morrales* the *ixtle* or lechuguilla fiber is spun by hand with a *tarabilla* or heavy spindle-whorl, and the weaving is done on a back-strap loom. They are made in many towns in the states of San Luis Potosí, Michoacán, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Puebla, and in the Huasteca region, as well as in some parts of southeastern Mexico. Some are made with decoration of simple, plain lines woven on the loom, with tufts of color on the strap that goes over the shoulder. During the past twenty years *morrales* painted with bright aniline colors have become popular. The most usual decorative elements are flowers, birds, and other animals, mottos, names, initials, and geometric elements, many of these often made by request of the purchaser — Photo M.O.P.

65. Seri woman from Desemboque, Sonora, making a basket called *corita.* She uses a long fish bone to tighten the weave. The making of different types of baskets among the Seris of Sonora and Tiburon Island is closely associated with basketry of southwestern United States. The techniques, forms, and decorations show great similarities, as if they had the same origin. Fibers from local trees are used to make a spiral weave, in natural white and brown colors. The most common decorative elements are birds, butterflies, and frets — Photo M.O.P.

66. Weaver at Kalkiní, Campeche, seated on a finely woven mat, making a small basket. Kalkiní is the most important weaving and commercial center for objects of Campeche palm fiber — Photo M.A.B.

67. Tzotzil Indian authorities before the Town Hall at Larráinzar, Chiapas. While they wait, they weave a net of ixtle fiber for making *morrales.* At the left, one of the men is twisting the fiber on his thigh, a universal and very ancient technique. To weave the net, they use primitive

implements, as can be seen in the photograph (on the ground, between the two men) — Photo I.J.

68. Bags of *ixtle* fiber. *Upper left:* bag with net weave, Tzotzil, from Larráinzar, Chiapas (see photo 67) — Coll. I.J. *Upper right, lower right: morrales,* State of Morelos. Woven on back-strap loom, designs painted with aniline colors (see 64) — Coll. F.E.P.M. *Lower left:* bag. Tepejuanes, Durango — Coll. I.J. — Photo M.O.P.

69. Bread basket made in spiral technique with coiled palm fiber, woven with colored fibers in interlaced fashion which produce the stylized figure of a butterfly; the latter preserves the pre-Columbian form. Toluca, State of México. Diameter 9 inches — Coll. M.M. — Photo P.M.

70. Basket called *tompiate* made with cylindrical weave of vari-colored palm fibers, from Santa María Ixcatlán, Oaxaca. The double weave used here facilitates and enriches the elaboration of decorative elements. Height 12 inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

71. Basket called *tompiate* woven of palm fiber dyed in many colors. These baskets are made in Chalcatongo and Telixtlahuaca, towns of the Lower Mixteca region, and are sold all over the state of Oaxaca. Height 5$^1/_2$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

72. Cage made of reeds, Mezquital Valley, Hidalgo. The Otomi Indians of this region weave with fibers of *ixtle* and *lechuguilla* (both agaves), as well as with reeds, palm fiber, and sticks. People in La Otra Banda and Progreso, Hidalgo, have specialized in making cages because they also breed song birds, which they train from the time they are small. The most important basketry centers of the region are Ixmiquilpan, Taxquillo, and the area that borders the state of Querétaro, toward San Juan del Río and Tequisquiapan. In the latter towns there is a large production of baskets made of willow branches. Height 21$^1/_2$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

73. Crib mattress made of a large, fine palm leaf, with the points of the frond interwoven in the leaf itself. Huastec group, Valles, San Luis Potosí. Length 20$^3/_4$ inches. M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

74. Chests from Olinalá, Guerrero, on sale at the fair of Tepalcingo, Guerrero. The finest chests are made with fragrant aloe wood, others are made of rosewood or of some wood that does not contain resin so that they can be decorated with lacquer. Today many chests are fabricated with pine and are decorated with industrial paints. Groves of aloe trees along the Pacific coast have virtually disappeared today, with the result that this fragrant wood is used only for small boxes or for jewel cases. The traditional landscape in the center of the front of the box, representing the main square of a typical Mexican rural town, has been substituted by landscapes copied from commercial calendars, but the traditional leaves, bouquets, flowers, and ornate borders continue to be represented — Photo M.Y.

75. Buying a chest from Olinalá, Guerrero, at the fair in Tepalcingo, Morelos. Household linens are kept in these chests, which are considered one of the most valued wedding presents in the rural areas of central and southern Mexico. From available information, it is deduced that this custom came to Mexico from Spain. The camphor or teak wood trunk —traditionally used in Asia for keeping fine silks— was also adopted in Mexico after sea traffic between Acapulco and Manila became regularized. Although the chests illustrated were formerly produced in many parts of Mexico, today Olinalá, Guerrero, is the only place where they are made, and from here they are sent to every corner of the Republic. Wooden boxes of both fine and inexpensive quality are made in parts of the states of Puebla, Oaxaca, and Michoacán, but they have lost the traditional forms and decorations, and have become chests lacking in any special local characteristic — Photo M.Y.

76. Flat-topped chest painted with lacquer. Olinalá, Guerrero, XIX century. Height 14$^3/_4$ inches — Coll. D.R.B. Photo M.O.P.

77. Lacquered chest from the XIX century, Olinalá, Guerrero, with a fight between a dog and a tiger portrayed upon it. The tiger (ocelot or puma in Mexico) is the favorite animal among decorators. Height 16 inches — E.D.A. — Photo M.O.P.

78. Lacquered chest, dated March 19, 1875, painted according to the instructions of its buyer. At the center top, the moon, and at the sides flowers and humming birds, the latter popular in this type of decoration at Olinalá. In the center, white smoke comes out of a chimney that forms part of a group of buildings in a city; underneath this there is a train, and a detachment of soldiers and a car drawn by white horses. Although it is almost impossible to identify the name of the town, the decorative elements lead us to believe that it could be Atlixco, Matamoros, or Puebla. From Olinalá, Guerrero. Height 12 inches — E.D.A. — Photo P.M.

79. Interior decoration of the cover of a chest, whose legend reads: "Dedicated to the esteemed person who has my respect and affection." Above, an eagle spreads his wings; this motif was popularized during the second half of the XIX century. In the center is seen a dinner in a house of the provinces. Olinalá, Guerrero, XIX century. Height 12 inches — E.D.A. — Photo P.M.

80. Side view of a chest. Almost all Olinalá chests and boxes are painted on three sides, as well as the cover, which is decorated inside and outside. This custom began during the XIX century and has lasted until the present time. Olinalá, Guerrero, XIX century. Height 16 inches — E.D.A. Photo M.O.P.

81. Fragment of a cut-out and inlaid decoration from a traditional tray, Uruapan, Michoacán. The decorative motifs are inlaid in black lacquer which covers the surface of the tray, and in which are cut out the areas to be filled with different colors, according to the design of each piece.

This technique is supposedly of pre-Columbian origin. Height 24 inches — E.D.A. — Photo M.O.P.

82. Chest-type trunk with cover from Olinalá, Guerrero, with relief lacquered design. Originally these chests were painted with simple bands and lines, with lateral frames for contrast. Toward the end of the XVII century and beginning of the XVIII, Oriental motifs were introduced as decoration: flowers, landscapes, persons, etc. Trunks thus painted have come from Puebla and from Quiroga, state of Michoacán. In the XIX century elements such as birds, other animals, and flowers were added. Height 12 inches — Coll. M.A.B. — Photo M.O.P.

83. Birds made of lacquered light-weight wood. The peak is an agave thorn. Olinalá, Guerrero. Height 2 inches — F.E.P.M. — Photo M.O.P.

84. Gourd bowl from Olinalá, Guerrero. Because it is light in weight yet durable, and easy to handle, the gourd of this type is almost unequalled as a recipient for liquids and foods. Those from Olinalá are the most popular in Mexico, as they are used in the entire Republic and even in Central America. The bowl is decorated with a coat of red or black lacquer, on which designs are painted — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

85. Gourd bowl from Olinalá, Guerrero. Toward the end of the XIX century certain decorative elements became popular, such as the eagle with spread wings, doves bearing ribbons and love letters, mottos, or names of persons. The tiger, hare, deer, humming bird, heron, duck, and other fowl seem to be older motifs used in decorating Olinalá lacquer work. Diameter 6 inches — E.D.A.Photo P.M.

86. Dried bottle gourd from a tropical tree, decorated with lacquer and using the technique of cutting out parts of the design, then filling them in with colors, this technique common to Olinalá, Guerrero. Colors are red, orange, white, yellow, and bright green. The neck is adorned with *xicalcoliuhqui* or fret design and the body with a flowery motif formed of pomegranates. Olinalá, Guerrero, XVII century (?). Height 10$^1/_2$ inches — Coll. D.R.B. Photo P.M.

87. *Xicalpestle* or gourd bowl, lacquered and hand painted, Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas. The *xicalpestle*, commonly used in southern Mexico, Central and South America, is pre-Columbian in origin. Chiapa de Corzo provides all of southern Mexico with these bowls, in different sizes. Formerly almost all the women of Chiapa de Corzo did lacquer work, producing chests, *retablos* or folk religious paintings, shelves, screens, masks, home altarpieces, and rectangular and square trays. The men were *santeros* or sculptors of religious images and mask-makers. Although birds and other animals used to be popular motifs, today the *xicalpestles* are decorated with leaves, flowers, bouquets, and *flora* elements. Height 14 inches — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

88. *Left:* Thin pine wood box, painted and decorated, used for packing and preserving candies such as *cocada* (coconut candy), *cajeta* (caramel sauce), and dried fruits. Colima. Height 4 inches — Coll. G.F.L. — *Center:* Wooden box painted in many colors. The clasp is made of leather. San Cristóbal las Casas, Chiapas. Height 2 inches — Coll. M.Y. — *Lower:* Wooden box decorated with flowers. Paracho, Michoacán. Height 2$^1/_4$ inches — Coll. M.Y. — Photo P.M.

89. Painted wax fruit in a case, Puebla. Wax sculpture has been very popular for making ex-votos, toys, crèches, decorative figures, bouquets, and other ornaments. Tapers and candles are made, also, many of them highly elaborated. Among the most striking are those from Teotitlán del Valle, Oaxaca; Santa María del Río, San Luis Potosí; Puebla; Tlaxcala; México; Querétaro; Michoacán; Guanajuato; Jalisco. In Oaxaca small wax figures are made for offerings; in Puebla they are made in molds and are given away in the *pulquerías;* in Michoacán, Puebla, and Jalisco, toys and miniatures are made of wax for adornments. Crèches in wax from Puebla and Salamanca are famous, although formerly more popular and cheaper ones came from Oaxaca and Morelia. Miniature fruits are replicas of natural size ones and are used to adorn the table or other furniture in the dining room. These fruits are made mainly in Puebla, México, Toluca, Morelia, and Guadalajara. About 1839 Madame Frances Calderón de la Barca wrote:

> A valuable present was sent lately by a gentleman here, to the Count de ...... in Spain; twelve cases, each case containing twelve wax figures; each figure representing some Mexican trade, or profession or employment. There were men drawing the *pulque* from the *maguey*, Indian women selling vegetables, *tortilleras,* vendors of ducks, fruitmen, lard-sellers, the postman of Guachinango, loaded with parrots, monkeys, etc. —more of everything than of letters— the *Poblana* peasant, the *rancherita* on horseback before her farm-servant, the gaily-dressed *ranchero*, in short, a little history of Mexico in wax.

Height of the case 13$^1/_2$ in. — Coll. CH.M.C. — Photo P.M.

90. Wooden cane with carved handle: two young people kissing each other, a snake, leaves, and fruit. Purchased in Morelia, Michoacán — Coll. CH.M.C. — Photo P.M.

91. Finely tooled leather chaps of Spanish-Moorish style. XVII century, Puebla (?). Cattle-raising developed when the Spaniards, shortly after the Conquest, introduced the first bovines into Mexico. These multiplied rapidly due to the abundance and good quality of the grazing land. The curing and working of different types of skins followed, along with the fabrication of saddles, harnesses, and everything associated with the new means of transportation on animals or in vehicles. (The beast of burden was unknown before the Conquest.) Mule-driving and *charrería* or the art of horsemanship came into existence. The artisan learned to make saddles and saddle trappings, harnesses, chaps, spurs, and many other objects related to

the use of the horse. In this craft —which has flourished in the states of México, Michoacán, Puebla, Jalisco, and Guanajuato— many specialties have been combined, such as engraving, saddle making, as well as different sewing techniques for making the saddle trappings and other garments used by the horsemen. Suede chaps form part of the *charro's* costume. These are made of unshorn goatskin, tooled suede, and leather that is not only tooled but is embroidered with colored thread. Those of finest quality are hand tooled, with gold and silver fillets or exquisite silk embroidery. Height 44 inches — Coll. R.K. Photo M.O.P.

92. Vessel made of coconut, carved with exquisite skill. Height 10 inches. Provenience unknown — Coll M.N.A.P. Photo M.O.P.

93. Coconut carved in the form of a bank. It represents a cat with a mouse in its mouth. Height $2^5/_8$ inches. Provenience unknown — Coll. M.N.A.P. — Photo M.O.P.

94. Carved mamey pit. The side that appears in the photograph depicts a fish with the legend *"Recuerdo"*— Souvenir. It is decorated with a heart pierced by a dagger, and two angels holding a crown. Provenience unknown. Lenght $3^1/_8$ inches — Coll. CH.M.C. — Photo P.M.

95. Mold for making *tortillas*, of mesquite wood. Vizarrón, Querétaro. This is the only place in México where *tortillas* are made in molds that are carved and decorated with animal figures and flowers. These special *tortillas* are served at family reunions and religious ceremonies. They are made of red and blue maize and, when baked, are decorated with vegetable colors. Diameter 11 inches — Coll. R.K. — Photo M.O.P.

96. Antique wooden chocolate beater from Puebla. In the traditional preparation of cocoa, either hot or cold, the thick foam is the most important part, and this is obtained only by beating with a good *molinillo* or beater. Old-foam beaters were made with two cross wedges fixed to one end of the handle. As part of its round lower end, a good *molinillo* should have five wooden rings, removed from the globular body when this piece is turned in the lathe. Puebla (see 97.) Height $8^1/_2$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

97. Spoon-holder of *yarín* wood (red pine), used for holding chocolate beaters and wooden spoons. Rustic furniture made in Paracho, Michoacán, like this cabinet, are in great demand in the Sierra Tarasca. They represent the regional style of popular furnishings. Also made are dish cabinets, with bases for round-bottomed jars; tables, chairs, armchairs, beds, wardrobes, and shelves. The backs and doors of the furniture are adorned with carved figures of animals and flowers. Some persons color these pieces yellow with *congo* water paint. Height 24 inches — M.R.A.P. Photo M.O.P.

98. Carved beaters called *alcahuetes,* made of orange wood, used for stirring chocolate *atole* in Oaxaca and southern Mexico. San Mateo del Mar, Oaxaca. These beaters are used to mix the foam of white cacao (the cultivation of which has disappeared) with the gruel. This beverage, of pre-Hispanic origin, is prepared and consumed during the most important ceremonies — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

99. Gourd bowl carved with decorative motifs. Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca. Diameter $4^1/_2$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

100. Carved *jícara* or gourd from the state of Tabasco. Diameter $5^3/_8$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

101. *Tecomate* or globular bowl, with perforations and circular decoration, used as a colander. Jalpa, Tabasco. Height $3^1/_2$ inches — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

102. Earrings from many parts of Mexico. *Above:* Mother-of-pearl and *papelillo* earrings from San Juan Tuxtepec, state of México. Silver earring from San Pedro Totoltepec, state of México. Silver earrings from San Bartolo Yautepec, Oaxaca — Coll. I.W.J. — *Second row:* Silver earrings, Valley of Toluca, state of México — Coll. I.M.P. Silver earrings, San Pedro Totoltepec, state of México — Coll. R.R.C. — Silver earrings with blue glass, Valley of Toluca, state of México — Coll. M.Y. — Earrings with red and green glass, Valley of Toluca, state of México — Coll. I.M.P. — *Third row:* Silver earrings, with blue and red glass. Sierra de Puebla — Coll. M.Y. — Mother-of-pearl earrings, Valley of Toluca, state of México—Coll. I.W.J.—Earrings of wire, *papelillo*, and glass beads. Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo. Coll. M.Y. — Silver earrings, Valle de Bravo, state of México — Coll. M.Y. — Earrings of wire and glass bead, Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Oaxaca — Coll. M.Y. — Copper earrings, gold-plated, City of Puebla — Coll. M.Y. — Photo M.O.P.

103. Necklaces from many parts of México. *Upper:* Necklace of coral beads, antique silver coins, and figures of animals and amulets strung together. The silver medallion has a religious image painted on ivory. Choapan, Oaxaca — Coll. I.W.J. — String of coral and silver beads strung with the traditional silver Yalalag cross. Yalalag, Oaxaca — Coll. I.W.J. — Necklace of coral and silver beads, antique coins and amulets. The silver Yalalag cross is attached. Choapan, Oaxaca—Coll. I.W.J.—*Second row:* String of coral beads with blue glass drops. It is believed that the glass dates from the Colonial period and that they come from Venice, Italy. San Pedro Quiatoni, Oaxaca — Coll. I.W.J. — Necklace of glass beads with silver fish. Pátzcuaro, Michoacán — Coll. R.R.C. — Photo M.O.P.

104. Earrings and necklaces of cast silver, with filagree work and red glass beads. Pátzcuaro, Michoacán — Coll. P.P. — Photo M.O.P.

105. Earrings of cast silver, with filagree work and glass ornaments, very popular in rural areas of México. Zitácuaro, Michoacán — Coll. P.P. — Photo M.O.P.

106. Earrings from the city of Puebla, showing figures of a man and a woman made of fine beads. Height 2 in. Coll. I.W.J. — Photo P.M.

107. Seri necklaces from Víboras, Sonora. *Left:* Shells

strung with cotton thread. *Right:* Necklace of shark vertebrae — Coll. & photo P.M.

108. Hand carved tortoise shell combs, one of them with a mirror in its center. Puebla, XVIII and XIX centuries — Coll. R.K. — Photo P.M.

109. Orange-wood combs, decorated with doves or other motifs. Oaxaca. Height $4^5/_8$, $3^1/_2$, and $2^1/_4$ inches. Coll. D.C. — Photo M.O.P.

110. Bone comb with pyrographic decoration, showing the figure of a deer. San Antonio de la Isla, state of México. Lenght $2^3/_4$ in. — Coll. A.S.S. — Photo M.O.P.

111. Chinantec women from Ojitlán, Oaxaca, wearing *huipils* with woven and embroidered designs, similar to those in plates 138, 145, 146. Some of the women use black gauze shawls, while one has a handwoven red cloth. Photo M.Y.

112. Mazatec Indian from Huautla de Jiménez, Oaxaca. The woman is wearing a white cotton *huipil* embroidered in colored thread with flowers and birds, with colored ribbons forming horizontal bands at the bottom. The neck also has ribbons and lace and the sleeves end in ruffles. Her wrap around skirt is of blue and white striped cotton. The roofs of the houses are characteristic of this region — Photo M.Y.

113. Nahua women from the municipality of Huejutla, Hidalgo, cross a river in their region. They wear embroidered blouses, long wide skirts of bright colors with lace near the lower hem, as well as dark *rebozos*. They use commercial cotton and satin cloth to make their clothes. Some carry their purchases in baskets on their heads while others wrap them in large bandannas. The baskets they use are made in the municipality of Huautla, Hidalgo — PhotoM.Y.

114. Tarahumara Indians from Tiguírichic, Chihuahua. Although the Tarahumara usually live on small isolated farms, they gather in the towns for festive days. Women wear many voluminous skirts, a blouse, and a shawl. Some wear a large bandanna on their heads, other wear a *coyera* (a band formed by a square cloth which is doubled over). All of the cloth for their garments is commercially produced; some is white cotton, some printed. The only garments these people weave are woolen belts of different designs, worn by both men and women. They also weave heavy wide woolen blankets that are necessary for the severe winters. Many of these blankets are water proof. Photo B.S.

115. A Seri woman from Desemboque, Sonora, walking on the beach near Tiburón Island in the Gulf of California. Seri territory is very desolate. The Seris are outstanding for their unusual height and their dignified carriage. The population has diminished considerably because of persecutions, disease, and difficulties which have plagued their territory. Their voluminous clothing consists of long sleeved blouses and long wide skirts which they make themselves from commercial cloth. In the past the Seri women greatly prized dresses made from pelican pelts, sewn with bird tendons and vegetable fibers, and covered with pelican feathers (v. Hernández, Dr. Fortunato) — Photo M.O.P.

116. Totonac Indians from Tajín, Veracruz. Women visiting the Tajín pyramid in festive dress, although one uses mestizo clothing; the other dresses according to the style of her town with white satin blouse and skirt. The blouse is adorned with crocheted lace. Over the blouse the women usually wear a length of cloth. Their brilliantly colored aprons are of commercial cloth and their braided hair is adorned with rosettes of colored ribbons. Necklaces and earrings are worn and many women like to use clasps, mirrors, flowers, and ribbons. The women of Papantla frequently paint their lips. In general, the Totonacs, both men and women, spend a great deal of money on their clothing and adornment — Photo N.V.

117. Nahuat-speaking people from Cuetzalan, Puebla. These Indians from the Puebla mountains wear white wrap-around skirts that reach their feet, with pleats in front, blouses embroidered usually with black motifs, and handwoven woolen belts (see 236). Observe that they wear one or two *quechquemitls*, one over the other, and another over the turban-like headdress or *mastahual*. The fine cotton *quechquemitls* —handwoven with gauze technique— are adorned with ribbons around the neck and with a small design embroidered at the tip. The women's hair is rolled with green and purple cords to form an exaggerated headdress — Photo B.C.

118. Tarascan women from the lake region of Michoacán. One of them is preparing a girl for a party. Her braids are adorned with a series of large bows made of brightly colored ribbons; on her lap can be seen a *rebozo* of the type made in the Pátzcuaro area (formerly made in Paracho also) with rayon decorated fringe in the style known as feather mosaic (see 183). Near her left hand is a silver earring of the type common to the Tarascan region — Photo M.Y.

119. Huasteca Indians from the region of Tancanhuitz, San Luis Potosí. These women wear their hair in a *petop*, which is a headdress made of red, green, orange, yellow, and blue wool cords held in place by crossing the hair over and under the yarns. This special headdress is used mainly for weddings, fiestas, and market days. (See 216) — Photo M.Y.

120. Mixe woman from Chichicastepec, Oaxaca, at the fiesta of the Zacatepec Mixes, Oaxaca. She wears a red skirt, and a white *huipil* of commercial cloth which is tucked into the skirt. Her belt is handwoven and is rolled over another palm-fiber belt called *soyate*. The headdress is made of many woolen cords braided in with the hair and hanging heavily down the back. The ribbons seen are those which tie the coral necklaces — Photo I.W.J.

121. Mixe from Acatlán, Oaxaca: an old woman in a handwoven cotton *huipil*. The two side strips of the *huipil* are of plain weave but the center section has a geomet-

ric design brocaded in red color. The woman's hair is rolled with red wool cords into a headdress known as *tlacoyal*. She wears three necklaces of antique glass beads, some probably originally from Venice. Other beads are silver. She has dressed in her most attractive clothing to take part in the December 8th fair (Day of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception) celebrated each year in Ixcuintepec, Oaxaca, and attended by Indians from many different towns — Photo B.C.

122. Huichol woman from Ocota de la Sierra, Jalisco, wearing a design cut from a flower petal pasted on each cheek. Her necklace and earrings are beadwork. Her *quechquemitl* is made from two large bandannas *(paliacates)*. Commercial cloth is used for her blouse and skirt, usually of printed or solid color material. In many places in the Huichol mountain region the Indians embroider white cotton cloth with different designs for these pieces of clothing, as can be seen on the richly decorated garments from Santa Catarina and San Andrés. (See 214) — Photo M.A.B.

123. Seri woman from Desemboque (Punta Chueca?), Sonora, applying facial paint to a young girl. Substances used are: ochre (red), chalk (white), a mineral clay, and an organic resin taken from the plant *guaiacum coulteri* (blue). Some elderly Seri women still prepare the colors with great ceremony. The belief exists that the blue color will not appear if its preparation is observed by a girl who has not yet menstruated. Today, the use of industrial paints is common. Facial painting constitutes one of the most deeply-rooted of Seri customs. This is the main element of feminine adornment and performs an important role in ceremonies. According to McGee and Hernández, the designs were sacred insignia of a totemic character and were used to distinguish caste in the group, but they also were decorative. (Hernández, Dr. F., and Moser, M.B.) — Photo A.M.

124. Woolen hair ribbons from the Tarascan region of Carapan, Michoacán. The ends are embroidered with red wool — Coll. P.P. — Photo M.O.P.

125. Nahua of the region of Zongolica, Veracruz. In her braids she wears *tlacoyales* made of cords braided with black wool. The ends are divided into many sections and are finished with small tufts of wool in bright colors. The women begin to weave these into their hair about halfway through the braid so that the colored ends hang loose. They use two braids and, therefore, two *tlacoyales* — Coll. J.B. — Photo M.O.P.

126. Otomi woman from San Pablito, Puebla. The ends of the woolen cords she wears in her hair are adorned with balls and fringes of wool and decorative tubes made of beads knotted together. The designs are of multicolored birds. These cords *(tochomites)* are intertwined in the braids and hang down the back — Coll. A.S.S. — Photo P.M.

127. Mixtec from Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca. Young Mixtec girl in wedding finery. The outer *huipil* (tunic-like garment usually worn over a skirt) is of finely handwoven white cotton, is heavily embroidered with geometric figures and animals around the neck. There is a double-headed eagle at the center. To this have been added ribbons at the neck and down the seams. The girl also is using a specially fine wrap-around skirt or *posahuanco* (see 196) which is worn only for weddings or for festive events; the belt which supports this is from the region known as the *Mixteca Alta*. Her gold earrings are probably from Ometepec, Guerrero. Her necklace is of coral and her crown of orange blossoms. There are three styles of wearing the outer *huipil*, or *huipil de tapar*, each with several variations: 1) Over the head and shoulders as a shawl, used mostly on ordinary days, to go to market or to church. 2) When used as a wedding garment, as seen in the picture: only one arm is put through one armhole, the other being left free. The *huipil* is not used again until burial. 3) Upon burial the *huipil* is used as a shroud and this is the only time that the arms are put through both armholes of this particular garment — Photo B.C. — Photo file I.W.J.

128. Mazatec woman from Ayautla, Oaxaca, spinning *coyuchi* (natural colored tan cotton) which has been prepared in the following manner: starting with cotton from their fields the Indians gin this, usually by hand; the cotton is then beaten with a thin stick in order to soften, fluff, and blend the fibers to facilitate the spinning. The woman is wearing the traditional *huipil* of this region, handwoven on a back strap loom. The lower part of the decoration is made in brocade technique but the upper part is intricately embroidered by hand. Everything is finished with colored ribbon. (See 130). The woman's wrap-around skirt is striped blue and white cotton. She wears her hair braided down her back and necklaces of red beads — Photo I.W.J.

129. Mazatec Indians from Jalapa de Díaz, Oaxaca, at a fair in Otatitlán, Veracruz. The women wear *huipils* adorned with attractive embroidery, ribbons, and lace. The cloth is factory-made. The embroidery on some *huipils* is done in one color, on others in several colors combined. These women use handwoven wrap-around skirts called *cotín*. The men wear white cotton shirt and pants with the leg tied at the ankle to make it full and free — Photo A.B.

130. Mazatec *huipil* from Ayautla, Oaxaca. Detail showing embroidery with bird, flower, and leaf motifs filled with red thread and outlined with green on a white background of muslin. Formerly this work was done on white cottom handwoven on a back strap loom — Coll. M.Y. — Photo M.O.P.

131. Mazatec *huipil* from Huautla de Jiménez, Oaxaca, detail. The old *huipil* is made of finely handwoven cotton embroidered with flowers and with an appliqué of roses in magenta silk. One characteristic of the Ma-

zatec *huipil* is the use of wide borders of silk ribbons and lace around the embroidery. This is a sumptuous garment, probably made for an Indian or mestizo woman of wealth — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

132. Detail of a Zapotec *huipil* from San José Lachiguiri, Oaxaca. The multicolored embroidery is executed on a background of white muslin, done with fine thread in cross stitch and satin stitch. The floral, animal, and human motifs are outlined by a horizontal bar made of appliqued black ribbon and yellow embroidery. The ends terminate in two tassels made of yarn. The decoration below the round neck is reminiscent of an ancient style which can be seen in several codices. Another survival of this bar can be found in a different style in the *huipil* of the Zapotec Indians of Yalalag — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

133. Detail of Mixtec *huipil* from Pinotepa Nacional, Oaxaca. The *huipil* is made of three sections of white handwoven cotton. The embroidery is outstanding, as it is done on a blue ribbon appliqué with multicolor silk thread. The tiny motifs represent many animals such as scorpions, lizards, centipedes, fish, spiders, two-headed birds, as well as flowers and geometric figures. These *huipils* are used as festive or wedding garments with fine *posahuancos* or wraparound skirts woven of thread that has been colored with dye made from a cactus louse (cochineal), indigo, or shell fish dye *(purpura patula panza)*. (See 196) — M.N.A. Photo M.O.P.

134. Totonac women from Papantla, Veracruz, in festive dress. They wear skirts and *quechquemitl* of embroidered organdy with lace, blouse, and *paño* or ornamental cloth. The *quechquemitl* is worn as a shawl when going out, or on the head in church. These women use gold earrings and necklaces. The hair is braided and adorned with many clasps, flowers, and bows. In the background at the left can be seen a Totonac man in typical full pants and long full shirt, both of white cotton. Commercial cloth is used in their clothing — Photo P.M.

135. Zapotec women from Juchitán, Oaxaca. The Juchitecas dress up for the New Year festivities. Their skirts are long and full, their short *huipils* are machine embroidered with geometric designs usually done in black and yellow or in red and yellow (see 136). Their everyday clothes are of printed cotton; their festive dresses of satin or velvet. Their shawls are black and their earrings and necklaces are gold. One party dress can cost more than a thousand pesos. The hair is braided with bright colored ribbons. These women are carrying *xicalpestles* or lacquered gourds, full of flowers. The *xicalpestles* come from Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas — Photo B.C.

136. Zapotec girl from the San Blas section of Tehuantepec, Oaxaca, embroidering a gala *huipil*. The velvet cloth is mounted on a special frame where she does the floral designs by hand but the wide yellow bands are done on a special Singer sewing machine which executes a chain stitch. All embroidery on these dresses is done with fine quality silk or mercerized cotton thread and all the material is of first class. On the *huipils* for daily use the traditional colors are: lemon yellow and red thread on purple *huipils*, and yellow and black on red ones. The designs within the bands are frequently very complicated geometric combinations designated by name, such as 'tiger,' '*jaibera*' (crab vendor), etc. Wedding and festive garments are of satin or velvet decorated with exceptionally fine geometric and floral figures. Designs from Chinese shawls are copied on velvet *huipils*. (Covarrubias, M.) — Photo M.Y.

137. Zapotec woman from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Oaxaca, wearing an elegant *huipil* with the spectacular *huipil grande* or headdress which is a modification of the ancient traditional *huipil* made of fine white material with neck, sleeves, and lower hem, wide strips of cloth and pleated lace added, starched and adorned with ribbons. For parties and other celebrations the Tehuana women wear this on the head with the wide lower hem thrown back to form a halo of pleated lace, the rest of the garment falling over the shoulders and back. For church, the starched lace around the neck forms a decorative frame for the face and the rest falls over the shoulders, one sleeve in front and one sleeve behind. According to Linati the Tehuanas of 1828 wore the garment in the same way, but simpler, that is, over the nude body they wore a transparent *huipil grande* made of *brodée* gauze with lace around the neck to frame the face. The wide pleated bands were not used then as today. Miguel Covarrubias cites the legend that the *huipil grande* was inspired by a priest's surplice washed up on the beach — Photo M.Y.

138. Chinantec women from Usila, Oaxaca, arriving at the church during Easter week. They festive garments are handwoven on a backstrap loom with white cotton and red thread, using a combination of weaving techniques to produce both simple cloth and gauze in the same piece. Geometric and floral designs are both brocaded and embroidered in multicolored yarn. After weaving, fuchsine, a commercial dye, is applied to the red sections in order to give it a magenta tone (see 142). The garment is adorned with lace, ribbons, and bows around the neck, sleeves, and flower border. Some thirty years ago these *huipils* were not so elaborately decorated. Black wool cords are woven into the braided hair. The women wear earrings and many glass bead necklaces — Photo M.A.B.

139. Chinantec women from Ojitlán, Oaxaca, going to church in their traditional *huipils*. Two types can be seen: 1) handwoven white cotton background with embroidery in large red figures (see 145); 2) red background with red designs woven in brocade technique, and touches of other colors. Some Chinantec women use hand woven red cotton cloth to cover their heads, others use black veils purchased in stores. The Ojitecas still use wrap-around skirts hand woven of red cotton — Photo I.W.J.

140. Zapotec woman from Yalalag, Oaxaca, wearing a *huipil* made of two sections of white cotton handwoven on a back-strap loom. Most of the cloth is of simple weave but a different texture is achieved at the shoulders by a series of transverse corded lines. The only adornment on this *huipil* is a braided bar of red rayon with fringe at the ends. The woman is wearing a white and tan wrap-around. The natural light tan color is called *coyuchi.* Instead of the enormous black turban-like headdress usually worn on the head, she uses a folded cloth, which is also handwoven cotton done in simple technique combined with strips in gauze technique. The Yalalteca women wear a type of feminine sandal unique to this region; the leather is cut in designs of animals and flowers and is then applied to a background of bright colored velvet to make the design stand out. They wear necklaces of red beads combined with others of gilded *papelillo* and a gilded cross. Formerly the now famous Yalalag crosses were worn (see 103) — Photo G.S.-P. — Photo file I.W.J.

141. Tzotzil woman from San Juan Chamula, Chiapas, wearing a tick *huipil* and a dark wool wrap-around, both of which are woven on a back-strap loom. The *huipil*, tucked into the skirt, has colored embroidery around the neck and two tufts of colored yarn, one in front, the other behind. The skirt is folded out and covers the woman's wide red belt; on her head she wears a dark wool handwoven cloth with tufts of yarn at the corners, folded in a manner characteristic of the Chamula Indians — Photo M.A.B.

142. Chinantec woven garment from Usila, Oaxaca. Detail of festive *huipil* handwoven on a back-strap loom in a combination of plain and brocade weaving over gauze. Red commercial thread and hand spun white cotton threads are used as well as fine mercerized, rayon, and various colors of yarn. Satin ribbon decorates the neck and side seams, with rack and embroidery. Shown here is the breast section of the center strip which is the most decorative part, with its design of diamonds and hooks of complicated polychrome weaving. After such a garment is woven these women stretch it on a special frame and dye the cross bands with fuchsine and indigo. The dyeing solution is kept in a gourd container and a piece of cloth is used to spread the dye on the required area. The white sections are dyed with indigo, the red background —with the designs woven in brocade or without design— are dyed with fuchsine. Unfortunately this covers a great deal of the designs laboriously done in colors but a dark wine tone results which the Indian women like and it thereby greatly enriches the garment. (See 138) — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

143. Tzeltal work from Tenejapa, Chiapas. Detail of a *huipil* of handwoven white cotton with designs worked on the loom with yarn and with cotton thread. The embellishment is based upon the diamond motif in various geometric combinations including the 'rhombus with hooks.' This is concentrated principally on the shoulders and around the neck. The decorated area is heavily brocaded with multicolored threads — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

144. Trique weaving from Copala, Oaxaca. Detail of a handwoven *huipil* of white cotton made on a back-strap loom with borders of red thread, in plain weaving technique with small motifs of multicolored yarn in brocade technique, showing geometric and human figures. The principal design is located below the neck in the center section as there it shows to the best advantage. This center section is the widest and the most heavily worked of the garment. The seams which join the three strips are hidden by ribbons even though other examples have decorative *randas (Randa* is a decorative band like needle lace, made of insertion stitches which join two edges of seams) and crochet — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

145. Chinantec weaving from Ojitlán, Oaxaca. Detail of a *huipil* with background of combined plain and gauze techniques in white cotton. The motifs are embroidered on the reverse side of the cloth, principally in red thread in a running or 'counted' stitch. The side seams are covered with a multi-colored *randa* (see 144) done with fine mercerized thread. These garments are striking mainly because of the large stylized crested birds with long tails and stylized plumed serpents in octagonal form (see figures at the corners and upper center) — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

146. Chinantec textile from Ojitlán, Oaxaca. Detail of a white cotton *huipil* combining plain and gauze weaving made on a back strap loom. The red horizontal band of the center strip is also plain weave. The decorative motifs are embroidered with red and blue thread, the others in colored mercerized thread. A *randa* (see 144) embroidered over the seams joins the three parts that make up the *huipil.* The two-headed bird is a motif frequently used in this region, as it is in other parts of Mexico such as those where the Huichol and Otomi Indians live. Note the large rhombus with rows of hooks around the central design. There are many variations of this design that seem to be extremely old, found on indigenous textiles in Chiapas, the mountains of Puebla, and the Huasteca, as well as in other parts of the world — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

147. Tzotzil Indian from Magdalena, Chiapas. A Magdalena woman in the Altos de Chiapas market wearing a *huipil* brocaded in multicolored wool with red, orange, and green outstanding. Geometric figures, flowers, possibly human figures, and stylized animals (monkeys) can be seen. The background cloth is of cotton woven on a back-strap loom. The woman is also wearing a cotton wrap-around skirt probably dyed with indigo in the *Mexican* section of San Cristóbal las Casas. Ar her right, under a white blanket, are two carrying cloths *(morrales)* made of agave fibers (see 67 and 68) — Photo M.A.B.

148. Trique woman from Itunyoso, Oaxaca. They wear long, ample, hand loomed *huipils.* This *huipil,* the festive

garment, is of white cotton, covered with motifs worked on the loom with yarn of various colors, red, orange, yellow, and others. It is made of three sections but is not sewn down the sides except for a few centimeters near the bottom hem. Sometimes the garment is worn loose, at other times the front is gathered into the belt while the back is loose. The thick handwoven dark wool wrap-around has its two sections joined with *randa* (see 144) embroidered in bright colors. The wrap-arounds are very long, therefore the women fold them at the waist and allow the wide fold to fall over. They use many *papelillo* necklaces. The baskets *(tenates)* are woven of palm fiber in the Mixteca Alta Region. The gourd comes from Olinalá and is used here to carry chile peppers — Photo M.A.B.

149. Cuicatec woman from San Andrés Teotilalpan, Oaxaca, spinning with a spindle resting in a gourd. She maintains the spindle at almost a right angle to the thread, straightening the thread while she twirls the instrument in the gourd. With the raised left hand she controls the diameter of the thread as it rolls through the fingers. When the correct twist has been achieved the thread is rolled into the spindle above the whorl. The woman is wearing a beautiful red *huipil* heavily brocaded on a back-strap loom. Her skirt is of red cotton with blue checks; this cloth is called 'Chiapaneco' and comes from the Valley of Oaxaca — Photo I.W.J.

150. Amusgo woman from Zacualpan, Guerrero, spinning white cotton in the same manner used before the arrival of the Spaniards. She sits cross-legged on some reed mats with a basket of cotton that has been beaten with sticks in order to fluff it and to straighten the fibers. Her spindle whirls in a gourd which is kept from turning by being placed on a roll of cloth while she spins the thread. The spindle probably was purchased at a fair in Iguala, Guerrero, or in Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca. Spindles are made by the Mixtec Indians who live in a section of Jamiltepec dedicated to the making of spindle-whorls; these are widely used in all of the Costa Chica Region, and the regions of the Mixteca Alta and Baja. Mangrove wood is used for the thin smooth stick and the whorl is of baked clay, brightly painted. Spindle making is highly specialized: one person cuts the wood in the forest, another cuts out the sticks, a third makes the whorl, a fourth paints them, and a fifth sells them. See 154 for a description of Amusgo *huipils* — Photo B.C. — Photo file I.W.J.

151. Mixe women of Cotzocón, Oaxaca, in the city of Oaxaca for the *Guelaguetza* fiesta, wearing festive dress consisting of red cotton skirts made of cloth from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, *huipils* of white cotton handwoven on back-strap looms in Cotzocón. The *huipils* are decorated with brocade technique in red, with *randa* embroidered in red thread. The women braid their hair with black wool cords called *tlacoyales* and roll it on the head in the form of a thick turban. A handwoven *coyuchi* cotton cloth is worn over the head. The dress is completed with necklaces of red beads. All the women are barefoot — Photo B.C.

152. Trique woman from Copala, Oaxaca, at the *Guelaguetza* fiesta in the city of Oaxaca, wearing a long wide *huipil* handwoven of a combination of *coyuchi* cotton, white cotton, and red thread, with designs of red and orange yarn. The cloth is a combination of plain weaving with the designs in brocade technique (see 144). The *huipil* is worn loose with a long opening at the sides. The woman's hair falls in two braids and the vessel on her head is a gourd from Olinalá, Guerrero. Her necklace is of many strings of *papelillo* beads. The Trique women use wrap-around skirts of dark cotton or wool.

Guelaguetza, according to Julio de la Fuente, is the means of aiding all the members of an indigenous Zapotec community with unpaid voluntary work to help those in need in the case of a birth, a wedding, or a death in the family. It is sanctioned by custom, and reciprocity is understood. This form of assistance seems to have its origin in the ancient clan organization. Gay says that it is a "donation which all give in competitive form to those in need, and reciprocity is obligatory." There is also a feeling of religious tribute. The ceremony shown took place on the 150th anniversary of the crowning of the Virgin of Soledad, the patroness of the city of Oaxaca — Photo B.C.

153. Mixtec woman from Zacatepec, Oaxaca, called *Tacuate*, wearing a long wide elegant *coyuchi* cotton *huipil* handwoven on a back-strap loom. The center section has colored designs done in brocade technique. At the seams some wide strips can be seen which are woven with red thread at the same time as the cloth. She wears a wrap-around of indigo blue cotton with red stripes. These women use necklaces and earrings of colored beads. Her hair is rolled into a crown. According to the Indians of this region garments made of *coyuchi* (natural tan cotton) are less fine and elegant than those made of white cotton — Photo B.C. — Photo file I.W.J.

154. Amusgo woman from Xochistlahuaca, Guerrero, weaving on a back-strap loom (see description with 223). She is weaving a section for a fine cotton *huipil* using the *petate* (mat) design which is a brocaded section over a plain section, both in white, the design executed on the loom at the same time the cloth is made. She wears a magnificent *huipil* of three sections with brocade technique in various colors. The Amusgo women are excellent weavers, producing a wide variety of cloths. Because they weave only at odd moments, it sometimes takes them up to six months to finish weaving the finest *huipils* with many designs — Photo B.C. — Photo file M.N.A.P.

155. Tzotzil Indian of San Pedro Chenalhó, Chiapas. The ceremony of the changing of authority takes place in June. The wife of the authority *(alférez)* takes part in this most important event and wears her most elegant clothes for it. Here they consist of an indigo-dyed cotton wrap-around skirt pleated in front and held in place by a wide

belt, a cotton *huipil* richly adorned with brocade of multicolored wool. On this occasion the *huipil* is worn over the skirt; for daily use it is worn tucked into the skirt. Her hair is braided with red wool cords called *tlacoyales* which form a turban-like headdress. Over this is worn a cloth woven of white cotton decorated with geometric designs in red wool and in other colors. This cloth is reminiscent of the *tilmas* or shawls of the ancient Mexicans. The women use many necklaces. Note the strange way the face is covered with the cloth, giving its wearer a Moorish aspect. Even though the woman beside her is wearing festive attire she wears it in the daily fashion—Photo I.W.J.

156. Tzotzil Indians from Huistán, Chiapas, wearing their traditional festive dress to the Carnival in this Highland town. The men's clothing consists of long-sleeved shirt, wide full pants held up at the waist by a wide red belt whose long ends fall on both sides. As a protection against the cold, they wear a woolen serape-type covering made in the region. They are distinguished by their typical, low-crown hat which is adorned with a narrow red woolen band. The people in Huistán weave these hats of palm fiber. The women wear wrap-around indigo-dyed cotton skirts, the cloth for which they purchase in San Cristóbal las Casas. Some women use two belts to hold their skirts in place, one narrow of red wool, over another which is wider and ticker, of white wool with red and black bands. They wear a simple white *huipil* tucked into the skirt. Their dress is completed with a white shawl; some of these are embroidered and others have wide blue borders. On festive occasions they wear red wool cords in their hair. Most of their garments are handmade — Photo M.A.B.

157. Zapotec weaving from San Bartolo Yautepec, Oaxaca. Detail of an old *huipil* made of three sections on a back-strap loom with finely hand-worked white cotton thread. The design on the upper part has been woven with brocade technique with silk threads —hand spun also— dyed a purple-red with cochineal. The small designs represent birds, animals, stylized plants, and geometric figures in narrow horizontal bands. The sections of the *huipil* are joined with silk *randa;* this is also used to edge the neck. Note the small horizontal braided bar woven below the neck opening. This is especially interesting because it is a survival from pre-Columbian times, as can be seen by observing the codices. This garment is exceptional because of its fine weaving, color, and beautiful decorative elements. (See 159) — Coll. I.W.J. — Photo P.M.

158. Huave textile from San Mateo del Mar, Oaxaca. An old white cotton *huipil* finely handwoven on a back-strap loom. The vertical stripes have been warped before weaving with threads dyed with purple excretion from shell fish. The aquatic birds, deer, dogs, stars, and frets were brocaded with thread dyed in the same manner. Note the motifs placed outside of the principal center section apparently without reason. This is also found in other indigenous groups such as the Huicholes, Zapotecs, etc. The shell fish-dyed thread *(purpura patula pansa)* is purchased from the Chontal Indians who do the dyeing on the Astata coast and sell the thread mainly during the Huamelula fair. Today the Huave women dress in the ancient Tehuana style consisting of wrap-around skirts and short *huipil.* Many years ago and on rare occasions some of these women used the *huipil* in a very special way over the shoulders. At times it is used as a burial dress — Coll. I.W.J. — Photo P.M.

159. Zapotec work from San Bartolo Yautepec, Oaxaca. A fine old *huipil* woven of cotton and brocaded with purple silk thread and some touches of yellow. These garments are very seldom used; the women treasure them for their burial dress. Sheets are also woven and decorated in the same fashion for shroud. The *huipils* are very long and ample. Instead of wearing them loose to show off the designs, the women roll them at the waist and these are held in place with a belt. The *huipil* is worn with a dark woolen or cotton wrap-around. Formerly and on special occasions the *huipil de tapar* or festive *huipil,* with no opening for the head, was worn — Coll. I.W.J. — Photo P.M.

160. This garment is known as 'Malinche's *huipil;*' its origin is unknown but it was obtained by the National Museum of Anthropology over sixty years ago. It was woven on a back-strap loom with white and *coyuchi* cotton in vertical stripes. Made of three sections, it is very wide. The lower border has a wide multicolor design into which feathers of the same color have been woven. The designs are principally geometric. In the center section at the neck, multicolored thread forms rhombus motifs, and bellow the neck in a large rectangle there is centered a two-headed eagle surrounded by various small designs. It is possible that at one time all of the designs carried interwoven feathers of the same color as can still partially be seen. Even though many of the feathers have been destroyed or have fallen off it is still possible to find enough traces of them to hazard this assumption. Tradition says that this *huipil* belonged to Malinche *(Malintzin)*, Cortés' interpreter and mistress, although this date cannot be confirmed. The garment is very old and shows pre-Columbian characteristics — M.N.A. — Photo G.S.-P. — Photo file I.W.J.

161. Zapotec textile from Choapan, Oaxaca. Detail of an old white cotton *huipil* completely handwoven. The following techniques are shown: 1) plain weave, 2) a type of gauze (e.g., the horizontal strip of the drawn work), 3) weft-wrap weave that appears to be drawn work but is completely executed on the loom. The decorative motifs are in plain weaving technique (e.g., variation Nº 1) and contrast with the background of open and drawn work (variation Nº 3). The two sections which form the *huipil* are joined by a strip of lace. These fine *huipils* are also admired for their decoration, showing a variety of human figures, two-headed birds, symbolic forms such as stars,

stylized plants, deer, dogs with pups, and geometric figures, in both wide and narrow horizontal bands. There is no doubt that these garments involve a great deal of work; possibly this is the reason they are so scarce — Coll. I.W.J. Photo P.M.

162. Mixteca Baja region, Oaxaca. Detail of fine old *huipil* made by hand on a back-strap loom, with a background of white cotton in plain weave and designs brocaded with thicker white cotton thread. Double-headed eagles, human forms, and a stepped fret or *xicalcoliuhqui* have been used in the design. The seam joining the two sections has been adorned with old silk ribbon. This type of weaving is not done today and its provenience is uncertain, although some examples of this magnificent work have been found in several towns in the Mixteca Baja. The one shown here was formerly used by a woman from Pinotepa de Don Luis as a wedding dress or *huipil de tapar* — Coll. I.W.J. — Photo P.M.

163. Tarascan garment from San Felipe de los Herreros, Michoacán. Detail of a *huanengo* which is a type of *huipil* used as a blouse by the women. It is a square of white commercial cotton with an opening in the center for the head. The neck, shoulders, and sleeves are embroidered with fuchsia yarn in the satin stitch, button hole, and back stitch. Formerly these garments were made of two sections of cotton fabricated on the back-strap loom, then embroidered at the neck, shoulders, and on all edges with magenta colored wool. In the Museum of Anthropology's collection there are two old beautiful unique examples — Coll. P.P. — Photo M.O.P.

164. Nahua textile from Chilapa, Oaxaca. Detail of an unbleached muslin *huipil* colorfully embroidered with flowers, birds, and other animals in satin and back stitches. The neck is finished with black ribbon cut in points and sewn on with red thread — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

165. Nahua weaving from Amatlán de los Reyes, Córdoba, Veracruz. Detail of an old linen *huipil* with silk embroidery. The seams are covered with wide silk *randa*, plus silk embroidery. The neck is finished with ribbon. Traditional angular floral motifs are combined with modern curving floral designs in satin and back stitches. According to Luis Reyes, *tlacapan* in Nahuatl means *randa*. The designs around the neck mean 'flowers at the water's edge' and 'zig-zag vine.' The stylized floral design at the neck is called 'Flower of Orizaba,' and those emerging from the *randa* are known as 'paper stars.' The curving modern flowers are called 'flower vines.' — Coll. D.C. — Photo M.O.P.

166. Mazahua woman from the state of Mexico, at the fair in Valle de Bravo on May third. The clothing of the Mazahuas is outstanding for its brilliant colors: it consists of a *rebozo* and various blouses and skirts, worn one over the other, all made of commercial cloth in cotton or satin. The effect is one of amplitude and striking colors. The women use ribbons in their hair and a wide belt, all made on a back-strap loom. One of the underskirts is edged with a wide border embroidered with woolen threads (see 225). The women wear necklaces made of many strings of *papelillo* beads — Photo B.C.

167. Otomi Indians from Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo, in the Mezquital Valley with cotton *rebozos* and their ever-present *ayates* (carrying cloths), handwoven of maguey fibers. Over the woman's shoulder hang fibers ready to be spun into thread with the pre-Columbian type spindle. Many of the whorls in use today are archeological pieces found in the corn fields. At one woman's feet is a large pile of *ixtle* fibers. She carries her child in an *ayate*. Both men and women spin *ixtle* fibers at home, on the road to market, or whenever they walk from one place to another — Photo P.M.

168. Maya women from Dzitbalché, Campeche, in the lowlands of the Yucatán peninsula. They wear white muslin *huipils* with decoration around the neck and embroidery on the lower hem. Some are hand embroidered, others are machine made. The folded *rebozo* is a decorative garment. Their hair is combed back and is caught in a knot with a clasp and a great bow. Their profiles remid one of pre-Columbian sculpture — Photo M.A.B.

169. Otomi girl from Valle de Bravo, state of Mexico, dressed in the same manner as her mother. She wears the indispensable *rebozo,* as well as a dark woolen skirt with white stripes, added to a piece of unbleached muslin; this is an *enredo* or wrap-around made of left-overs. It is pleated across the front and is held in place with a woven belt. In many communities it is still possible to see children dressed like their mothers, as, for example, in the Sierra de Puebla, in Chiapas, Oaxaca, etc. — Photo M.Y.

170. Otomi women from San Juan Tuxtepec, state of Mexico, wearing long wide woolen or cotton *rebozos* with vertical stripes. The ends are finished in triangular shape and are knotted to form a wide variety of human figures, animals, and stylized plants and flowers. The figures are worked in blue over a white background. The women also wear full woolen skirts, wide belts with woven decorative figures, and narrow bands for the braids in their hair. All of the garments are handwoven on the back-strap loom — Photo B.C. — Photo file I.W.J.

171. Zapotec Indian girls from Teotitlán del Valle, Oaxaca, with graceful carriage and delicate features. She wears a checked wrap-around skirt, common to the region, a blouse of commercial cloth, and a red woolen belt. This manner of wearing the *rebozo* is typical of the women of the Oaxaca Valley. Teotitlán is renowned for its beautiful woolen serapes — Photo M.Y.

172. Nahua women from Huamantla, Tlaxcala, showing various ways of wearing the versatile and indispensable *rebozo*. One woman has it wrapped around her head with the ends hanging down her back, another uses it to hold a child on her hip, the child covering its head with the *rebozo* as protection against sun or cold. The majority

of the *rebozos* are made in Tenancingo, state of Mexico, with the *ikat* or tie-dye technique, and are very popular in all of Mexico — Photo M.Y.

173. Mixtec *Tacuate* from Zacatepec, Oaxaca, who has fulfilled all his government office responsibilities (and therefore is called *anciano* or 'old man'), wearing short white cotton pants gathered at the waist. At the lower edge are embroidered figures of flowers, insects, birds, and animals and a strip of colored *randa* (needle lace). His long shirt is made of white and *coyuchi* cotton with long sleeves without lateral seams. A red and blue striped belt is wrapped around his waist, with the long ends of the shirt caught in the belt to form a pocket for cigarettes and money. Around the neck the shirt is heavily embroidered (see 207). All of his clothing has been woven on a back-strap loom. The men wear sandals — Photo B.C. — Photo file I.W.J.

174. Tarascan women of Angahuan, Michoacán, with their *rebozos* wrapped around them. Some of these are made in Paracho, Michoacán; the favorite color is dark blue with light blue vertical stripes — Photo M.Y.

175. Tzeltal Indians from Tenejapa, Chiapas, arriving in San Cristóbal las Casas with heavy loads. Their striped *cotón* type jackets are of natural colored white and brown wool. They use no shirt, but wear short pants with wide bands of brocade decoration on the lower edge, and a cotton belt with the ends adorned in color. They carry a staff to lean on during their long trips as did the ancient Aztec traders *(pochteca)*. The jackets are woven by the women of hand spun wool on back-strap looms — Photo B.C.

176. Tarascan men from Angahuan, Michoacán, wearing heavy woolen serapes made in this region on upright looms. Some of the serapes are simple, with little decoration, while others are adorned with traditional motifs — Photo M.Y.

177. Tzotzil Indians from Zinacantán, Chiapas, wearing traditional clothing used in this Chiapas highland town. This traditional costume consists of short cotton pants, white cotton or short woolen serape *(cotón)* over the shirt, around the neck or on the head a blue-gray cloth with large tassels of fuchsia wool hanging from the corners. Some men are beginning to modify their clothing, using long pants in the mestizo style. They wear wide brimmed and flat crowned hats which they themselves weave of palm fibers and decorate with many colored ribbons. Their sandals *(caites)* have a high heel back and are different from those worn by the Chamula Indians. The men carry large leather bags made in this region. The municipal officials wear thick black woolen *chamorros* or serape-type jackets and a red cloth on the head — Photo M.A.B.

178. Tarahumara Indians from Tiguiríchic, Chihuahua, in characteristic warm weather clothing. The man wears a full sleeved red cotton shirt, breechcloth, and *wasiwora* (a triangular cloth worn on the hip). He wears a white cotton muslin *cotón*-type covering over the shirt, a red head cloth *(coyera)* and bandanna around his neck. Men wear sandals but the women go barefoot. The man carries a bow on his back — Photo B.S.

179. Trique Indians from San Andrés Chicahuaxtla, Oaxaca, on market day. Because of the cold the women wear woolen blankets handwoven in twill weave, in the Mixteca Alta region. The two sections are joined by multicolored *randa*. The blankets are made in Tlaxiaco or in Chalcatongo where the Triques buy them.

The women wear elegant *huipils* which they make on back-strap looms. The background of the garment is of plain weave in white cotton, which is decorated with horizontal bands of geometric motifs in red, orange, etc., done in brocade. The red or blue vertical strips were done on the loom and form the seams which are joined by sewing. Some wear the *huipil* loose, others use it wrapped around the waist. They usually wear short wrap-around skirts handwoven of blue thread with white and red stripes. One of the women is buying one of these wrap-arounds. The *tompiates* (small baskets made in mat weave) they carry with a *mecapal* (carrying band used on the head) are also made in the Mixteca Alta region — Photo M.A.B.

180. Nahua textile from Hueyapan, Puebla. Detail of a black woolen *rebozo* handwoven on a back-strap loom with the ends embroidered with colored yarn, principally in cross stitch. The fringe is knotted in several designs and terminates in a row of tassels. This *rebozo* is about thirty-five years old and is distinguished from modern ones by its beautiful traditional designs, harmonious color combinations, and fine embroidery. The curving floral design along the lower border is characteristic. The flower pot in the middle has two stylized bouquets with small humming birds on each side. To break the symmetry a square design has been added on one side. Various zigzag lines adorn the knotted fringe. Many modern *rebozos* from Hueyapan are completely covered with embroidery in loud colors, which is not traditional among these Nahuas but has been developed for the tourist trade — Coll. I.W.J. — Photo M.O.P.

181. Fine old silk *rebozo* with metallic threads from Santa María del Río, San Luis Potosí, with design in *ikat* or yarn tie-dye technique. The design is formed in the threads of the warp *before* being mounted on the back-strap loom by tying those parts which are not to be dyed. The warp threads are mounted on the loom and the cloth is woven. The white sections are those that were tied during the dyeing process. The work is very laborious. This is an especially beautiful *rebozo* not only for its harmonious colors but for the design and fine weave which adds to its elegance — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

182. Detail of a woolen and cotton *rebozo* woven on a back-strap loom by Nahua women of Santa Anita Zacuala, near Acaxochitlán, Hidalgo. The striped design which

follows the direction of the warp is in brown, blue, and white. *Rebozos* of this region are made in combinations of stripes in these colors. The wide fringe has designs of zig-zag and stars knotted into it, with the lower border ending in long fringe of white thread. Knotted fringe in motifs of figures is done in another town of this region and is said to be 'slow work.' Some fringe measures almost two feet long — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

183. Navy blue *rebozo* with light blue and white stripes made by the Tarascans of Pátzcuaro, Michoacán. The warp threads are knotted to form a background for the appliqued decoration consisting of rayon threads which are knotted on the net-like background in a manner similar to the feather mosaic work done in pre-Columbian times. Narrow rayon fringe also adorns the sides. Bright colors are used for the designs which may be geometric, human figures, or birds. These *rebozos* are made in Pátzcuaro and in Paracho — Coll. P.P. — Photo M.O.P.

184. Querétaro. Detail of old handwoven woolen serape. There is a medallion of floral and animal designs around the place where the opening should be. The background is covered with geometric designs in squares, repeated over most of the piece. The weaving technique is known as tapestry — M.N.A.P. — Photo M.A.B.

185. Otomi textile from San Francisco Xonacatlán, state of Mexico. Woolen *cotón* (poncho) woven on a colonial type loom, highly adorned in the old style. The weaving technique is tapestry. On the upper part can be seen the beginning of the slot. A characteristic of these garments is the use of white doves, horses, and flower arrangements as designs. In Xonacatlán plainer *cotones* are produced that are used in many parts of the Toluca Valley — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

186. Otomi work from the Toluca Valley in the state of Mexico. Woolen coverlet or spread heavily embroidered with red and navy blue yarn with many types of designs. This beautiful old piece is embroidered with cross stitch and its variations and with back stitch — M.R.E.M. — Photo M.O.P.

187. Antique serape from Saltillo, Coahuila, woven on a Colonial-type loom. The material is handspun wool, each thread very thin. Many of the colors are probably of vegetable and animal origin. The weft is wool and the warp is cotton or linen. The weaving technique is 'tapestry.' The three zones of decoration are: 1) the background filled in with small motifs like mosaic, characteristic of these serapes, 2) the ornamental border, 3) the geometric decoration of the opening, whether in 'medallion' or 'diamond' form. The finest serapes were made in Saltillo, the main center of distribution of these blanket-garments for about one hundred years, from about the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. These excellent serapes were used by 'gentlemen' or hacienda owners. From Saltillo they were taken to other markets and their fame spread throughout all of Mexico. Saltillo's most famous rival was San Miguel Allende, Guanajuato, although the Saltillo serapes seem to have been of finer quality and therefore were highly sought after (according to Katherine Jenkins, Berkeley, California) — Coll. V.F. Photo P.M.

188. Mayo serape from Sonora handwoven in natural colored wool. This piece is from the middle of the nineteenth century and is not made today — Coll. D.R.B. — Photo P.M.

189. Serape made of two sections from Paracho, Michoacán, woven on a Colonial-type upright pedal loom. The serape is executed in simple weaving and the warp is predominant. The small decorative motifs are done in tapestry technique. This is a contemporary textile — Coll. P.P. — Photo P.M.

190. Tarascan Indians from the mountain region of Michoacán. In the San Juan de las Colchas market a woman wears a long wrap-around skirt of blue wool with many pleats behind, forming an enormous waist roll. Under her woolen skirt she wears another of white cotton. A notable garment is her *rebozo*, woven either in Pátzcuaro or Paracho, with its knotted rayon fringe in many colors. Another rayon fringe adorns the sides. This work is reminiscent of the pre-Columbian work called 'feather mosaic' (see 183) — Photo M.Y.

191. Tzotzil costume from San Bartolomé de los Llanos, Chiapas. Little girls' traditional dress, indigo-dyed cotton wrap-around skirt (see 195), short white cotton *huipil* with designs brocaded in white over most of the cloth and others in colored yarn around the sleeves. Dye is added to the sleeves to give them a blue tone. The girl in the center wears braided into her hair a handwoven red band with designs of colored thread at the ends and in the middle. The two small girls wear folded handwoven cloth with brocade designs on their heads — Photo I.W.J.

192-193. Otomi-mestizo work from Vizarrón, Querétaro. Two pictures of cloth tie-dyeing *(plangi* or 'reserve dyeing'). The cloth is woven of white wool, into which is passed a design from a perforated sheet of paper. The surface of the paper is tapped lightly with a piece of cloth called *muñeca* or tampon, containing red powder, thus the powder is passed through the perforations and leaves the design on the cloth. After the paper is removed the drawing is reinforced with a liquid of red ochre applied with a stick. Circles in the design are made with the end section of a cut reed used as a stamp, with the same liquid. This red ochre is kept in a clay container. The sections to be left undyed are tightly bound with *ixtle* fiber string, then the cloth is submerged into a vat containing the dye (indigo, cochineal, or a commercial make). The tied parts of the design are those which will be protected or 'reserved' from the color. The cloth is dried, the binding strings removed to reveal the design in white.

When these pintures were taken in 1953 the woman doing the work was old and was one of the few in the region who knew how to do *plangi* work. She is now deceased and today it is difficult to find someone who knows how to do this tie-dye — Photo B.C.

194. Mixtec woman from Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca, weaving on a back-strap loom. She is making a wrap-around skirt *(pozahuanco)* similar to the cotton one with red, blue, and violet stripes she is wearing (see 196). The work is in the final stage and one by one she has removed the sticks; when all have been removed she uses a large iron needle, at whose end is the figure of a bird, to put through the last threads and close the space. Formerly the Mixtec women wore only the *pozahuanco* —wrap-around— held in place by a belt when they were in the house. Now they cover their breasts with a commercial cotton apron. On the way to market or church they use a *huipil de tapar* as a shawl — File M.N.A. — Photo C.S.

195. Tzotzil weaving from San Bartolomé de los Llanos, Chiapas. Detail of wrap-around skirt *(costal)* of indigo-dyed handwoven cotton. The vertical and horizontal seams are adorned with brightly colored wide randa on a dark background. At the lower hem there is multicolored embroidery of birds, stylized plants, and geometric figures. In the center there is a band of birds, all facing the same direction. Yarn and rayon are used. Formerly this embroidery was done in real silk imported from Guatemala. This work is done in the satin and back stitches; many of the designs still bear Tzotzil names — Coll. M.N.A. Photo P.M.

196. Mixtec textile from Pinotepa de Don Luis, Oaxaca. Detail of an elegant wrap-around skirt woven on a back-strap loom. The skirts from this place are rich and beautiful, the best being woven of cotton threads dyed blue with indigo, or violet with shell fish dye, and silk dyed red with cochineal. These three are the dyes most appreciated in this region and have been used in Mesoamerica since pre-Columbian times. The women spin and prepare skeins of white cotton. The men take the skeins to rocky regions on the Pacific coast near Puerto Angel in the period between November and February and dye them with the excrement from certain shellfish *(purpura patula pansa)*. Near Tlaxiaco in the Mixteca Alta region silk is spun and dyed with cochineal which is then sold to the weavers in the Mixteca Baja. The spun, dyed silk is known as *hiladillo* and is used only on the festive wrap-around or *pozahuanco*. The weaving technique, a variation of the warp-pattern weave, is laborious (see 194). The decorated bands have certain traditional designs called "snail's eye" and "silkworm" or vice versa according to the color of the band. The value of a *pozahuanco* depends upon the amount of shellfish dyed thread or silk thread used. Today the finest could cost about one thousand pesos — Coll. I.W.J. — Photo M.O.P.

197. Otomi-mestizo work from Vizarrón, Querétaro. Detail of a woolen skirt decorated with *plangi* or tie-dye technique (see 192-193). The simplest tie-dyeing is of one color on a white ground. The more complicated two-color dyeing is shown here. Some three-color garments have come from this region, using a combination of indigo blue, cochineal purple, and orange. Most of these cloths have a vine motif on the lower hem. One of the most outstanding characteristics of *plangi* and that by which it is easily identified is the use of small squares with a dot in the middle, generally of the color of the cloth, the dot being the part tied or 'reserved.' — Coll. I.W.J. — Photo M.O.P.

198. Chontal weaving from Huamelula, Oaxaca. Detail of an old cloth possibly for ceremonial use. Woven of handspun cotton on a back-strap loom, with designs in brocade technique of violet and blue threads dyed with shellfish and indigo, respectively. The Chontal Indians dye their own thread with the shellfish on the Astata Coast. The very interesting geometric motifs outlined with hooks are undoubtedly traditional — Coll. I.W.J. — Photo P.M.

199. Otomi work from San Pablito, Puebla. Cotton napkin woven on a back-strap loom using a variation of weft brocading technique called loop brocading or *confite*. The design is formed of raised loops to obtain designs of flowers, birds, animals, geometric figures, and a big star. The fringe is knotted. The *confite* technique is used by other groups such as the Totonacs, Nahua of the Huasteca area, and the Cuicatecs. Some investigators think that this is of European origin; there is evidence to the contrary, however, for some cloth fragments showing this weave have been taken from the sacred *cenote* or well at Chichén-Itzá, Yucatán — Coll. I.W.J. — Photo M.O.P.

200. Otomi work from the state of Mexico. Section of an old handwoven cotton *ayate* or carrying cloth woven in brocade technique with multicolored wool threads. It is possible that some vegetable dyes were used. As is characteristic of *ayate* cloths, the decorations appear in horizontal bands and consist of geometric figures, two-headed birds, animals, and stylized plants. A colored embroidered *randa* joins the two pieces down the center. These *ayates* were made in the region of San Miguel Ameyalco in the Toluca Valley — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

201. Mazahua woman from San Antonio Mixtepec, state of México, in the May third fair in Valle de Bravo, wearing an embroidered unbleached muslin blouse with long sleeves and a pleated collar. The bodice is covered with vertical embroidered strips of different colors and designs. The cuffs and the seams on the shoulders are also embroidered. The wide belt that holds the skirt in place was woven on a back-strap loom with both wool and cotton. Instead of a *quechquemitl* the woman wears a *rebozo* and uses a full skirt. Knotted over her shoulder she has an *ayate* to carry her packages — Photo B.C.

202. Otomi woman from the municipality of Pantepec, Puebla, on market day, wears a blouse embroidered in pattern running stitch, a full skirt with machine embroidery, a wide belt which is black wool on one side and white

cotton on the other. Her hair, braided with blue and magenta ribbons, is rolled on her head in a turban-like or *rodete* headdress. Her earrings and necklace are of *papelillo* beads. A lacquered gourd from Olinalá, Guerrero, is in her basket. Although Pantepec is principally a Totonac town there are two small villages nearby, Tenexco and Ixtololoya, where Otomi Indians live — Photo B.C.

203. Two Nahua women from Tecomate, Veracruz, during a ceremony in this town. Their blouses are intricately embroidered in red, orange, yellow, black, and brown, with large stylized flower motifs. The closely-executed embroidery covers the entire yoke. This decorative style is reminiscent of bead work on blouses worn by some Nahua women from the southern Huasteca, such as those from Amatepec, municipality of Icamatlán, Veracruz (see 206). Tecomate women adorn themselves with *papelillo* necklaces and colored plastic clasps in the hair — Archives, Department of Anthropology, Universidad de Veracruz, Jalapa — Photo A.MED.

204. Nahuas from Huauchinango, Puebla, gathered on market day to sell their products. In the market, women sell hand embroidered blouses in many colors (red, blue, black, and multicolored), made in different styles according to the town where they were made. Many blouses come from Huilacapixtla, Coacuila, Chachahuantla, or other towns. While the women wait for customers they embroider more blouses. They also sell woolen cords in many colors made in the Puebla mountain region and which are used to braid into the hair. In another part of the market Nahua Indians from Chachahuantla sell heavy full blue woolen wrap-around skirts which they have woven by hand. The women of the region wear these skirts with decorated belts woven in one of several towns in the mountains and sold in the market — Photo M.Y.

205. Otomi textile from San Pablito, Puebla. A white cotton shirt with the yoke profusely decorated with multicolored bead work on a background of pattern running stitch. Deer, birds, and geometric designs make up the horizontal bands, found on shirts embroidered with cotton thread. These garments with bead work are rare and are considered very elegant — Coll. E.deP. — Photo M.O.P.

206. Nahua work from Amatepec, Veracruz. Unbleached muslin blouse with square neck and bead work showing various stylized flowers, birds, spirals, in bright colors on a black background. Intricate embroidery is so heavily applied that it completely covers the background — Coll. B.C. — Photo M.O.P.

207. Mixtec work from Zacatepec, Oaxaca. Detail of a *Tacuate* (term used to designate Mixtec from this region) man's shirt of cotton woven on a back-strap loom. Around the neck there is intricate embroidery of two-headed birds, animals, insects, human figures, etc., which fill the triangular section in front. The embroidery is done with fine mercerized thread in many colors. The two open-work rectangles are adorned with *randa*, a class of perforated lace made with a regular needle with eye. Cross stitch and its variations, satin stitch and back stitch were used in the embroidery around the neck. This is an extraordinary garment, well woven and finely finished — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

208. Otomi women in San Pablito, Puebla, market, in the Puebla mountain region, wearing their *quechquemitls* woven and embroidered by hand. The wide red border is done in shaped weaving. This technique, indigenous to Mexico, is used by the Otomi, Totonac, and some Nahua Indians in this region. A woman in the center of the picture is selling hand embroidered strips for adorning blouses. The Otomi women frequently use their *quechquemitl* on their heads as a protection from the sun. Photo P.M.

209. Mazahua woman from the region of Atlacomulco, state of México, at the Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, México City, wearing an elegant handwoven woolen *quechquemitl* with red and blue stripes and embroidery around the neck and on the front. The lower edge has red and orange fringe that was woven separately. The woman uses several full satin and muslin skirts, a muslin blouse with a high pleated collar, long sleeves embroidered at the wrists. The Mazahua women always wear a belt. One woman uses two *rebozos*, one to cover herself with and the other for carrying purposes — Photo C.U.

210. Totonac woman from Pantepec, Puebla. Their *quechquemitls* are the most beautiful in the Puebla mountain region, both for their rich colors and for their designs. The woman is weaving a similar garment on a back-strap loom. The white background is totally covered with brocade designs in bright colors. The narrow yellow, red, and green bands are done in shaped weaving technique. Most of the decoration is done on the loom. An auxiliary tool is a bone awl. Only a few of the designs such as the black bird, the stylized flower pot and flowers are embroidered after looming, on the white ground. Hand made *randa* joins the two strips of this garment — Photo M.Y.

211. Otomi woman from Tenexco, Puebla, wearing a *quechquemitl* completely worked with brocade technique and embroidery. On a white cotton background handwoven on a back-strap loom, yellow, red, and blue-black wool has been used to form geometric figures. The two narrow smooth bands striped in three colors were executed in shaped weaving technique. Most of the traditional motifs were heavily brocaded while the cloth was still on the loom but a few elements such as the rectangle with a fret were embroidered after weaving. These *quechquemitls* are rare and are seldon used. Although they are similar to the *quechquemitls* worn by the Totonac Indians they are smaller and different in color. The woman is wearing an embroidered blouse common to this region, a white cotton wrap-around skirt with machine made embroidery on the lower hem, a wide belt handwoven of dark wool on one side and white cotton on the other. The wrap-around is

heavily pleated in front. Her hair is a crown of braids interwoven with ribbons. Her silver earrings are a common type — Photo I.W.J.

212. Otomi woman from San Miguel Tolimán, Querétaro, wearing a handwoven silk *quechquemitl* decorated by *ikat* (mottled yarn tie-dye technique) in the thread of the warp. Old motifs such as the *S* design, the rhombus with hooks, etc., have been used here. Silk *quechquemitls* are very rare; today rayon and cotton thread are used in making *quechquemitls* for daily use. The woman's blouse is decorated with strips of *randa* or knotted lace, crocheted with white cotton thread, around the neck and sleeves, with the yoke and the rest of the blouse of white muslin. Her child also wears a shirt with green *randa*. He is wearing a kind of red flannel wrap-around held in place by a fringed belt. *Ikat* work is about to disappear from this region which is the same place *plangi* tie-dye was done — Photo B.C.

213. Young Tepehua woman from San Pedro Tziltzacuapan, Puebla, wearing a white cotton and colored wool *quechquemitl* with the triangular points in front. It was woven on a back-strap loom using plain and gauze type weaving. The horizontal bands of geometric figures are executed in brocade technique on fuchsia wool. At the points are figures embroidered in colored wool. The two sections are joined by ribbons. She also wears an embroidered blouse, a white cotton wrap-around skirt heavily pleated in front, a belt which is navy blue wool on one side and white cotton on the other. These belts are usually handwoven by the Tepehuas of the mountain region but some Otomis around Huehuetla have learned how to make them. The Tepehua women use ribbons in their hair and gold plated silver earrings — File I.W.J. — Photo B.C.

214. Huichol woman from Rancho Saucillo in the mountain region of Jalisco. The Huichol Indians are famous for their clothing which is richly adorned with embroidery of geometric forms, plants, animals, and human figures, as can be seen on the *quechquemitl* this woman wears. Note her painted cheeks and beadwork necklace and bracelets. Most of the clothing is made from cotton muslin or commercial printed cloth. Only belts, straps, and bags are woven on a back-strap loom with wool or cotton (see 226). Formerly the Huichols wove the *quechquemitl* and the man's *cotón* in wool. It has been said that the Huichols are the most skillful of the Indian embroiderers. It is true that the fineness and incredible variety of decorative motifs they remember from ancient times are amazing. In order to obtain the extreme fineness of their embroidery they unravel colored yarns they have purchased and then respin them into thin, tightly twisted threads. Their embroidery uses many types of stitches such as cross stitch and its variations, zig-zag, button hole, and pattern running stitch. Huichol designs combine European influence with pre-Columbian figures. Formerly these designs were highly charged with symbolism; they are now chiefly decorative. Outstanding among their designs are the plumed serpent, two headed eagle, the stepped fret or *xicalcoliuhqui*, the six-pointed star, deer, scorpion, etc. — Photo M.A.B.

215. Otomi women from San Pablito, Puebla, in the market at Pahuatlán, Puebla, wearing white cotton wrap-around skirts, wide red woolen belts and embroidered blouses. The most attractive garment is the *quechquemitl* which the women weave on a back-strap loom. The white cotton background is adorned with a wide band of fuchsia colored wool done in shaped weaving. Geometric designs, birds, animals, are embroidered in black and red thread on a white background. The wide, rich variety of birds and two-headed eagles is outstanding. The wearing of the *quechquemitl* with the points to the sides is a characteristic of the Otomi women of this region — Photo R.L.L.

216. Huastec woman from the municipality of Tancanhuitz, San Luis Potosí, wearing a black wrap-around skirt with wide pleats in front, a muslin *quechquemitl* embroidered in the traditional red, orange, and green. Formerly these garments were handwoven of handspun cotton thread. The *quechquemitl* is generally embroidered with yarn. Today stylized designs are used, such as the flower bouquets in the flower pots shown at the two corners; also used are flowers and fruits of the region, small animals or birds scattered over the white ground. Colored *randa* stitch joins the two sections of the *quechquemitl*. The woman wears a *petop* (see 119) on her head and over that a *putch* or folded kerchief. She wears *papelillo* bead necklace and common gilded earrings. An embroidered bag hangs from her shoulder — Photo M.Y.

217. Nahua woman from Cuatlamayan, San Luis Potosí, dressed in traditional clothing: a white cotton wrap-around skirt, very large white cotton *quechquemitl* handwoven in brocade technique on the shoulders, and colored yarn embroidery at the corners. Many of the designs are old, such as the hook motif, eight-pointed star, sun, and 'tiger tracks.' This extraordinary garment is disappearing. Her hair is done in a turban-like roll similar to the *petop* of the Huasteca women, with a muslin cloth placed in the knot and the rest hanging over her shoulders. She wears *papelillo* bead necklace, earrings, and a bracelet of a string of black glass beads wrapped around her wrist. This string was a gift from her god-mother on her wedding day — Photo M.Y.

218. Nahua woman from Coyutla, Veracruz, wearing white cotton wrap-around skirt, cotton *quechquemitl* with designs in brocade technique and embroidery in cotton thread and yarn (see 221). A belt sustains the skirt. All of these garments are woven on a back-strap loom by these women. She wears no blouse. The hair is wrapped around the head and is interlaced with red ribbons. Her necklace is of *papelillo* beads, her earrings are factory-made. This picture gives a good idea of how the wo-

men dressed in pre-Columbian times — Photo B.C.

219. Mazahua *quechquemitl* from the region of San Felipe del Progreso, state of México. These wool *quechquemitls* are woven on back-strap looms and are decorated with embroidery around the neck and along the seams which join the two sections. The cloth is striped in contrasting colors. The fringe of multicolored yarn on the lower hem is made separately and is added later. Various fringes used as additional ornamentation are quite old. Some pre-Columbian pieces of this type have been found in the *cenote* at Chichén-Itzá, Yucatán, in the Coxcatlán, Puebla, cave, and in the Mixteca Alta region of Oaxaca — Coll. M.Y. — Photo M.O.P.

220. Nahua work from the region of Acaxochitlán, Hidalgo. White handwoven wool *quechquemitl* heavily embroidered with geometric figures, stylized flowers, stars, and frets with hooks, using multicolored yarn in cross stitch and variations of this, as well as back stitch. The neck and the lower hem have been finished with open button hole stitch. The old *quechquemitls* sometimes have narrow bands of red and blue done in shaped weaving — Coll. M.Y. — Photo P.M.

221. Nahua weaving from Coyutla, Veracruz. Detail of handwoven cotton *quechquemitl*. The decoration is executed in two ways: 1) yarn brocade producing a raised texture like thick *confite* and represented by lines of octagons; 2) cotton embroidery of animals, stars, and plants in cross stitch and its variations and in back stitch. The stylized drawings show great imagination; note the flowers in the tiger's mouth and the small birds on the back of a large bird. Many of these designs have names in Nahuatl which translated are 'the little worm,' 'lions,' the 'hook motif,' 'four eyes,' 'sun,' and others — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

222. Nahua textile from Santa Catarina, Puebla. *Quechquemitl* made in muslin with embroidery of various colored cotton threads in different types of cross stitch. Adorned with birds, animals, stylized plants, geometric forms, and a border of wide fringe separated from the cloth by decorative sewing — Coll. A.S.S. — Photo P.M.

223. Otomi loom from El Progreso in the Mezquital Valley, Hidalgo. The back-strap or *otate* loom does not have a rigid frame. The upper bar is simply fastened to a post or to a tree; the lower one is held by a strap around the waist of the wearer, who usually sits on the ground and maintains the warp in tension, by the weight of her body. For plain weaving the implements required are: the tenter, the sword, the bobbin, the warp thread bar, and the shed rod. More complicated weaving requires additional sticks. On this loom a shoulder bag *morral* is set up to be woven by double weave or double cloth technique. The eagle and the serpent motifs are traditional but the colors and materials have undergone changes. Formerly natural colored wool (brown, black, or white) were used. The Indians of this region greatly esteem these bags. Many are woven in excellent taste with a wide variety of beautiful designs — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

224. Mestizo work from Mexico and Puebla cities. Bone and silver thread holders from the nineteenth century, many finely worked, for holding embroidery threads. In wrapping the threads, geometric forms are created of various color combinations. These were used in convent schools, mainly in Puebla, for sewing work and in making color samples. (Size 4 ×4 cms. or $1^{9}/_{16} \times 1^{9}/_{16}$ inches) Coll. J.L.F. — Photo P.M.

225. Mazahua women praying in front of an altar in Valle de Bravo, state of México, dressed in their characteristic brightly colored blouses and *rebozos*. Their skirts and belts are woven of wool and cotton on back-strap looms. The multicolored embroidery on the white petticoat always shows below the dark skirt. This handmade embroidery has geometrical and stylized designs in colored yarns executed on the white muslin background. Variations of cross stitch are used — Photo M.Y.

226. Huichol Indian from San Sebastián, Jalisco, wearing a muslin shirt and pants without embroidery. His wide belt of natural colored wool was woven by 'double cloth' technique (see 229) on a backstrap loom. On the belt he wears many small bags of muslin embroidered in blue and adorned with tassels of red yarn. These are principally for decoration and not for practical use. His bracelet is of beadwork. One bandanna covers his long hair and another he wears around his neck — Photo M.A.B.

227. Mazahua textile from the region of Zitácuaro, Michoacán, and Villa Victoria, state of México. Bag *morral* embroidered with different shades of red wool and black wool on a cotton background. Variations of cross stitch are used in this typical Mazahua design of flowers and birds. Warp brocade was used in the handwoven narrow band. The style is very old and few examples are to be found today — Coll. D.H. — Photo M.O.P.

228. Huichol bag from San Sebastián, Jalisco. *Morral* made entirely of knotted bead work. The decorative style is similar to that used on woolen *morrales* woven on back-strap looms. The edges and tassels are finished with yarn. The narrow shoulder strap is hand done in plain weaving. These bags have probably been introduced recently, since there is no mention of them in Huichol decorative arts literature (Lumholtz) — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

229. Huichol work from Santa Catarina, Jalisco. Wool shoulder bag woven on a back-strap loom in 'double face' or 'double cloth' technique. On one side the design is white but on the other side the same design is in a dark color. These bags are usually carried by men. The shoulder strap is of plain weave in black and white stripes. Tassels decorate the corners. Stylized animals are within transverse bands wit *S* motif (according to Lumholtz) in the upper border — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

230. Nahuas from Tuxpan, Jalisco. An old woman dressing a young girl in her wedding dress. The woman's

dark wollen wrap-around skirt with great pleats behind is held in place by a narrow red and blue woolen belt; this is her daily dress. Today she uses a muslin *huipil* but formerly it would have been of handwoven white cotton combining plain and gauze weaving. On her shoulders is a *huipil de tapar* or festive garment, now also of muslin, which in former times would have been finely woven gauze. The wedding dress consists of the same garments to which have been added ribbons on the skirt, and the brown *huipil* is decorated with *randa* needlework. Here we see how the old woman wraps the belt around the thick, heavy skirt — Photo M.Y.

231. Huichol woman from Rancho Saucillo, Jalisco, weaving a narrow belt on a back-strap loom. Her big toe on her left foot replaces the post usually used to anchor the opposite end of the loom. The other end is fastened to the strap around her waist, thus controlling the tension of the warp. Although small, this loom uses all of the sticks necessary for the piece being woven. On the ground is a spindle used in spinning the wool which she uses — Photo M.A.B.

232. Zapotec weaving from Jalieza, Oaxaca. Woolen and cotton belts, woven in the Zapotec town of Jalieza in the Oaxaca Valley, are not only in great demand among the tourists but are much appreciated by the Indians. They are sold from the Mixteca Baja region to Guatemala. The principal design motif is the plumed dancer but other geometric and stylized plant designs are also used. Those shown here, characterized by their varied colors, are sold to tourists, as the traditional belts are mainly red, white, green, and yellow. Today shoulder bags are also made using these same designs — Photo M.Y.

233. Zapotec girl from Jalieza, Oaxaca, weaving a cotton belt on a back-strap loom with the same type heddle as that used on the loom in Tuxpan, Jalisco, by the Nahua Indians. The designs are formed by a selection of strands in the warp. The dancer is a very popular motif in this area (see 232). Girls learn to weave when they are very young, as in pre-Columbian times, as we can see in the ancient codices. But there are many girls who do not want lo learn weaving; they prefer to dedicate themselves to other activities and dress in mestizo clothing — Photo P.M.

234. Nahua textile from San Andrés Cuetzalan, Puebla. Cotton belt woven on a back-strap loom with ends finished in *macramé*, which consists of knotted stitches forming the background for openwork design, over which there is embroidery and sequins. In the upper part of the knotted section there is another design of birds and sequins. Thick cotton tassels finish the lower ends. Men wear these belts; dancers also use them on festive days. The decorated part is knotted and hangs over one hip — Coll. T.P. — Photo P.M.

235. Narrow belts handwoven of cotton or woolen yarn in the Tarascan region of Capácuaro, Michoacán. The technique is warp brocade. A wide variety of human figures, birds and other animals, geometric motifs, and letters form the designs. These are usually grouped in symmetrical fashion. These belts are used by the women to sustain their skirts. Some of the belts or sashes have not yet been cut at the part to be fringed. This detail indicates that they were woven in the form of a closed ring. Belts like these are made also in Cherán, Angahuan, and other Tarascan towns — Coll. P.P. — Photo M.O.P.

236. Textile from Nahuat-speaking area, Cuetzalan, Puebla. Detail of a woman's belt handwoven of wool and cotton. One end is adorned as follows: the loose threads, those not woven in the warp, are knotted to form a compact solid base to which are fastened rows of yarn tassels in various colors. Lace adorned with sequins is in the center. The remaining threads are braided into a band. This belt is used on festive days with the decorative part behind — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

237. Ocotlán, Oaxaca. Young woman decorating ceramic figures, toys, and incense burners with aniline dye and earth colors. These objects are sold in fairs and are used on November first and second as offerings to the dead. The artisans make many of their brushes from sticks and hair. A life-size head can be seen in the background with a bowl decorated with flowers and leaves, executed in pilling technique. All members of the family take part in the manufacture of these objects, which are the principal craft products of the town. Usually in Ocotlán the men form and fire the figures while the women and children decorate them — Photo M.Y.

238. Metepec, state of México. Winged ceramic horse painted in many colors with aniline dyes. Rearing horses are traditional figures in Metepec pottery, the tail being used as a third support. Height 15 cms. (6 inches) — E.D.A. — Photo P.M.

239. Metepec, state of México. Mermaid painted with aniline dyes and bronze powder which is frequently used in Metepec decoration. Polychrome painting came into use at the beginning of this century. Formerly a glazing technique was popular; glazing is still used on everyday pottery. Height 17 cms. ($6^{3}/_{4}$ in.) — E.D.A. — Photo P.M.

240. Tecomatepec, state of Mexico. Whistle in the form of a stylized bird. It has been fired, glazed, and painted with earth colors. It produces two tones. Height 15 cms. (6 inches) — Coll. F.E.P.M. — Photo M.O.P.

241. *Upper left*. Tecomatepec, state of México. Fighting bull in baked clay painted with earth colors. The spots are applied with a brush. Height 10 cms. (4 inches). *Upper right*. Jalisco. Whistle in the form of a crocodile, fired clay painted with aniline dyes and with earth colors. It was molded in two sections which were then joined; the feet and whistle were hand-formed separately. It produces a high shrill tone. Height 6 cms. ($2^{3}/_{8}$ inches). *Lower left*. Santa Cruz, Jalisco. Baked clay donkey carrying small sheep, painted with aniline dyes and earth colors. This

is made in several sizes as well in different forms, such as horse and rider, a man on a mule, a donkey with different loads, bulls, deer, etc. Some are whistles, others coin banks. Height 10 cms. (4 inches). *Lower right.* Santa Cruz, Jalisco. Sheperdess with sheep, made of baked clay, painted with aniline dyes (called *chinchorros)* and earth colors. These are popular as nativity decorations and for this purpose each figure is held up by a wire which is placed in the moss of the crèche, used to represent grass. These are found in almost every market in the country — Coll. F.E.P.M. — Photo M.O.P.

242. City of Oaxaca. Wooden tiger painted with aniline dyes. This figure, as well as the coyote (see 244) are toys made by a rural family dedicated exclusively to carving wooden animals. Height 6 cms. (2³/₈ inches) — Coll. F.E.P.M. — Photo M.O.P.

243. San Pedro Tlaquepaque, Jalisco. Baked clay whistles in the form of owls, painted with aniline dye and then varnished. Other animal figures are made also. The sound produced is as imitation of the owl's song. Height 12 cms. (4³/₄ inches) — Coll. F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

244. *Left.* City of Oaxaca. Wooden coyote carved with rudimentary tools and painted with aniline dye. Many of these animals have movable limbs. Height 10 cms. (4 inches). (See 242). *Right.* Temalacatzingo, Guerrero. Animal carved from a single piece of white cedar, painted with oil colors. Height 16 cms. (6¹/₄ inches) — Coll. F.E.P.M. Photo P.M.

245. At the Tepaltzingo fair girls select whistles made in San Bartolo Huesca, Puebla (see 246) — Photo M.Y.

246. *Upper left.* Metepec, state of México. Whistle in the form of a bird made of baked clay and painted with aniline and earth colors. These are cast in two thin pieces, joined, and then fired to make them very lightweight. Bright colors are applied in a simple manner. Height 10 cms. (4 inches). *Upper center.* Metepec, state of México. Whistle in the form of an owl. Baked clay painted with aniline and then shellacked to prevent the color coming off. These figures are cast in two parts, then are joined and fired. The sound produced is an imitation of the owl's hoot. Height 12 cms. (4³/₄ inches). *Upper right.* Santa Cruz, Jalisco. Baked clay whistle in the form of a stylized bird. An unusual process is used in painting these figures: they are first painted white, then color mixed with water is blown out of the painter's mouth onto the figure. They are very popular in the markets and fairs where they are sold in large quantities. Height 8 cms. (3¹/₈ inches). *Lower left.* San Bartolo Huesca, Puebla. Ceramic bird painted with aniline and with earth colors, with a hair brush. It is both a coin bank and a whistle. This whistle is based upon the same system used in pre-Columbian times; a whistle is mounted on a figure that has its own air chamber. Height 13 cms. (5¹/₈ inches). *Lower right.* San Bartolo Huesca, Puebla. Ceramic whistle painted with aniline and earth colors and bronze powder. Height 12 cms. (4³/₄ inches) — Coll. F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

247. San Pedro Tlaquepaque, Jalisco. Coin bank in the form of a ceramic dog painted with aniline dye and earth colors. The decoration is in the old style used on ceramics here and in Tonalá, Jalisco. Height 50 cms. (19³/₄ inches). M.N.A.P. — Photo M.O.P.

248. Tonalá, Jalisco. Coin bank in the form of a woman's head made or 'fragrant clay,' or *barro de olor,* polished without being fired, then painted with aniline and earth colors. Men's heads with large mustaches are also made. Coll. CH.M.C. — Photo P.M.

249. Texcoco, state of Mexico. Coin bank of black glazed clay in the form of a lion. The decoration always consists of flowers painted with enamel paint and metallic powder after firing. Texcoco produces candlesticks, incense burners, flower pots, etc., for the first and second of November (the Days of the Dead). Height 20 cms. (8 inches) — M.N.A. — Photo p.m.

250. Tarascan woman from Ocumicho, Michoacán, selling clay figures to be used as offerings in the famous market for the Day of the Dead in Huancito, Michoacán. The potters' wives are usually the saleswomen in the markets and fairs — Photo M.A.B.

251. Ocumicho, Michoacán. Clay coin bank which represents a devil riding a bull, painted with enamel. Height 16 cms. (6¹/₄ inches). In this town many figures are made, especially for the Day of the Dead, representing what is supposed to happen to sinners in hell. Some are truly surrealistic with small infernos with caves, devils hanging themselves, horrible animals that devour each other, all executed with great imagination — Coll. R.C. — Photo M.O.P.

252. Ocumicho, Michoacán. A person who takes part in the Dance of the Moors, on horseback, made in baked clay painted with enamel and with earth colors. This is a traditional dance in many towns of the state and is out standing for the rich costumes and headdresses used by the dancers. Height 37 cms. (14¹/₂ inches) — Coll. M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

253. Acatlán, Puebla. Ceramic bell in the form of an angel made partly in mold (the center) and formed partly by hand, painted with aniline colors. Acatlán, a pottery-making town, produces pieces from miniatures to large sizes, including tubs. The clay used is of excellent quality and produces a metallic tone when struck. Height 15.5 cms. (6¹/₈ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

254. Tlaquepaque, Jalisco. Clay devil decorated with enamel paint and metallic powder. These figures are made especially for crèches and represent temptation — Coll. L.M. — Photo M.A.B.

255. Tecomatepec, state of Mexico. Potter decorating his toys after the first firing. He uses black and white earth colors. The figures are fired a second time in order to obtain the glaze. Tecomatepec is one of the most important pottery-making towns, sending its toys and ceramics

to all the markets and fairs in the Toluca Valley — Photo M.Y.

256. Tantoyuca, Veracruz. Men with offerings in their arms. These bisque-fired pieces are made for the Day of the Dead. Height 6×7 cms. ($2^{3}/_{8}$ × $2^{3}/_{4}$ inches) — M.N.A. Photo P.M.

257. Ocumicho, Michoacán. Ring of men and animal figures in baked clay painted with enamel. The conception of the figures in this piece is reminiscent of pre-Columbian sculpture. Height 5.5 cms. ($2^{1}/_{8}$ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo M.O.P.

258. Atzompa, Oaxaca. Ceramic representation of the town jail at the visiting and lunch hour. The jar carried by the woman is glazed in green. Height 19 cms. ($7^{1}/_{2}$ inches) — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

259. Huatusco, Veracruz. Woman on horseback, of decorated and painted baked clay. She wears a complicated hairdo rendered by pilling technique or clay applique. She is mounted sidesaddle. Height 22 cms. ($8^{5}/_{8}$ inches) — Coll. P.P. — Photo P.M.

260. San Bartolo Coyotepec, Oaxaca. Polished baked black clay whistles, made in many forms: bulls, owls, horses, doves, and human figures. In spite of their small size the shrill sound they produce is very loud. The potters of this town like to make whistles of different sizes which they decorate with incisions. The clay used to produce the black objects is fired with dung in a reducing kiln to produce the intense black and to give the fired clay a metallic ring. Height 2.5 cms. (1 inch) — F.E.P.M. Photo P.M.

261. Ameyaltepec, Guerrero. Small painted clay cat. The brown and cream colors are produced by local earths. The one firing is done after the pieces are painted. In order to eliminate the salts and fix the colors they should be soaked for five minutes every day for a week in order to wash out the salts. Height 8 cms. ($3^{1}/_{8}$ inches) — E.D.A. Photo P.M.

262. Tenosique, Tabasco. Beautifully worked figure of natural chicle dyed with vegetable colors. The chicle is first softened in hot water before molding. Many figures are made to be sold as souvenirs of festive occasions. Height 14 cms. ($5^{1}/_{2}$ inches) — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

263. Puebla, City. Natural green pressed glass fruit bowl adorned with paste fruit painted with aniline colors. Height 10 cms. (4 inches) — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

264. Teloloapan, Guerrero. Fruit bowl and branches carved in *tezonquelite pipirucha*, which is the pithy heart of cane *otate*. Decorated in brightly colored aniline dyes. Height 5 and 8 cms. (2 and $3^{1}/_{8}$ inches) — Photo M.O.P.

265. Celaya, Guanajuato. Miniature wooden dish cabinet painted with aniline colors and with glue. The dishes in the cabinet are made in Guanajuato. Height 13 cms. ($5^{1}/_{8}$ inches). (See 266) — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

266. City of Guanajuato. Miniature clay jar glazed in green. Many toys of this type are made in a variety of forms and colors. Height 4 cms. ($1^{1}/_{2}$ inches) — M.N.A. Photo P.M.

267. City of Puebla. Miniature Puebla style kitchen with wooden table and walls; glazed clay charcoal burner, figures, and kitchen ware. These small objects represent the typical pottery made in Puebla in the famous *Barrio de la Luz* section. The woman in the center is dressed as a *China Poblana* (traditional historical dress whose skirt is adorned with sequins). On the charcoal burner or *brasero* is the *comal,* a round flat clay griddle used for making *tortillas*. On the table is a bowl of *mole* (a Mexican dish of chile, chocolate, turkey, almonds, and other ingredients), and on the floor a barrel of *pulque*, fermented maguey juice. These toys have always delighted little girls. Height 7 cms. ($2^{3}/_{4}$ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

268. City of Guanajuato. Wooden cabinet with bone toys turned on a lathe, blown glass objects, a small silver cup, and a clay plate. Two exceptional figures are a white blown glass spirit with red flames, and a Saint Dominic of polychrome bone. The latter dates from the XIX century. M.A.G. — Photo M.O.P.

269. City of Guanajuato. Cabinet made of a pod from the kapoc tree with turned bone miniatures decorated with fine gold leaf. The mirrors are made with silver leaf, as was done a century ago. The pod is cut into three sections and is joined with small hinges. From the end of the XIX century. Height 13 cms. ($5^{1}/_{8}$ inches) — Coll. D.C. — Photo P.M.

270. *Upper left*. Mexico City. Small mule with flowers for Corpus Christi day. Height 5.5 cms. ($2^{1}/_{8}$ inches). — Coll. M.Y. *Upper right*. City of Puebla. Death riding a bull. Height 5 cms. (2 inches) — M.N.A.P. *Lower left*. Bottle with colored glass adornments and a cork and wire cap. Height 3.5 cms. ($1^{3}/_{8}$ inches) — M.N.A.P. *Lower center*. Flower vase with wire-stemmed flowers. Height 7.5 cms. (3 inches). *Lower right*. Monkey looking at himself in a mirror. Height 3 cms. ($1^{1}/_{8}$ inches) — M.N.A.P. — The skill the craftsmen show is remarkable in forming these figures from a glass bar with a blowtorch, then pulling the glass into the desired form — Photo P.M.

271. City of Puebla. Glass hurricane lamps. Height 8.5 cms. ($3^{3}/_{8}$ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

272. City of Puebla. 'Puebla dog' (poodle) made of cloth and wire, covered with strings of beads. During the last century in the convents a variety of crafts were taught which required great patience and skill. Height 8 cms. ($3^{1}/_{8}$ inches) — M.N.A.P. — Photo M.O.P.

273. Celaya, Guanajuato. *Upper*. Cast lead flower vases painted with colors dissolved in alcohol and gilded with bronze powder. Many lead toys are made for doll houses. These preserve the romantic style of the XIX century. Many of the molds, made of bronze, are from the last century. Height 9 cms. ($3^{1}/_{2}$ inches). *Lower*. Lead soldiers. Height 4 cms. ($1^{1}/_{2}$ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

274. Santa Cruz, Jalisco. Circus performers of baked clay painted with aniline dyes and earth colors. They turn around, balanced by the balls that serve as counterweights. Height 10 cms. (4 inches) — Coll. V.F. — Photo M.O.P.

275. *Upper.* Celaya and Silao, Guanajuato. Wooden acrobat painted with aniline colors. By pressing together and then releasing the two sticks at the lower ends the figure turns flips. Height 20 cms. (8 inches). *Middle.* Celaya and Silao, Guanajuato. Wagons with animal figures made of white resinous wood *(copalillo)* painted with aniline. These toys are made especially for the days of Corpus Christi and the Day of the Three Wise Men (January 6). Height 7 and 10 cms. ($2^{3}/_{4}$ and 4 inches). *Below.* Celaya, Guanajuato. Wooden snakes painted with aniline dyes. They are made in sections joined by threads to imitate the snake's movement. Children are very fond of these toys, which are to be found at all fairs and festivities. Height 32 cms. ($12^{5}/_{8}$ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

276. Mexico City. Doves made of cotton and cardboard decorated with silver sparkle. They are made mainly at Christmas time to adorn the crèches. Height 6 cms. ($2^{3}/_{8}$ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

277. Cockfights from Guadalajara, Jalisco, and City of Puebla. The bodies are made of crepe paper, the heads with beeswax, the plumage with dyed feathers and the feet are the stiff ends of roosters' feathers. The birds are attached to a stick with copper wire and are given movement by twisting the wire, therefore simulating a cockfight. Height 11 cms. ($4^{1}/_{4}$ inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo M.O.P.

278. Guerrero state. Wooden tiger painted with aniline colors and with glue. He moves when one shakes the stick on which he is mounted. This piece is similar to others from Guanajuato, Morelos, and Oaxaca. Height 50 cms. ($19^{3}/_{4}$ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo M.O.P.

279. San Luis de la Paz, Guanajuato. Snakes made of pieces of reed joined by wires and decorated with enamel paint. When held by the tail, slight movements make them wriggle like a snake. Lenght 80 and 30 cms. ($31^{1}/_{2}$ and $11^{3}/_{4}$ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

280. Celaya and Silao, Guanajuato. Wooden rooster painted and decorated with aniline dye. Its head and tail move alternately when the ball to which both are attached is moved, thus he seems to drink from an acorn cup. Height 7 cms. ($2^{3}/_{4}$ inches) — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

281. Ihuatzio, Michoacán. Weaver of reed figures, who makes mats, toys, decorative figures, fans, as well as complicated combinations of figures such as scenes from daily life and Nativity scenes. Reed weaving is the main industry of this town, for which the people use the abundant reeds from the shores of Lake Patzcuaro — Photo M.Y.

282. Ihuatzio, Michoacán. *Upper.* Devil and musician with bass fiddle, woven of fine reeds. Height 25 and 21 cms. ($9^{7}/_{8}$ and $8^{1}/_{4}$ inches). *Lower.* Horsemen woven of reeds. One is falling and the other is riding a wild horse. Height 18 cms. ($7^{1}/_{8}$ inches) — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

283. Ihuatzio, Michoacán. Circus performers made of fine woven reeds. Height 34 and 14 cms. ($13^{3}/_{8}$ and $5^{1}/_{2}$ inches) — M.R.A.P. — Photo M.O.P.

284. Santa María Chigmecatitlán, Puebla. Woman weaving aniline dyed palm fiber toys in the same stand where she sells them. Palm fibers are woven into both miniature articles and large baskets in this region — Photo M.Y.

285. Santa María Chigmecatitlán, Puebla. *Upper.* Dove and scorpion. Height 7.5 and 23 cms. (3 and 9 inches). *Lower.* Mice, rabbits, and grasshopper. Height 0.7 and 8 cms. ($^{1}/_{4}$ and $3^{1}/_{8}$ inches). Toys of aniline dyed woven palm fibers. These are taken to the market on long strings holding one or more gross — F.E.P.M. — Photo P.M.

286. Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo. Rattle in the form of a rooster made of woven palm fibers adorned with aniline-dyed feathers. Height 24 cms. ($8^{1}/_{4}$ inches). Woven palm fiber rattles dyed with aniline colors. Small stones placed inside produce the sound. Height 11 cms. ($4^{1}/_{4}$ inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo P.M.

287. *Left.* Tzintzuntzan, Michoacan. Woven straw angel with saxophone. Height 26 cms. ($10^{1}/_{4}$ inches). *Right.* Guanajuato. Woven straw rattle adorned with small balls of yarns. Height 12.5 cms. ($4^{7}/_{8}$ inches). These toys are woven when the straw is wet — Coll. L.M. — Photo P.M.

288. Chilpancingo, Guerrero. Stands selling *piñatas* or decorated clay jars filled with goodies, in the interior of the market during the season of *posadas,* pre-Christmas festivities (December 16-24) — Photo M.Y.

289. Mexico City. *Piñatas* in the form of deer and a star in a market stand. Below, miniature *piñatas* are used to hold candy — Photo C.U.

290. Crèche. Pieces from many different regions are used in these arrangements. Although there may be great discrepancy in size or style of the figures, they form an integrated whole, and show the naive devotion of the family which reproduces biblical evocations mixed with Mexican country scenes. During the Christmas season, in the markets, a multitude of figures made of clay as well as other material are sold, together with moss, hay, etc. Photo P.M.

291. *Left.* City of Oaxaca. A cardboard 'Death' figure with a clay head and movable jaw, painted, dressed, and adornes with crêpe paper. Height 88 cms. ($34^{5}/_{8}$ inches). *Right.* Mexico City. Gay cardboard 'Death' painted with aniline and decorated with feathers, gold paper, and sparkle. Height 42 cms. ($16^{1}/_{2}$ inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo M.O.P.

292. City of Oaxaca. Market stand on the Day of the Dead selling cardboard tombs painted in water colors, aniline, and glue. Cardboard priests with chick pea heads dressed in crepe paper are stuck on long strips of cardboard. Skeletons of baked clay are held together with wires and springs, with cotton wigs and crêpe paper clothing; others are of cardboard moved by strings (see 291).

On the first and second of November there is a great demand for toys and objects that serve as offerings to the faithful departed, for on these days the dead are given homage. In almost every market in the country a wide variety of figures and candy is sold in honor of the 'dead' festivities — Photo M.O.P.

293. Metepec, state of Mexico. Skeleton of baked clay painted with aniline colors and bronze powder, representing a king with sceptre in his hand. His throne is an *equipal*, a traditional Mexican leather chair. Height 17 cms. ($6^3/_4$ inches) — Coll. M.A.B. — Photo P.M.

294. City of Aguascalientes. Skeleton of baked clay whose arms, legs, and head are articulated by means of wire and springs. He is wearing a dyed cotton wig. Clothing of crepe paper painted and adorned with tinsel. Height 15 cms. (6 inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo M.O.P.

295. San Pedro Tlaquepaque, Jalisco. Skeleton of baked clay painted with earth colors, aniline, and metallic powder. The figure is dressed in crepe paper, tin, and dyed feathers. A pull on the string moves his arms back and raises the soldier. Height 12 cms. ($4^3/_4$ inches) — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

296. City of Oaxaca. Crowned skeleton of baked clay painted with earth colors, enamel, and bronze powder. The wire framework forms the bone of the hands and feet. Height 20 cms. ($7^7/_8$ inches) — Coll. and photo M.A.B.

297. City of Oaxaca. Skeleton in the form of a bishop, with baked clay head, cotton wig, cape of crêpe paper painted with zinc white. His cassok, forehead, and headdress are of gloss paper. Height $11^3/_4$ inches — Coll. L.M. — Photo P.M.

298. City of Oaxaca. *Upper.* A wedding of skeletons of baked clay painted with aniline colors and metallic powder. The bride carries a dry fern bouquet and wears a tulle veil. Height 12 cms. ($4^3/_4$ inches. *Lower.* Musicians with offerings and two children in the center. The figures are of baked clay painted with aniline and metallic powder, with crêpe paper capes and cotton wigs. Height 10 cms. (4 inches) and 4 cms. ($1^1/_2$ inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo P.M.

299. City of Oaxaca. Skeleton of baked clay with wire and spring framework, painted with aniline and earth colors. It is seated in a pine wood chair, playing a mandolin and singing. From Celaya, Guanajuato. Height 12 cms. ($4^3/_4$ inches) — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

300. City of Aguascalientes. Dancing clay skeletons with wire framework, dressed in brightly colored paper. Height 13 cms. ($5^1/_8$ inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo P.M.

301. Celaya, Guanajuato. Paper skeleton made in a clay mold, wearing a high hat painted with sizing, zinc white, and aniline colors. The arms with stylized hands are rigid. Height 15 cms. (6 inches) — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

302. Celaya, Guanajuato. Skeleton of a horse made of molded cardboard painted with aniline, zinc white, and fixed with size. There is a wide variety of figures of this type. Height 22 cms. ($8^5/_8$ in.) — M.N.A. — Photo M.O.P.

303. City of Oaxaca. Cardboard tomb painted with aniline colors, zinc white, and bronze powder. The clay figure in the upper part represents the spirit of the dead person, whose skull rests between the two candles. Height 19 cms. ($7^1/_2$ inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo M.O.P.

304. City of Oaxaca. 'Burial' of priests made of gloss and metallic papers with chickpea heads and painted faces. They are mounted on strips of thin wood joined in the form of scissors which, when moved back and forth, make the procession with the deceased appear to move forward. Height 7 cms. ($2^3/_4$ inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo M.O.P.

305. City of Oaxaca. 'Burial' made of clay, gloss paper, and tissue paper figures. Those in front have chickpea heads adorned with metallic paper and tinsel. It is mounted on painted corrugated paper. Height 8 cms. ($3^1/_8$ inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo P.M.

306. Celaya, Guanajuato. *Upper.* Cardboard masks: the skull of a king and the face of a devil. Height 18 cms. ($7^1/_8$ inches). *Lower.* Cardboard masks of a king and a skull. These masks are made of molded papier mâché painted with aniline colors which are fixed with glue. Many of the molds date from the XVIII century and whole families dedicate themselves to making these masks. Height 18 and 14 cms. ($7^1/_8$ and $5^1/_2$ inches) — Coll. L.M. — Photo M.O.P.

307. Tepalcingo, Morelos. Child wearing a cardboard mask in the fair of this town — Photo M.O.P.

308. Puppets from Puebla City, made of painted clay and dressed in pieces of cloth — Coll. M.Y. & L.M. — Photo M.O.P.

309. San Juan de las Colchas, Michoacán. Dolls made of corn husks with wigs of aniline-dyed cotton, dressed in crêpe paper. Height 22 cms. ($8^5/_8$ inches) — F.E.P.M. Photo P.M.

310. City of Guanajuato. Rag doll with an embroidered face and apron. Rag dolls are made in almost every part of the country. Height 32 cms. ($12^5/_8$ inches) — M.N.A. — Photo P.M.

311. San Juan de las Colchas, Michoacán. Tarascan girl playing with a doll made of dried corn leaves, crêpe paper, and wool. The doll hangs from a stick and is adorned with a flower made of the same materials — Photo M.Y.